

ST. JAMES ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
POPULARCULTURE

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POPULARCULTURE

VOLUME 3:K-O

EDITORS: Tom Pendergast Sara Pendergast

with an introduction by Jim Cullen

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EDITOR'S NOTE

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

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

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

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

Coverage

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

The Entries

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

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

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

Organization and Indexing

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

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

Acknowledgments

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

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

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

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

—Tom Pendergast and Sara Pendergast,
Editors

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INTRODUCTION

The Art of Everyday Life

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Jim Cullen

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Martyn Bone
Austin Booth
Gerry Bowler
Anne Boyd
Marlena E. Bremseth
Carol Brennan
Tony Brewer
Deborah Broderson
Michael Brody
Pat H. Broeske
Robert J. Brown
Sharon Brown
Craig Bunch
Stephen Burnett
Gary Burns
Margaret Burns

Manuel V. Cabrera, Jr.
Ross B. Care

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Andrew Sargent	Kyle Smith	Anthony Ubelhor
Julie Scelfo	John Smolenski	Daryl Umberger
Elizabeth D. Schafer	Irvin D. Solomon	
Louis Scheeder	Geri Speace	Rob Van Kranenburg
James Schiff	Andrew Spieldenner	Robert VanWynsberghe
Robert E. Schnakenberg	tova stabin	Colby Vargas
Steven Schneider	Scott Stabler	
Kelly Schrum	Jon Sterngrass	Sue Walker
Christine Scodari	Roger W. Stump	Lori C. Walters
Ann Sears	Bob Sullivan	Nancy Lan-Jy Wang
E. M. I. Sefcovic	Lauren Ann Supance	Adam Wathen
Eric J. Segal	Marc R. Sykes	Laural Weintraub
Carol A. Senf		Jon Weisberger
Tim Seul	Midori Takagi	David B. Welky
Alexander Shashko	Candida Taylor	Christopher W. Wells
Michele S. Shauf	Scott Thill	Celia White
Taylor Shaw	Robert Thompson	Christopher S. Wilson
Anne Sheehan	Stephen L. Thompson	David B. Wilson
Steven T. Sheehan	Rosemarie Garland Thomson	Kristi M. Wilson
Pamela Shelton	Jan Todd	Jeff Wiltse
Sandra Sherman	Terry Todd	Wendy Woloson
Charles J. Shindo	John Tomasic	David E. Woodward
Mike Shupp	Warren Tormey	Bradford W. Wright
Robert C. Sickels	Grant Tracey	
C. Kenyon Silvey	David Trevino	Sharon Yablon
Ron Simon	Marcella Bush Trevino	Daniel Francis Yezbick
Philip Simpson	Scott Tribble	Stephen D. Youngkin
Rosemarie Skaine	Tom Trinchera	
Ryan R. Sloane	Nicholas A. Turse	Kristal Brent Zook
Jeannette Sloniowski		
Cheryl A. Smith		

LIST OF ENTRIES

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

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

- Brown, Paul
 Browne, Jackson
 Brownie Cameras
 Brubeck, Dave
 Bruce, Lenny
 Bryant, Paul "Bear"
 Brynner, Yul
 Bubblegum Rock
 Buck, Pearl S.
 Buck Rogers
 Buckley, William F., Jr.
 Buckwheat Zydeco
 Budweiser
 Buffalo Springfield
 Buffett, Jimmy
 Bugs Bunny
 Bumper Stickers
 Bundy, Ted
 Bungalow
 Burger King
 Burlesque
 Burma-Shave
 Burnett, Carol
 Burns, George, and Gracie Allen
 Burns, Ken
 Burr, Raymond
 Burroughs, Edgar Rice
 Burroughs, William S.
Buster Brown
Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid
 Butkus, Dick
 Butler, Octavia E.
 Butterbeans and Susie
 Buttons, Red
 Byrds, The

 Cabbage Patch Kids
 Cable TV
 Cadillac
 Caesar, Sid
Cagney and Lacey
 Cagney, James
 Cahan, Abraham
 Cakewalks
 Caldwell, Erskine
 Calloway, Cab
Calvin and Hobbes
 Camacho, Héctor "Macho"
Camelot
 Camp
 Campbell, Glen
 Campbell, Naomi
 Camping
 Cancer
Candid Camera
 Caniff, Milton
 Canova, Judy
 Canseco, Jose

 Cantor, Eddie
 Capital Punishment
 Capone, Al
 Capote, Truman
 Capra, Frank
 Captain America
Captain Kangaroo
 Captain Marvel
Car 54, Where Are You?
 Car Coats
 Caray, Harry
 Carey, Mariah
 Carlin, George
 Carlton, Steve
 Carmichael, Hoagy
 Carnegie, Dale
 Carnegie Hall
 Carpenters, The
 Carr, John Dickson
 Cars, The
 Carson, Johnny
 Carter Family, The
 Caruso, Enrico
 Carver, Raymond
Casablanca
 Cash, Johnny
 Caspar Milquetoast
 Cassette Tape
 Cassidy, David
 Castaneda, Carlos
 Castle, Vernon and Irene
 Castro, The
 Casual Friday
 Catalog Houses
Catch-22
Catcher in the Rye, The
 Cather, Willa
Cathy
Cats
 Cavett, Dick
 CB Radio
CBS Radio Mystery Theater, The
 Celebrity
 Celebrity Caricature
 Cemeteries
 Central Park
 Century 21 Exposition (Seattle, 1962)
 Century of Progress (Chicago, 1933)
 Challenger Disaster
 Chamberlain, Wilt
 Chandler, Raymond
Chandu the Magician
 Chanel, Coco
 Chaplin, Charlie
 Charles, Ray
 Charlie Chan
 Charlie McCarthy

Charlie's Angels
 Charm Bracelets
 Chase, Chevy
 Chautauqua Institution
 Chavez, Cesar
 Chavis, Boozoo
 Chayefsky, Paddy
 Checker, Chubby
 Cheech and Chong
 Cheerleading
Cheers
 Chemise
 Chenier, Clifton
 Cherry Ames
 Chessman, Caryl
 Chicago Bears, The
 Chicago Bulls, The
 Chicago Cubs, The
 Chicago Jazz
 Chicago Seven, The
 Child, Julia
 Child Stars
China Syndrome, The
Chinatown
 Chipmunks, The
 Choose-Your-Own-Ending Books
 Christie, Agatha
 Christmas
 Christo
 Chrysler Building
 Chuck D
 Chun King
 Church Socials
 Cigarettes
 Circus
 Cisneros, Sandra
Citizen Kane
City Lights
 City of Angels, The
 Civil Disobedience
 Civil Rights Movement
 Civil War Reenactors
 Claiborne, Liz
 Clairol Hair Coloring
 Clancy, Tom
 Clapton, Eric
 Clark, Dick
 Clarke, Arthur C.
 Clemente, Roberto
Cleopatra
 Clift, Montgomery
 Cline, Patsy
 Clinton, George
Clockwork Orange, A
 Clooney, Rosemary
Close Encounters of the Third Kind
 Closet, The
 CNN

- Cobb, Ty
 Coca, Imogene
 Coca-Cola
 Cocaine/Crack
 Cocktail Parties
 Cody, Buffalo Bill, and his
 Wild West Show
 Coffee
 Cohan, George M.
 Colbert, Claudette
 Cold War
 Cole, Nat ‘‘King’’
 College Fads
 College Football
 Collins, Albert
 Coltrane, John
Columbo
 Columbo, Russ
 Comic Books
 Comics
 Comics Code Authority
 Coming Out
 Commodores, The
 Communes
 Communism
 Community Media
 Community Theatre
 Como, Perry
 Compact Discs
 Concept Album
 Conceptual Art
 Condé Nast
 Condoms
 Coney Island
 Confession Magazines
 Coniff, Ray
 Connors, Jimmy
 Consciousness Raising Groups
 Conspiracy Theories
Consumer Reports
 Consumerism
 Contemporary Christian Music
 Convertible
 Conway, Tim
 Cooke, Sam
 Cooper, Alice
 Cooper, Gary
 Cooperstown, New York
 Coors
 Copland, Aaron
 Corbett, James J.
 Corman, Roger
 Corvette
 Corwin, Norman
 Cosby, Bill
Cosby Show, The
 Cosell, Howard
Cosmopolitan
 Costas, Bob
 Costello, Elvis
 Costner, Kevin
 Cotten, Joseph
 Cotton Club, The
 Coué, Emile
 Coughlin, Father Charles E.
 Country Gentlemen
 Country Music
 Cousteau, Jacques
 Covey, Stephen
 Cowboy Look, The
 Cox, Ida
 Crawford, Cindy
 Crawford, Joan
 Cray, Robert
 Creationism
 Credit Cards
 Creedence Clearwater Revival
 Crichton, Michael
Crime Does Not Pay
 Crinolines
Crisis, The
 Croce, Jim
 Cronkite, Walter
 Crosby, Bing
 Crosby, Stills, and Nash
 Crossword Puzzles
 Cruise, Tom
 Crumb, Robert
 Crystal, Billy
 Cukor, George
 Cullen, Countee
 Cult Films
 Cults
 Cunningham, Merce
 Curious George
 Currier and Ives
 Dahmer, Jeffrey
Dallas
 Dallas Cowboys, The
 Daly, Tyne
 Dana, Bill
 Dance Halls
 Dandridge, Dorothy
 Daniels, Charlie
Daredevil, the Man
 Without Fear
Dark Shadows
 Darrow, Clarence
 Davis, Bette
 Davis, Miles
Davy Crockett
 Day, Doris
Day the Earth Stood Still, The
Days of Our Lives
 Daytime Talk Shows
 Daytona 500
 DC Comics
 De La Hoya, Oscar
 De Niro, Robert
 Dead Kennedys, The
 Dean, James
Death of a Salesman
 Debs, Eugene V.
 Debutantes
Deer Hunter, The
 DeGeneres, Ellen
 Del Río, Dolores
 DeMille, Cecil B.
 Dempsey, Jack
 Denishawn
 Denver, John
 Department Stores
 Depression
 Derleth, August
 Detective Fiction
 Detroit Tigers, The
 Devers, Gail
 Devo
 Diamond, Neil
 Diana, Princess of Wales
 DiCaprio, Leonardo
Dick and Jane Readers
 Dick, Philip K.
 Dick Tracy
 Dickinson, Angie
 Diddley, Bo
 Didion, Joan
 Didrikson, Babe
 Dieting
 Dietrich, Marlene
Diff'rent Strokes
Dilbert
 Dillard, Annie
 Diller, Phyllis
 Dillinger, John
 DiMaggio, Joe
 Dime Novels
 Dime Stores/Woolworths
 Diners
 Dionne Quintuplets
Dirty Dozen, The
 Disability
 Disaster Movies
 Disc Jockeys
 Disco
 Disney (Walt Disney Company)
 Ditka, Mike
 Divine
 Divorce
 Dixieland
Do the Right Thing
 Dobie Gillis
 Doby, Larry
 Doc Martens
 Doc Savage
Doctor Who
Doctor Zhivago
 Doctorow, E. L.
 Docudrama

- Do-It-Yourself Improvement
 Domino, Fats
 Donahue, Phil
 Donovan
 Doobie Brothers, The
Doonesbury
 Doors, The
 Doo-wop Music
 Dorsey, Jimmy
 Dorsey, Tommy
Double Indemnity
 Douglas, Lloyd C.
 Douglas, Melvyn
 Douglas, Mike
 Downs, Hugh
 Doyle, Arthur Conan
 Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde
Dr. Kildare
 Dr. Seuss
*Dr. Strangelove or: How I
 Learned to Stop Worrying
 and Love the Bomb*
 Dracula
 Draft, The
 Drag
 Drag Racing
Dragnet
 Dragon Lady
 Dream Team
 Dreiser, Theodore
 Drifters, The
 Drive-In Theater
 Drug War
 Du Bois, W. E. B.
Duck Soup
Dukes of Hazzard, The
 Duncan, Isadora
 Dungeons and Dragons
 Dunkin' Donuts
 Dunne, Irene
 Duran, Roberto
 Durbin, Deanna
 Durocher, Leo
 Duvall, Robert
 Dyer, Wayne
Dykes to Watch Out For
 Dylan, Bob
Dynasty
- Eames, Charles and Ray
 Earth Day
 Earth Shoes
 Eastwood, Clint
Easy Rider
 Ebbets Field
Ebony
 EC Comics
 Eckstine, Billy
 Eco-Terrorism
 Eddy, Duane
- Eddy, Mary Baker
 Eddy, Nelson
Edge of Night, The
 Edison, Thomas Alva
 Edsel, The
 Edwards, James
 Edwards, Ralph
 Eight-Track Tape
 Einstein, Albert
 Eisner, Will
 El Teatro Campesino
 El Vez
 Electric Appliances
 Electric Guitar
 Electric Trains
 Elizondo, Hector
 Elkins, Aaron
 Ellington, Duke
 Ellis, Brett Easton
 Ellis, Perry
 Ellison, Harlan
 Elway, John
 E-mail
 Emmy Awards
 Empire State Building
 Environmentalism
 Equal Rights Amendment
ER
 Erdrich, Louise
 Erector Sets
 Ertegun, Ahmet
 Erving, Julius "Dr. J"
 Escher, M. C.
 ESPN
Esquire
 est
E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial
 Etiquette Columns
 Evangelism
 Everly Brothers, The
 Everson, Cory
 Evert, Chris
 Existentialism
Exorcist, The
- Fabares, Shelley
 Fabian
 Fabio
 Facelifts
 Factor, Max
 Fadiman, Clifton
Fail-Safe
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Jr.
 Fairbanks, Douglas, Sr.
 Fallout Shelters
Family Circle
Family Circus, The
Family Matters
 Family Reunions
Family Ties
- Fan Magazines
Fantasia
Fantastic Four, The
Fantasy Island
Far Side, The
Fargo
 Farm Aid
 Farr, Jamie
 Fast Food
Fatal Attraction
 Father Divine
Father Knows Best
 Father's Day
 Faulkner, William
 Fauset, Jessie Redmon
 Fawcett, Farrah
Fawty Towers
 FBI (Federal Bureau of
 Investigation)
 Feliciano, José
 Felix the Cat
 Fellini, Federico
 Feminism
 Fenway Park
 Ferrante and Teicher
 Fetchit, Stepin
Fibber McGee and Molly
Fiddler on the Roof
 Fidrych, Mark "Bird"
Field and Stream
Field of Dreams
 Field, Sally
 Fields, W. C.
 Fierstein, Harvey
 Fifties, The
 Film Noir
 Firearms
 Firesign Theatre
 Fischer, Bobby
 Fisher, Eddie
 Fisher-Price Toys
 Fisk, Carlton
Fistful of Dollars, A
 Fitzgerald, Ella
 Fitzgerald, F. Scott
 Flack, Roberta
 Flag Burning
 Flag Clothing
 Flagpole Sitting
 Flappers
Flash Gordon
 Flashdance Style
 Flatt, Lester
 Flea Markets
 Fleetwood Mac
 Fleming, Ian
 Fleming, Peggy
Flintstones, The
 Flipper
 Florida Vacations

- Flying Nun, The*
 Flynn, Errol
 Foggy Mountain Boys, The
 Folk Music
 Folkways Records
 Follett, Ken
 Fonda, Henry
 Fonda, Jane
 Fonteyn, Margot
 Ford, Glenn
 Ford, Harrison
 Ford, Henry
 Ford, John
 Ford Motor Company
 Ford, Tennessee Ernie
 Ford, Whitey
 Foreman, George
Forrest Gump
 Forsyth, Frederick
Fortune
42nd Street
 Fosse, Bob
 Foster, Jodie
 Fourth of July Celebrations
 Foxx, Redd
 Foyt, A. J.
 Francis, Arlene
 Francis, Connie
 Francis the Talking Mule
 Frankenstein
 Franklin, Aretha
 Franklin, Bonnie
Frasier
 Frawley, William
 Frazier, Joe
 Frazier, Walt "Clyde"
 Freak Shows
Freaks
 Frederick's of Hollywood
 Free Agency
 Free Speech Movement
 Freed, Alan "Moondog"
 Freedom Rides
French Connection, The
 French Fries
 Freud, Sigmund
 Friday, Nancy
Friday the 13th
 Friedman, Kinky
Friends
 Frisbee
 Frizzell, Lefty
From Here to Eternity
 Frost, Robert
 Frosty the Snowman
 Frozen Entrées
 Fu Manchu
Fugitive, The
 Fuller, Buckminster
 Fundamentalism
 Funicello, Annette
 Funk
 Fusco, Coco

 Gable, Clark
 Gambling
 Game Shows
 Gammons, Peter
 Gangs
 Gangsta Rap
 Gap, The
 Garbo, Greta
 Gardner, Ava
 Garfield, John
 Garland, Judy
 Garner, James
 Garvey, Marcus
 Garvey, Steve
 Gas Stations
 Gated Communities
 Gay and Lesbian Marriage
 Gay and Lesbian Press
 Gay Liberation Movement
 Gay Men
 Gaye, Marvin
 Gehrig, Lou
General, The
General Hospital
 General Motors
 Generation X
Gentlemen Prefer Blondes
 Gere, Richard
 Gernsback, Hugo
Gertie the Dinosaur
Get Smart
 Ghettos
 GI Joe
Giant
 Gibson, Althea
 Gibson, Bob
 Gibson Girl
 Gibson, Mel
 Gibson, William
 Gifford, Frank
 Gillespie, Dizzy
Gilligan's Island
 Ginny Dolls
 Ginsberg, Allen
 Girl Groups
 Girl Scouts
 Gish, Dorothy
 Gish, Lillian
Glass Menagerie, The
 Gleason, Jackie
 Glitter Rock
 Gnagy, Jon
Godfather, The
 Godfrey, Arthur
 Godzilla
 Gold, Mike
 Goldberg, Rube
 Goldberg, Whoopi
 Golden Books
 Golden Gate Bridge
Golden Girls, The
 Goldwyn, Samuel
 Golf
Gone with the Wind
Good Housekeeping
Good, the Bad, and the Ugly, The
Good Times
Goodbye, Columbus
 Gooden, Dwight
GoodFellas
 Goodman, Benny
 Goodson, Mark
 Gordy, Berry
 Gospel Music
 Gossip Columns
 Goth
 Gotti, John
 Grable, Betty
 Graceland
Graduate, The
 Graffiti
 Grafton, Sue
 Graham, Bill
 Graham, Billy
 Graham, Martha
 Grandmaster Flash
 Grand Ole Opry
 Grant, Amy
 Grant, Cary
Grapes of Wrath, The
 Grateful Dead, The
 Gray Panthers
 Great Depression
Great Train Robbery, The
 Greb, Harry
Greed
 Greeley, Andrew
 Green, Al
 Green Bay Packers, The
 Green Lantern
 Greenberg, Hank
 Greene, Graham
 Greenpeace
 Greenwich Village
 Greeting Cards
 Gregory, Dick
 Gretzky, Wayne
 Grey, Zane
 Greyhound Buses
 Grier, Pam
 Griffin, Merv
 Griffith, D. W.
 Griffith, Nanci
 Grimek, John
 Grisham, John

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

- Ironman Triathlon
 Irving, John
It Happened One Night
It's a Wonderful Life
It's Garry Shandling's Show
 Ives, Burl
 Ivy League

 J. Walter Thompson
 Jack Armstrong
 Jackson Five, The
 Jackson, Jesse
 Jackson, Mahalia
 Jackson, Michael
 Jackson, Reggie
 Jackson, Shirley
 Jackson, "Sholess" Joe
 Jakes, John
 James Bond Films
 James, Elmore
 James, Harry
 Japanese American Internment Camps
Jaws
 Jazz
Jazz Singer, The
 Jeans
 Jeep
 Jefferson Airplane/Starship
Jeffersons, The
 Jell-O
 Jennings, Peter
 Jennings, Waylon
Jeopardy!
 Jessel, George
Jesus Christ Superstar
Jet
 Jet Skis
 Jewish Defense League
JFK (The Movie)
 Jogging
 John Birch Society
 John, Elton
 Johns, Jasper
 Johnson, Blind Willie
 Johnson, Earvin "Magic"
 Johnson, Jack
 Johnson, James Weldon
 Johnson, Michael
 Johnson, Robert
 Jolson, Al
 Jones, Bobby
 Jones, George
 Jones, Jennifer
 Jones, Tom
 Jonestown
 Jong, Erica
 Joplin, Janis
 Joplin, Scott
 Jordan, Louis

 Jordan, Michael
Joy of Cooking
Joy of Sex, The
 Joyner, Florence Griffith
 Joyner-Kersee, Jackie
 Judas Priest
Judge
 Judson, Arthur
 Judy Bolton
 Juke Boxes
Julia
 Juliá, Raúl
Jurassic Park
 Juvenile Delinquency

 Kahn, Roger
 Kaltenborn, Hans von
 Kansas City Jazz
 Kantor, MacKinlay
 Karan, Donna
 Karloff, Boris
 Kasem, Casey
Kate & Allie
Katzenjammer Kids, The
 Kaufman, Andy
 Kaye, Danny
 Keaton, Buster
 Keillor, Garrison
 Keitel, Harvey
 Kelley, David E.
 Kelly Bag
 Kelly, Gene
 Kelly Girls
 Kelly, Grace
 Kennedy Assassination
 Kent State Massacre
 Kentucky Derby
 Kentucky Fried Chicken
 Kern, Jerome
 Kerrigan, Nancy
 Kershaw, Doug
 Kesity, Ken
 Kewpie Dolls
 Key West
 Keystone Kops, The
 King, Albert
 King, B. B.
 King, Billie Jean
 King, Carole
 King, Freddie
King Kong
 King, Larry
 King, Martin Luther, Jr.
 King, Rodney
 King, Stephen
 Kingston, Maxine Hong
 Kingston Trio, The
 Kinison, Sam
 Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C.
 Kirby, Jack

 KISS
 Kitsch
 Kiwanis
 Klein, Calvin
 Klein, Robert
 Kmart
 Knievel, Evel
 Knight, Bobby
Knots Landing
 Kodak
Kojak
 Koontz, Dean R.
 Koresh, David, and the Branch Davidians
 Korman, Harvey
 Kosinski, Jerzy
 Kotzwinkle, William
 Koufax, Sandy
 Kovacs, Ernie
Kraft Television Theatre
 Krantz, Judith
 Krassner, Paul
Krazy Kat
 Krupa, Gene
 Ku Klux Klan
 Kubrick, Stanley
Kudzu
 Kuhn, Bowie
Kukla, Fran, and Ollie
Kung Fu
 Kwan, Michelle

L. A. Law
 L. L. Cool J.
 "La Bamba"
 Labor Unions
 Lacoste Shirts
 Ladd, Alan
 Laetrile
 Lahr, Bert
 Lake, Ricki
 Lake, Veronica
 LaLanne, Jack
 Lamarr, Hedy
 LaMotta, Jake
 Lamour, Dorothy
 L'Amour, Louis
 Lancaster, Burt
 Landon, Michael
 Landry, Tom
 Lang, Fritz
 lang, k.d.
 Lansky, Meyer
 Lardner, Ring
Larry Sanders Show, The
 LaRussa, Tony
 Las Vegas
 Lasorda, Tommy
 Lassie
Late Great Planet Earth, The

- Latin Jazz
Laugh-In
 Lauper, Cyndi
Laura
 Laurel and Hardy
 Lauren, Ralph
 Laver, Rod
Laverne and Shirley
 Lavin, Linda
 Lawn Care/Gardening
Lawrence of Arabia
 Lawrence, Vicki
 La-Z-Boy Loungers
 le Carré, John
 Le Guin, Ursula K.
 Leachman, Cloris
 Leadbelly
League of Their Own, A
 Lear, Norman
 Leary, Timothy
 Least Heat Moon, William
 Leather Jacket
Leave It to Beaver
 Led Zeppelin
 Lee, Bruce
 Lee, Gypsy Rose
 Lee, Peggy
 Lee, Spike
 Lee, Stan
 Legos
 Lehrer, Tom
 Leisure Suit
 Leisure Time
 LeMond, Greg
 L'Engle, Madeleine
 Lennon, John
 Leno, Jay
 Leonard, Benny
 Leonard, Elmore
 Leonard, Sugar Ray
 Leone, Sergio
 Leopold and Loeb
Les Misérables
 Lesbianism
*Let Us Now Praise
 Famous Men*
Let's Pretend
 Letterman, David
 Levin, Meyer
 Levi's
 Levittown
 Lewinsky, Monica
 Lewis, C. S.
 Lewis, Carl
 Lewis, Jerry
 Lewis, Jerry Lee
 Lewis, Sinclair
 Liberace
Liberty
 Lichtenstein, Roy
 Liebovitz, Annie
Life
Life of Riley, The
Like Water for Chocolate
 Li'l Abner
 Limbaugh, Rush
 Lincoln Center for the
 Performing Arts
 Lindbergh, Anne Morrow
 Lindbergh, Charles
 Linkletter, Art
Lion King, The
 Lionel Trains
 Lippmann, Walter
 Lipstick
 Liston, Sonny
 Little Black Dress
 Little Blue Books
 Little League
 Little Magazines
 Little Orphan Annie
 Little Richard
 Live Television
 L.L. Bean, Inc.
 Lloyd Webber, Andrew
 Loafers
 Locke, Alain
Lolita
 Lollapalooza
 Lombard, Carole
 Lombardi, Vince
 Lombardo, Guy
 London, Jack
 Lone Ranger, The
 Long, Huey
 Long, Shelley
 Long-Playing Record
 Loos, Anita
 López, Nancy
 Lorre, Peter
 Los Angeles Lakers, The
 Los Lobos
Lost Weekend, The
 Lottery
 Louis, Joe
 Louisiana Purchase Exposition
 Louisville Slugger
Love Boat, The
 Love, Courtney
 Lovecraft, H. P.
 Low Riders
 Loy, Myrna
 LSD
 Lubitsch, Ernst
 Lucas, George
 Luce, Henry
 Luciano, Lucky
 Ludlum, Robert
 Lugosi, Bela
 Lunceford, Jimmie
 Lupino, Ida
 LuPone, Patti
 Lynch, David
 Lynching
 Lynn, Loretta
 Lynyrd Skynyrd

Ma Perkins
 Mabley, Moms
 MacDonald, Jeanette
 MacDonald, John D.
 Macfadden, Bernarr
 MacMurray, Fred
 Macon, Uncle Dave
 Macy's
MAD Magazine
 Madden, John
 Made-for-Television Movies
 Madonna
 Mafia/Organized Crime
Magnificent Seven, The
Magnum, P.I.
 Mah-Jongg
 Mailer, Norman
 Malcolm X
 Mall of America
 Malls
Maltese Falcon, The
 Mamas and the Papas, The
 Mamet, David
Man from U.N.C.L.E., The
*Man Who Shot Liberty
 Valance, The*
Manchurian Candidate, The
 Mancini, Henry
 Manhattan Transfer
 Manilow, Barry
 Mansfield, Jayne
 Manson, Charles
 Mantle, Mickey
 Manufactured Homes
 Mapplethorpe, Robert
 March on Washington
 Marching Bands
 Marciano, Rocky
Marcus Welby, M.D.
 Mardi Gras
 Mariachi Music
 Marichal, Juan
 Marie, Rose
 Marijuana
 Maris, Roger
 Marlboro Man
 Marley, Bob
Married . . . with Children
 Marshall, Garry
 Martha and the Vandellas
 Martin, Dean
 Martin, Freddy
 Martin, Quinn

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

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

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

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

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

- Tijuana Bibles
Time
 Times Square
 Timex Watches
 Tiny Tim
Titanic, The
To Kill a Mockingbird
To Tell the Truth
Today
 Toffler, Alvin
 Toga Parties
 Tokyo Rose
 Tolkien, J. R. R.
 Tom of Finland
 Tom Swift Series
 Tomlin, Lily
 Tone, Franchot
Tonight Show, The
Tootsie
 Top 40
Tora! Tora! Tora!
 Torme, Mel
Touched by an Angel
 Tour de France
 Town Meetings
Toy Story
 Toys
 Tracy, Spencer
 Trading Stamps
 Trailer Parks
 Tramps
 Traveling Carnivals
 Travolta, John
Treasure of the Sierra Madre, The
 Treviño, Lee
 Trevor, Claire
 Trillin, Calvin
 Trivial Pursuit
 Trixie Belden
 Trout, Robert
True Detective
True Story Magazine
 T-Shirts
 Tupperware
 Turner, Ike and Tina
 Turner, Lana
 Turner, Ted
 TV Dinners
TV Guide
 Tweetie Pie and Sylvester
 Twelve-Step Programs
 Twenties, The
 23 Skidoo
20/20
 Twiggy
Twilight Zone, The
Twin Peaks
 Twister
 2 Live Crew

2001: A Space Odyssey
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 Tyson, Mike

 Uecker, Bob
 UFOs (Unidentified Flying Objects)
 Ulcers
 Underground Comics
Unforgiven
 Unitas, Johnny
 United Artists
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 Unser, Bobby
 Updike, John
Upstairs, Downstairs
 U.S. One
USA Today

 Valdez, Luis
 Valens, Ritchie
 Valentine's Day
 Valentino, Rudolph
 Valenzuela, Fernando
 Valium
 Vallee, Rudy
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 Van Dine, S. S.
 Van Dyke, Dick
 Van Halen
 Van Vechten, Carl
 Vance, Vivian
 Vanilla Ice
 Vanity Fair
 Vardon, Harry
 Varga Girl
Variety
 Vaudeville
 Vaughan, Sarah
 Vaughan, Stevie Ray
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 Velvet Underground, The
 Ventura, Jesse
 Versace, Gianni
Vertigo
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 Victoria's Secret
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 Video Games
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 Villella, Edward
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 Volkswagen Beetle
 von Sternberg, Josef
 Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.

 Wagner, Honus
Wagon Train
 Waits, Tom
 Walker, Aaron "T-Bone"
 Walker, Aida Overton
 Walker, Alice
 Walker, George
 Walker, Junior, and the All-Stars
 Walker, Madame C. J.
 Walkman
 Wall Drug
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 Wallace, Sippie
 Wal-Mart
 Walters, Barbara
 Walton, Bill
Waltons, The
 War Bonds
 War Movies
War of the Worlds
 Warhol, Andy
 Washington, Denzel
 Washington Monument
Washington Post, The
 Watergate
 Waters, Ethel
 Waters, John
 Waters, Muddy
 Watson, Tom
 Wayans Family, The
 Wayne, John
Wayne's World
 Weathermen, The
 Weaver, Sigourney
 Weavers, The
 Webb, Chick
 Webb, Jack
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 Weekend
Weird Tales
 Weissmuller, Johnny
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 Welk, Lawrence
 Welles, Orson
 Wells, Kitty
 Wells, Mary
 Wertham, Fredric
 West, Jerry
 West, Mae
West Side Story
 Western, The
 Wharton, Edith
What's My Line?
Wheel of Fortune
 Whisky A Go Go
Whistler's Mother
 White, Barry
 White, Betty

- White Castle
 White, E. B.
 White Flight
 White, Stanford
 White Supremacists
 Whiteman, Paul
 Whiting, Margaret
 Who, The
Whole Earth Catalogue, The
Wide World of Sports
Wild Bunch, The
Wild Kingdom
Wild One, The
 Wilder, Billy
 Wilder, Laura Ingalls
 Wilder, Thornton
 Will, George F.
 Williams, Andy
 Williams, Bert
 Williams, Hank, Jr.
 Williams, Hank, Sr.
 Williams, Robin
 Williams, Ted
 Williams, Tennessee
 Willis, Bruce
 Wills, Bob, and his Texas
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 Wilson, Flip
 Wimbledon
 Winchell, Walter
 Windy City, The
 Winfrey, Oprah
 Winnie-the-Pooh
Winnie Winkle the Breadwinner
 Winston, George
 Winters, Jonathan
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 Wister, Owen
Wizard of Oz, The
- WKRP in Cincinnati*
 Wobblies
 Wodehouse, P. G.
 Wolfe, Tom
 Wolfman, The
 Wolfman Jack
Woman's Day
 Wonder, Stevie
 Wonder Woman
 Wong, Anna May
 Wood, Ed
 Wood, Natalie
 Wooden, John
 Woods, Tiger
 Woodstock
 Works Progress Administration
 (WPA) Murals
 World Cup
 World Series
 World Trade Center
 World War I
 World War II
 World Wrestling Federation
 World's Fairs
 Wrangler Jeans
 Wray, Fay
 Wright, Richard
 Wrigley Field
Wuthering Heights
 WWJD? (What Would
 Jesus Do?)
 Wyeth, Andrew
 Wyeth, N. C.
 Wynette, Tammy
- X-Files, The*
 X-Men, The

 Y2K
Yankee Doodle Dandy
 Yankee Stadium
 Yankovic, "Weird Al"
 Yanni
 Yardbirds, The
 Yastrzemski, Carl
 Yellow Kid, The
 Yellowstone National Park
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 Yuppies
 Yoakam, Dwight
Young and the Restless, The
 Young, Cy
 Young, Loretta
 Young, Neil
 Young, Robert
 Youngman, Henny
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Your Show of Shows
Youth's Companion, The
 Yo-Yo
 Yuppies
- Zanuck, Darryl F.
Zap Comix
 Zappa, Frank
Ziegfeld Follies, The
 Zines
Zippy the Pinhead
 Zoos
 Zoot Suit
 Zorro
 Zydeco
 ZZ Top

K

Kahn, Roger (1927—)

Roger Kahn's 1972 bestseller *The Boys of Summer* instantly set the standard for nonfiction baseball writing. The memoir eloquently captured the essence of the 1950s Brooklyn Dodgers, analyzing the courage of Jackie Robinson, Roy Campanella, and teammates both on the diamond and in their post-baseball lives. A former reporter for the New York *Herald-Tribune* and protégé of John Lardner (1912-1960), Kahn established himself as the premier baseball author of his generation with a series of critical and popular successes. Kahn's simple, clear prose evoked family and literature, and articulated the hold baseball continues to have upon the American consciousness. *Memories of Summer*, which included poignant profiles of Willie Mays and Mickey Mantle, was published in 1997, the same year Kahn led a failed quest to bring the Dodgers back to Brooklyn. Kahn's admirers ranged from Ronald Reagan to Robert Frost, who discussed the fortunes of the Boston Red Sox with Kahn during a 1960 interview.

—Andrew Milner

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Hans von Kaltenborn

Kaltenborn, Hans von (1878-1965)

With his peppery but precise delivery, the "Dean of Commentators," Hans von Kaltenborn, was a familiar feature of the American airwaves for over 30 years. Kaltenborn started his career as a newspaperman, but then moved to radio at the very moment the new medium was beginning to establish itself as a disseminator of news. In the 1920s, when broadcast news was rare and usually consisted of a narrative accounting of current events, Kaltenborn maintained the unorthodox view that newscasters should not only report facts and information, they should provide analysis and insight into the situation "behind the headlines." Often regarded as the first regular radio news commentator, Hans's vast knowledge of foreign affairs and international politics amply equipped him for covering crises in Europe and the Far East in the 1930s. His vivid reporting of the Spanish Civil War and the Czech Crisis of 1938, more than any other feat of broadcasting, firmly established the credibility of radio news in the public mind and helped to overcome the nation's isolationist sensibilities.

Throughout his life, Kaltenborn was rarely far from the news. He was born on July 9, 1878, to German immigrant parents in Milwaukee, and when old enough left his father's building material business to do odd jobs at a local newspaper. His press career began in earnest when, at age 19, he joined the Fourth Wisconsin Volunteers Infantry and covered the Spanish-American War for the Merrill (Wisconsin)

Advocate. He moved to the Brooklyn *Eagle* in 1902 and entered Harvard's journalism program three years later. Always restless, Kaltenborn spent his summers traveling in Europe and lecturing on conditions there when he returned home. It was in this latter capacity that Kaltenborn developed the oratorical skills that would serve him well when he switched mediums.

On April 4, 1922, while working as an *Eagle* editor, Kaltenborn delivered the first current events analysis in radio history while covering a coal strike for WVP. The same year, he broadcast a news summary live from the Statue of Liberty for WYCB. Throughout the 1920s, Kaltenborn's on-air activities were confined largely to the New York area, with a weekly half-hour program of commentary for WEA and "Kaltenborn's Digest" for WOR. In 1923 he became the first "network" newscaster when a Washington, D.C., station decided to link with WEA and carry his broadcasts. By 1929 he was a national personality and could be heard over 19 CBS stations.

In 1930, after 20 years with the press, he resigned from the *Eagle* and became a full-time broadcaster. His national radio exposure was given a major boost by his coverage of the 1932 Hoover-Roosevelt presidential campaign, and when his "Kaltenborn Edits the News" program moved to a Friday-evening spot in 1935.

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Kaltenborn understood the nature of his radio audience. While he spoke rapidly, he was always

lucid and rarely employed complex words or long sentences. He quickly overcame the blustering habits he had acquired as a platform speaker and adopted an informal and more conversational vocal style that appealed to listeners. Rather than use a script, he preferred to speak extemporaneously, often making gestures as if he could actually see his vast audience. His penchant for ad-libbing often brought him into conflict with sponsors and network executives, who expected to review his speech before airtime. In 1948, Harry Truman delighted the nation when he imitated Kaltenborn's "clipped style" for the newsreel cameras.

While in the mid-1930s newscasts were unsponsored and attracted diminutive audiences, signs of conflict in Europe increased public interest in radio news. Kaltenborn was quick to recognize this fact. In 1936, he brought the events of the Spanish Civil War into millions of American living-rooms with his live report of the Battle of Irun. With microphone in hand and concealed within a haystack, Hans gave listeners a complete blow-by-blow account as Franco's forces endeavored to drive the Loyalists from the field. His eyewitness report was "punctuated by machine gun fire," and he even managed to remain on the air after exploding shells severed a main cable. With this broadcast (the first live report of a combat action), Kaltenborn gained the admiration of the entire broadcast community and earned for his *Headlines and Bylines* program a position in CBS's coveted Sunday lineup. Kaltenborn's other broadcast achievements in the 1936-37 period included reports from the League of Nations and the London Economic Conference and interviews with Hitler and Mussolini.

While Kaltenborn achieved many notable on-air triumphs by 1938, his coverage of the Czech Crisis in September of that year made him a household name. When Hitler's demands for the cessation of the Sudetenland threatened to plunge all of Europe into war, Kaltenborn spent 18 days in CBS's Studio Nine keeping America informed of every phase of the crisis. Sleeping on a cot and subsisting on a diet of onion soup and coffee, Hans would rush to the microphone whenever a new flash or bulletin was received, deliver the news to an anxious public, and immediately comment on it. Every time he performed this ritual, all broadcasts on the 115-station network were instantly interrupted. In addition to reading dispatches and providing commentary, Kaltenborn also acted as the first modern news anchor, coordinating the on-air reports of other network correspondents stationed at points throughout Europe. Given his knowledge of German and French, Hans was able to provide simultaneous translations of the speeches of Hitler and French Premier Daladier. By September 28, Kaltenborn had made 85 separate broadcasts on the situation. This feat brought him over 50,000 letters and telegrams of praise, as well as *Radio Daily's* "Most Popular Commentator" award. His enormous renown earned him both a sponsor (Pure Oil) and a contract guaranteeing complete editorial freedom (quite unprecedented). The faith Kaltenborn's listeners developed in radio news as a result of his Czech Crisis broadcasts contributed to the widespread hysteria produced when CBS "covered" another conflict the following month—Orson Welles' *War of the Worlds*. Kaltenborn's reputation for being the first and most reliable man on the air led to a woman's comment on the public panic: "How ridiculous! Anybody should have known it was not a real war. If it had been, the broadcaster would have been Hans."

In the summer of 1939, when Germany signed a nonaggression agreement with the Soviet Union and threatened the integrity of Poland, Kaltenborn mobilized for another crisis. As Europe moved closer to the brink, he spent three weeks on the continent interviewing

key political and diplomatic figures. When he delivered the news of the outbreak of World War II in September, over half of all radios in America were tuned to him.

In 1940, Kaltenborn found himself immersed in controversy. While the United States was officially neutral in the European war, Hans was an outspoken interventionist. His broadcasts in favor of aiding Britain were bitterly criticized by the American First Committee. When this position brought him into conflict with CBS news director Paul White, Hans relocated to NBC.

In 1941, Kaltenborn's commentaries dwelt increasingly on the need for American vigilance and defense in the Pacific. He observed the gradual deterioration of U.S.-Japanese relations and warned of an aggressive move by the latter weeks before Pearl Harbor. With America's entry into the war, Kaltenborn remained an active broadcaster. Despite his age (63), he carried a microphone to every major battlefield (from Guadalcanal to Rome) and interviewed soldiers and statesmen alike. In 1945 he fulfilled a personal mission when he covered the opening of the new United Nations in San Francisco. His wartime accomplishments were recognized with the 1945 DuPont Radio Award and nine other honors in 1946.

Kaltenborn remained at NBC after the war and continued regular newscasting until 1953. Thereafter he made several television appearances, but never developed an affection for the visual medium. Kaltenborn's rich on-air life and his many broadcast achievements are chronicled in his autobiography, *Fifty Fabulous Years* (1950), and in a string of books containing his most well known radio commentaries—*Kaltenborn Edits the News* (1937), *I Broadcast the Crisis* (1938), and *Kaltenborn Edits the War News* (1942). When he died in June of 1965, much of the broadcast industry and many of his former associates attended his New York City funeral.

—Robert J. Brown

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Kansas City Jazz

Jazz flourished in Kansas City during the 1920s and 1930s, becoming a key part of a significant happening in American sociopolitical history, as well as an important musical style. The rapidly spreading popularity of jazz in the 1920s led to the rise of the "territory bands," bands located throughout the Midwest and Southwest, which designated a specific city, often a small one, as home base and played dance dates throughout the surrounding territory. Jesse Stone, later the chief producer at Atlantic Records, and Walter Page were among the best known of the territory bandleaders. Other

musicians who got their start in the territories included Earl Bostic and Buster Smith.

Kansas City, Missouri, became the most important of the territorial centers with the ascension of the political machine run by Tom Pendergast. Pendergast's high tolerance for corruption led to a wide-open city during the Prohibition era, which became a center for anyone looking for booze, gambling, prostitutes, or entertainment. As a result, many of the important territory bands, such as Page's (originally from Oklahoma City) made their way to Kansas City, where clubs were open 24 hours a day and the music never stopped. It was estimated that in the mid-1920s, in the area centered by Vine Street and bounded by 12th Street to the north and 18th Street to the south, there were at least 50 clubs featuring music at any given time.

The first major Kansas City bandleader was Kansas City native Bennie Moten, whose band included during its run of ten years (1922-32) such musicians as Walter Page, Hot Lips Page, Eddie Durham, Eddie Barefield, Count Basie, Ben Webster, Buster Smith, and Jimmy Rushing.

Moten's band became a model for the Kansas City sound, which was based on ragtime and blues. Kansas City jazz typically featured a full, big-band sound, with simple arrangements that were based on riffs, or two- to four-bar musical phrases, rather than on fully developed melodies. This left a good deal of room for solo work, and some of the most important soloists in jazz developed within the Kansas City bands, including Coleman Hawkins (who left Kansas City early, in 1922), Ben Webster, Herschel Evans, and most importantly, Lester Young and Charlie Parker.

Other important Kansas City bands included Walter Page's Blue Devils and Andy Kirk's Clouds Of Joy. Page, a bassist, pioneered the "walking" bass style that became the rhythmic underpinning of swing and bebop. The Blue Devils included Young, Smith, Hot Lips Page, Count Basie and Jimmy Rushing. After his own group disbanded, Page played with Moten and Basie. Kirk's band, which included Don Byas, Howard McGhee, and Fats Navarro, and was noted for the arrangements of piano player Mary Lou Williams.

Williams was one of many significant piano stylists who flowered in Kansas City. The two great piano influences on the Kansas City players were ragtime (ragtime composer Scott Joplin was a Missourian) and blues. While blues was a prime ingredient in all Kansas City jazz, perhaps the foremost purveyors of Kansas City blues were pianist Pete Johnson and blues shouter Big Joe Turner. Turner was the bartender at the Sunset Club, where Johnson played piano, and he sang from behind the bar, with a powerful voice that needed no amplification. The owner of the Sunset Club and other clubs was Piney Brown, who would come to be the archetype of the Kansas City sound through Turner's "Piney Brown Blues" ("I dreamed last night/I was standin' on 12th Street and Vine/I shook hands with Piney Brown/And I could not keep from cryin'").

The most important piano player and the most important band leader to emerge from Kansas City was William "Count" Basie. Basie, unlike most of the other territory musicians, was not a native Midwesterner. Originally from New Jersey, he was stranded in Kansas City when a touring group he was with broke up. He then played for a while as an accompanist in silent movie theaters until he joined the Blue Devils in 1928 and Bennie Moten's Kansas City Orchestra in 1929. When Moten's group disbanded in 1932, its core musicians, including Walter Page and drummer Jo Jones, became the

core of the Count Basie Orchestra, which also featured Evans, Young, Harry Edison, Dicky Wells, Buck Clayton, and vocalists Rushing and Helen Humes.

Turner and Johnson were important in bringing the Kansas City sound to wider recognition when they were included in John Hammond's famous 1938 Spirituals to Swing Concert at Carnegie Hall. But it was primarily Basie who brought Kansas City jazz to nationwide popularity and ultimately international fame through radio broadcasts, touring, and recording.

Although the Kansas City club scene was affected by the Great Depression, it endured through the 1930s. The indictment of Boss Pendergast for income tax evasion in 1939 marked its conclusion. Before its popularity dwindled, however, it produced a mighty harbinger of the future, pianist Jay McShann, who came to Kansas City in 1936, formed a sextet in 1937, and put together his first big band in 1939. McShann's band was solidly blues- and riff-oriented, but it was also known as a breeding ground for new musical ideas. Charlie Parker joined McShann's band in 1940. His 12-bar solo on the band's 1941 recording of "Sepia Bounce" contributed to the bebop revolution of the 1940s.

—Tad Richards

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Kantor, MacKinlay (1904-1977)

In a literary career spanning nearly 50 years, MacKinlay Kantor grew from a pulp fiction writer who simply sought to earn a living to a highly respected novelist who made significant contributions in several genres. While he is perhaps best known for his 1956 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Andersonville*, Kantor also wrote influential works in the areas of detective fiction, westerns, and social commentary.

An Iowa native, Kantor began his writing career in the early 1920s, working as a reporter and columnist for an increasingly large series of newspapers in his home state and writing pulp fiction for various inexpensive publications. After several years, Kantor moved to Chicago, where he sought a larger canvas for his writing. Although he struggled initially, his first book, *Diversey*, which dealt with gang warfare in Chicago, was published in 1928, after which Kantor published a long string of books, articles, and short stories. Kantor served as a war correspondent during World War II from 1943 to 1944 and as a combat pilot for the U.S. Air Force in 1945. The latter experience provided the basis for his writing success that brought him national exposure.

While Kantor had published a number of works prior to the outbreak of World War II, his 1945 novella *Glory for Me*, based on his experiences as an air force gunner, was adapted for the big screen in 1946. The result was the film, directed by William Wyler, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, which traces the experiences of three World War

II veterans and the difficulty they have adjusting after returning home. The film won several Academy Awards, including an unprecedented double award to veteran Harold Russell, who portrayed a sailor who lost both his hands in the war, for best supporting actor and for bringing hope to returning veterans. Kantor's story also served as the basis for the television movie *Returning Home*, made in 1975.

The publication of the historical novel *Andersonville* a decade later brought Kantor even greater recognition. Kantor had long been fascinated with the Civil War, and the book was the result of the author's renowned diligent and thorough research. The book, which recounts the suffering of Union prisoners in a Confederate prison camp in Georgia. Prominent Civil War scholars such as Bruce Catton and Henry Steele Commager praised Kantor's book as the greatest Civil War novel ever written. The book spawned several made-for-television films, including the 1970 *The Andersonville Trial*, which portrays the war crimes trials of the camp's commanders, including the head official, Wirz, who was the only Civil War soldier executed for war crimes. The book was later adapted into a television miniseries (*Andersonville*) in 1995. Kantor's final novel, *Valley Forge*, published in 1975, was another fictional work based on historical events. It portrays the difficult experiences of the Continental Army during the American Revolution.

Although best known for his historical fiction, Kantor drew fans for his works of suspense fiction, which largely have deal with criminal police and legal procedure in their plots. Throughout the 1930s, Kantor produced a large number of pulp fiction suspense stories, including a series dealing with the exploits of Nick and Dave Glennan, Irish-American brothers who are police officers. Kantor frequently rode along with police forces, partly for research for his stories, and partly because he developed friendships with a number of police officers.

Kantor credited his early experience in writing pulp fiction for his later success. He was quoted in *Gale Literary Databases*, "I used to write a great deal of stuff for the pulp detective-and-crime story magazines, in the years when I had to make my living that way, and I don't think that my rather complicated talents were harmed in the least. The severe routine of such endeavor stimulated my sense of plot and construction, which need stimulation very badly indeed."

Among the awards Kantor won during his career are the O. Henry Award for his short story "Silent Grow the Guns," as well as the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his career work. He also received honorary doctorates in literature from Grinnell College, Drake University, Lincoln College, and Rippon College. In addition to his work as a war correspondent in World War II, Kantor served as a war correspondent during the Korean War in 1950 and worked as a consultant for the U.S. Air Force from 1951 to 1977. Kantor died of a heart attack on October 11, 1977, in Sarasota, Florida. He and his wife of over 50 years, Florence, had two children.

—Jason George

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Karan, Donna (1948—)

At the age of 26 and a week after her baby was born, Donna Karan was catapulted into recognition when she was named chief designer of Anne Klein upon Klein's death in 1974. Like Klein, Karan projected her personality and life-style into her clothes: active, versatile sportswear. She often layered body suits with easy, loose wraps. And by the 1980s, Karan had made blazers a basic for Anne Klein Company. In 1984, backers of Anne Klein set up Karan in her own business, which would later become one of the first publicly traded fashion houses. Donna Karan as a public company is something of a paradox because her designs are so idiosyncratic and personal. She designs for herself, certainly for a buxom physical type, and for a New York sensibility identified in her DKNY label. Yet her attire worn by celebrities, including Barbra Streisand, has made Karan a celebrity of the fashion world.

—Richard Martin

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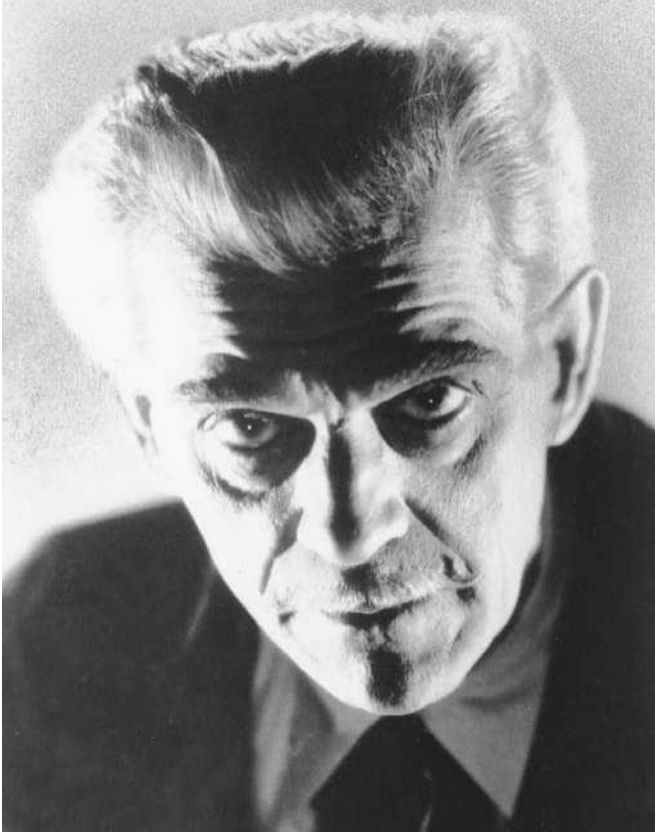
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Karloff, Boris (1887-1967)

One of the most famous horror movie stars of all time, Boris Karloff has become virtually synonymous with Frankenstein. As depicted by Karloff in 1931, Frankenstein was a sympathetic figure, a gentle monster. This image of Frankenstein has remained in the popular psyche for almost 70 years. Although he acted in over 150 films, Boris Karloff will always be irrevocably associated with his monster, and thus will remain a popular culture icon for eternity.

Boris Karloff was born William Henry Pratt on November 23, 1887 in a London suburb. The youngest of nine children, William never knew his father, a British Civil Servant who died in India when William was a baby. After the death of his mother a few years later, William was raised by his siblings, one of whom enjoyed a brief career as an actor on the London stage. From boyhood, William was drawn to the theatre and attempted to emulate his older brother the actor by appearing in school theatricals. The rest of his family, however, wished him to follow in the footsteps of his father and so William prepared for a career in the Civil Service.

William graduated from Kings College, London, with the intention of applying to serve in the consulate in Hong Kong. But his passion for acting had not waned and he attended the theatre every chance he could get. Finally he decided to pursue his theatrical ambitions and, to escape family disapproval, at 22 he left England for Canada. William traveled across the country for more than a year, taking odd jobs, before arriving in Vancouver, where he tried to break



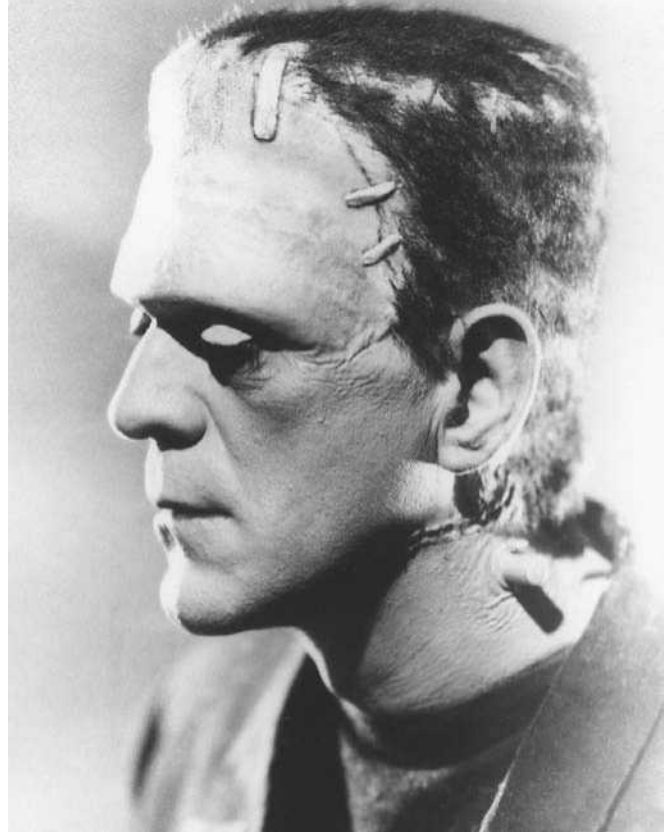
Boris Karloff

into the local repertory company. After months of rejections, William spotted an advertisement for an experienced character actor in a company in Kamloops, British Columbia. Deciding to change his name to fit the “role,” he remembered an obscure relative on his mother’s side of the family named Karloff. Feeling William also was not quite right, he settled on Boris, and he got the job.

For almost ten years, Boris Karloff honed his craft in repertory companies throughout Canada. In 1917, Karloff arrived in Los Angeles, where the fledgling movie industry was booming. After a slow start, the tall, striking actor began to win extra roles and small speaking parts in silent pictures. Because of his strong, dark features, Karloff was usually cast as a villain, appearing in more than 40 silent pictures. But when Hollywood switched to sound, the actor’s theatrical training proved an asset, and he found his niche.

In 1930, Universal Pictures gambled on a film based on Bram Stoker’s *Dracula*. Starring Bela Lugosi in the title role, the film was a huge success. Universal decided to capitalize on the public’s new-found taste for horror movies with *Frankenstein*, also starring Lugosi. But the actor did not like the role and wanted to drop out. When the studio informed him that he would only be released from his contract if he could find another actor for the part, Lugosi suggested Boris Karloff.

Directed by James Whale, *Frankenstein* became an immediate classic. Karloff, whose strong features, athletic build, and considerable height were perfect for the role, gave a subtle and sympathetic performance that won over critics and touched the hearts of audiences. Universal immediately cast the versatile actor in two more leading roles, *The Mask of Fu Manchu* (1932) and *The Mummy*



Boris Karloff’s incarnation as Frankenstein’s Monster.

(1932). The two films cemented his popularity and, in 1932, 45-year-old Boris Karloff became a star.

Throughout the 1930s, Karloff starred in a string of popular horror pictures for Universal, including *The Black Cat* (1934), *Bride of Frankenstein* (1935), *The Raven* (1935), and *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), playing mad scientists and tormented monsters. He was also regularly cast as Asian characters and starred in a series of “Mr. Wong” detective movies. By the early 1940s, however, with the world at war and the United States on the brink of joining in, public interest in horror movies had waned and Karloff’s livelihood was threatened. But the veteran actor tramped on. In 1941, he starred in the Broadway production of *Arsenic and Old Lace* and, throughout the decade, Karloff found work in a wide variety of films, from the occasional horror picture to comedies such as *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* (1947).

Unlike many Hollywood stars, Karloff never fought his type-casting. He understood that he owed his fame to Frankenstein and thus was good-humored about spoofing his horror image in films such as *Abbot and Costello Meet the Killer, Boris Karloff* (1949). By the early 1960s, with horror movies once again in vogue, the aging actor found himself a cult hero and very much in demand. He appeared with fellow horror stars Basil Rathbone, Peter Lorre, and Vincent Price in two popular films for American International Pictures, *The Raven* (1963) and *The Terror* (1963). He brought his creepy voice to the role of the Grinch in the television version of Dr. Seuss’s children’s Christmas tale, *How the Grinch Stole Christmas!* (1966). And in 1968, the 81-year-old Karloff gave an extraordinary turn as an aging horror-movie star in Peter Bogdanovich’s first film, *Targets*.

Karloff loved his profession, and he never stopped acting in movies. Famous for playing monsters, Karloff's real-life gentle spirit and gracious demeanor shone through on screen, no matter how scary the role. He embraced his cult status, becoming in the process one of popular culture's most beloved figures, the man behind the gentle monster.

—Victoria Price

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Kasem, Casey (1932—)

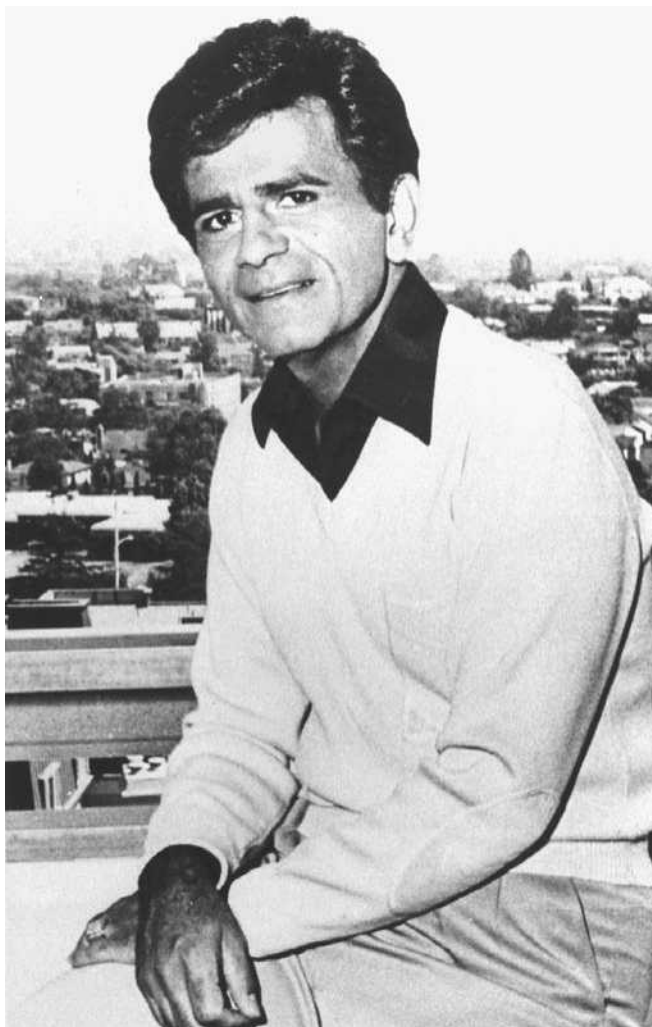
One of the most identifiable voices in radio and television, Casey Kasem is known throughout the world as the personality behind radio's most successful countdown program, *American Top 40*. Born Kemel Amin Kasem in Detroit in 1932, Kasem dreamed of becoming a baseball player until his broadcasting career began at WJLB Detroit in 1954. While he appeared in several motion pictures, numerous commercials, and television cartoon series (most notably as the voice of Shaggy on the popular *Scooby Doo* series) Casey Kasem did not become a household name until the debut of *American Top 40* on July 4, 1970. Considered to be the standard-bearer in modern countdown programs, Kasem revolutionized the format with his unique style and warm personality.

Kasem's trademark "teaser-bio" format, which he first employed at an Oakland, California radio station, became not only the hallmark of *American Top 40* but also influenced countless disk jockeys and similarly themed radio programs. Kasem's "teaser-bio" technique allowed him to essentially "tease" the audience by discussing a recording artist's previous chart singles, biographical information, or any other relevant information before playing the actual song.

In addition, Kasem allowed listeners to send in personal letters with musical requests. These "long distance dedications" were then read on the air beginning with two words known throughout the world by radio listeners: "Dear Casey." Arguably the most popular and recognized segment of the program, Kasem's "long distance dedications" became as ingrained in popular culture as the songs ranked on the program.

To credit Kasem's contribution to popular culture based purely upon innovative formatting in radio programming would certainly be a sufficient legacy for most on-air personalities, but Kasem's most notable and identifiable characteristic is unquestionably his unique vocal delivery. With his warm voice and reliance on active words and phrases (such as "pole-vaulting," "leapfrogging," and "tumbling") Casey Kasem brought a friendly, sportsmanlike atmosphere to the competitive arena of record sales and airplay statistics that have won millions of fans.

The success of Kasem's *American Top 40* on FM stations around the world resulted in several television series based around the



Casey Kasem

American Top 40 format. With the fragmentation of radio formats beginning in the early 1990s, Kasem kept pace with changing musical tastes and trends. In addition to *American Top 40*, Kasem has hosted a variety of countdown programs such as *Casey's Hot 20* (for the adult contemporary market), all using the "teaser-bio" format.

Proof of Kasem's remarkable impact on radio and television is evident not only in his staying power at the edge of the twenty-first century but the numerous honors and awards he amassed. Casey Kasem's legendary status was cemented with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, the *Billboard* Lifetime Achievement Award, and induction into the Radio Hall of Fame.

—Michael K. Chapman

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Kate & Allie

Kate & Allie was one of network television's most popular comedies dealing with feminist issues during the 1980s. Created by Sherry Coben and supervised by veteran producers Bill Persky and Bob Randall, the series revolved around two divorcees, Kate McArdle (Susan Saint James) and Allie Lowell (Jane Curtin), who shared a Greenwich Village apartment and were adjusting to a new single lifestyle with three children between them. *Kate & Allie*, which debuted on CBS on March 19, 1984, dealt with practical problems faced by women recently on their own: how to achieve financial independence, how to date again, and how to care for kids who were growing up too quickly in the city. The women, friends since high school, evolved over the years, holding down different jobs and eventually starting a catering business together. The series reflected questions of identity and personal growth experienced by many working women, who helped to make *Kate & Allie* a Top Twenty show for three consecutive seasons. The series experienced a decline when Allie got married and was cancelled after 122 episodes in 1989.

—Ron Simon

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The Katzenjammer Kids

The mischievous brothers Hans and Fritz Katzenjammer were invented by German-born cartoonist Rudolph Dirks in 1897. Along with the Yellow Kid, Happy Hooligan, and Little Nemo, they became pioneering stars of the American newspaper funny paper sections that burgeoned in the early 1900s. The Kids, along with their Mama, the Captain, and the Inspector, are also among the very few comics characters ever to have two separate and independent pages devoted to their activities.

The Kids—Fritz was the blond one and Hans the dark-haired brother in the original cartoons—made their debut in William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* on Sunday, December 12, 1897. Dirks was twenty when he was asked by his editor to come up with a feature in the vein of the fiendish youths Max and Moritz, created some three decades earlier in Germany by Wilhelm Busch. Much more than imitations, the Brothers Katzenjammer developed distinct personalities of their own. They were brilliant strategists, impressive orators, clever conversationalists, and experts at creating explosions, setting traps, and persuading assorted animals, especially elephants and wildcats, to participate in their schemes. They were dedicated to attacking conformity, pomposity, adult authority, and the traditional values held by society. Combining the best qualities of con men, burglars, guerrilla warriors, and jesters, they elevated prankery to a fine art. The lads, along with the other central characters, spoke in a

sort of vaudeville Dutch dialect that was rich with such words as "dollink," "dumbkopf" and "dod-gasted."

Dirks broke with William Randolph Hearst in 1913 and, after protracted legal battles, took his characters to Joseph Pulitzer's rival *New York World* in 1914. The final court decision, however, basically affirmed that both Hearst and Dirks had the rights to the characters. In Hearst papers across the country *The Katzenjammer Kids* again appeared, while in those newspapers using *World* features the page was eventually called *The Captain and the Kids*. The new artist employed by Hearst to draw its strip was Harold H. Knerr, a talented cartoonist from Philadelphia who'd inked a *Katzenjammer* imitation titled *The Fineheimer Twins* for several years. Though he never explained why, Knerr switched the names of the boys, making Hans the fair-haired one and Fritz the darker one in his pages.

Both versions began setting the Katzenjammer Kids and the other characters in less urban, even exotic locales. The boys and their Mama, along with their star boarders, the Captain and the Inspector, began taking trips to all parts of the world. By the middle 1920s Dirks had his crew residing on a tropical island that was ruled over by black royalty. Although the Knerr and Dirks versions were supposed to be completely independent of one another, Knerr soon had his crew settling down on one of the Squee-Jee Islands. Knerr's island had similar rulers, but he added some new characters of his own in the persons of a spinster school teacher named Miss Twiddle and her two pupils, little blonde Lena and the curly-haired and hypocritical Rollo Rhubarb, who equaled the Kids in slyness and plotting. By adding Lena to the mix, Knerr was able to expand the range of Hans and Fritz's activities, and both of them suffered through spells of courting the girl.

By the late 1930s, both versions were being reprinted in competing comic books. For several years in that decade, the United Feature Syndicate, which had taken over the feature when the *World* folded, offered a daily *The Captain and the Kids* strip. Wacky in the Marx Brothers mode, this mock adventure strip was written and drawn by Bernard Dibble, a former Dirks assistant and ghost. Dirks continued to sign his page, but in the middle 1940s turned the drawing over to his son John. The senior Dirks died in 1968 and United stopped its version in 1979. Knerr died in 1949 and the Katzenjammers continued under such artists as Doc Winner, Joe Musial, and Hy Eisman, who was still drawing them in the 1990s.

—Ron Goulart

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Kaufman, Andy (1949-1984)

Andy Kaufman burst onto the national scene as a guest on the very first *Saturday Night Live* in October of 1975. Standing in the middle of a bare stage accompanied by an old record player, Kaufman put on a recording of the *Mighty Mouse* theme song. He stood silent until the chorus, when he broadly lip-synched "Here I am to save the day," then went mute until the chorus arrived again. This type of



Andy Kaufman as Latka Gravas on *Taxi*.

perplexing yet hysterical performance became Andy Kaufman's trademark and is his legacy as an original comic force. Despite his untimely death at the age of 34 from lung cancer, Kaufman's impact on popular culture was dramatic. Kaufman was a comedian who never told a joke; instead he broke the mold by creating a new comic style that was as much performance art as traditional stand-up.

Although Kaufman started as a stand-up working clubs like the Improv, he never considered himself a comedian. Steve Allen, in his book *Funny People*, wrote that Kaufman was "right when he claims not to be a comedian. A comedian, quite simply, wants laughs. Andy demands more. He calls for an emotional involvement that runs a fuller gamut. He wants you to feel uncomfortable, uneasy, unhappy, ecstatic, deeply moved, derisive, bored. He wants you to believe his characters are who they claim to be and react accordingly." Throughout his career, Kaufman challenged his audience. On another *Saturday Night Live* appearance, Kaufman's "joke" was simply to read from *The Great Gatsby*. He could delight an audience with stunts such as taking his Carnegie Hall audience out for milk and cookies and infuriate another audience by bringing a sleeping bag on stage and napping as part of his performance.

Kaufman used a *Saturday Night Live* appearance for another stunt that blurred the line between reality and illusion. After Kaufman was cut from an episode in 1982, he publicly feuded with producer

Dick Ebersol. The feud climaxed when a telephone poll was held to determine whether or not Kaufman should be allowed back on the show. He lost, and never appeared again. A similar feud was displayed on *Saturday Night Live's* competitor *Fridays* just a year earlier. During a live show in February 1981, Kaufman got into an argument and physical altercation with members of the cast and crew. Again, this hoax perpetuated by Kaufman and the show's producers was perceived as real by many viewers.

The apex of this part of his career was Kaufman's involvement in professional wrestling. A lifelong wrestling fan, particularly of villain wrestler "Nature Boy" Buddy Rogers, Kaufman declared himself the "Inter-Gender Wrestling Champion" and began challenging women in his concert audience to wrestle. His match with *Playboy* model Susan Smith was featured in the magazine's February 1982 issue. After a match against a woman in Memphis, Kaufman became involved in a pro wrestling feud with local champion Jerry "The King" Lawler, which included Kaufman sending videos mocking the Memphis fans. Kaufman was "injured" by Lawler during a match, and the two appeared for an interview on the *David Letterman Show* in July 1982, supposedly to offer apologies. Things got heated and Lawler slapped Kaufman hard across the face, knocking him down. Kaufman responded with an obscenity laced tirade and announced he was suing NBC. All of this was treated as front-page

news, and as real. It was, like other things in Andy's hoax history and professional wrestling, merely an elaborate ruse.

Kaufman played the bad guy in the feud with Lawler and delighted in people jeering him. He invented a heel entertainer character called Tony Clifton, the world's most obnoxious performer, who would taunt his audience. Kaufman claimed he was not Clifton, which was somewhat true as his writing partner Bob Zmuda often played Clifton. Kaufman went to great lengths to create the illusion that Clifton was real.

Kaufman's performance as Latka Gravas on the critically acclaimed television series *Taxi* (1978-1983) was his biggest mainstream success. Latka was based on one of Andy's most popular characters: "the foreign man," a twitchy immigrant who spoke in a combination of broken English and gibberish. Kaufman's best-known bit was the foreign man telling old jokes, doing horrible impressions, then launching into a brilliant impersonation of Elvis Presley.

While successful on TV and in concert, Kaufman only made a few movies. *Heartbeats* (1981) was a critical and commercial dud. Better received were his two wrestling movies: *I'm from Hollywood* (1992), which chronicles the feud with Lawler; and his send-up of the art house hit *My Dinner with Andre*, called *My Breakfast with Blassie* (1993), where Kaufman conversed with retired pro wrestler Fred Blassie at a coffee shop. Most of Kaufman's best moments were captured in NBC's *A Comedy Tribute to Andy Kaufman* (1995).

Another tribute to Kaufman was the 1992 hit song "Man on the Moon" by REM. The song talks about Kaufman "goofing on Elvis." *Man on the Moon* was also the title for a 1999 film about Kaufman's life starring Jim Carrey. As with Elvis, there is a persistent rumor that Kaufman is still alive. With his penchant for hoaxes, it was a rumor that spread widely, and faking his own death indeed was something Kaufman had considered. Kaufman was brilliant at defying reality as an entertainer and highlighting irony as a comedian. He was, according to Ron Rosenbaum, "going where few comedians had dared go before . . . he made comedy dangerous again."

—Patrick Jones

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Kaye, Danny (1913-1987)

Specializing in tongue-twisting patter songs, Danny Kaye was a consummate entertainer and comic. He is well remembered for a string of comedies for Samuel Goldwyn in the 1940s, as well as his persistent and honorable efforts for charities, especially UNICEF (United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund).

Born David Daniel Kaminsky in Brooklyn, New York, in 1913, he had a very mixed career in entertainment prior to his motion picture debut. He was a genuine vaudevillian; a dancer, a singer, and a comedian, though without much success at first in any of these careers. He first appeared in pictures in some two-reel comedies, such

as *Getting an Eyeful*, *Cupid Takes a Holiday* and *Dime a Dance*, that were moderately amusing but failed financially—these shorts were later compiled into the inaccurately titled film *The Danny Kaye Story*.

He managed, however, to make his Broadway debut in 1940, and his fortunes turned as he met and married his talented lyricist Sylvia Fine, who provided him with most of his best material. His number, "Tchaikowsky," from the musical *Lady in the Dark*, in which he named 54 Russian composers in 39 seconds, proved to be a memorable show-stopper.

Samuel Goldwyn caught the comic at a nightclub and resolved to make a star out of him. He tried to get Kaye to get his nose fixed (Kaye refused) and did persuade him to lighten his hair to brighten his features. Goldwyn placed Kaye under contract and featured him in a mediocre wartime musical, *Up in Arms* (1944). "The Lobby Number," a song about waiting in line at the movies and then waiting through an endless parade of meaningless credits, was one of the only bright spots of the production that featured Kaye.

Much better was *Wonder Man* (1945), with Kaye in a dual role as twin brothers, one of whom is murdered for fingering a mob boss. The ghost of the murdered brother inhabits the body of his milquetoast twin, who is forced to impersonate the brash entertainer. The film's highlight comes when, in trying to evade some killers and alert the police, Kaye assumes the identity of an opera singer and improvises his part.

But Kaye soon came to feel that he was being treated as a specialty act rather than as an actor. Goldwyn placed him in lackluster remakes such as *The Kid from Brooklyn* (a 1946 remake of Harold Lloyd's *The Milky Way*) and *A Song Is Born* (1948), a misfired adaptation of James Thurber's *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* with Kaye as the day-dreaming Mitty impersonating various occupations, and a well-intentioned but failed musical bio *Hans Christian Anderson* (1952). Kaye restricted himself to one film a year, devoting the rest of his time to performing on radio, on records ("Civilization" with the Andrews Sisters was a particular delight), and on the stage.

On the Riviera (1951) for Twentieth Century-Fox was yet another dual role film as well as a remake of both *Folies-Bergère* and *That Night in Rio*. For Warner Brothers, Kaye appeared in *The Inspector General* (1949), based on the Gogol story. He was determined to take over control and direction of his film career, forming with his wife Sylvia their own production company, Dena, named after their daughter. They hired the writing-directing-producing team of Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, who conjured up Kaye's two finest films and for the first time fashioned characters for him that audiences could really care about. The first was *Knock on Wood* (1954), with Kaye as a ventriloquist who finds himself caught up in international espionage and at the climax eludes his pursuers at a ballet.

Even better, however, was *The Court Jester* (1956), at \$4 million the most expensive screen comedy up to that time. Kaye plays a member of the underground protecting the rightful king of England, an infant who bears the birthmark of the purple pimpernel on his bottom. Kaye is forced to impersonate Giacomo, the King of Jesters and Jester of Kings, who it turns out is the usurper's (Basil Rathbone) secret assassin. Unforgettable are Sylvia Fine's version of "The Jester's Lament," the witch's warning ("The pellet with the poison's in the vessel with the pestle; the chalice from the palace is the brew that is true!"), and the send-up of swashbuckling scenes at the end.

In between, Kaye appeared in Paramount's *White Christmas* (1954) as Bing Crosby's buddy; together they seek to boost the

popularity of Dean Jagger's winter resort. Despite the film's mediocrity, it proved his biggest hit. Kaye received a special Oscar in 1954 "for his unique talents, his service to the Academy, the motion picture industry, and the American people."

Kaye tried another musical biography in Mel Shavelson's *The Five Pennies* (1959), where he played bandleader Red Nichols, but once Danny Kaye routines were written into the storyline, the film made it seem as if Nichols was impersonating Danny Kaye. The film's one true highlight was Kaye's dynamic duet with Louis Armstrong. Kaye returned to form in *On the Double* (1961), where he was once more in a dual role as an American GI asked to impersonate a British military martinet. At the climax, Kaye also impersonates Adolf Hitler and a Dietrich-like chanteuse named Fräulein Lily. But a try at slapstick comedy in Frank Tashlin's *The Man From the Diner's Club* (1963) failed to serve Kaye's talents well.

Television beckoned and Kaye dropped his film career to embark on his own television variety program, *The Danny Kaye Show*, which ran from 1963-1967. He returned to film once more to play the philosophical Raggpicker in *The Madwoman of Chaillet* (1969), but while his "trial" scene performance in which he "defends" the knaves of the world was outstanding, the rest of this adaptation of Jean Giradoux's play was decidedly lackluster. Despite his lack of formal training, Kaye had an interest in trying his hand at conducting and was given various gigs as a comic guest conductor at various city orchestras. He returned to Broadway to play Moses for the Richard Rodgers' musical *Two by Two* in 1970.

The last of Kaye's great work was done for television. He appeared in two television specials in 1976, as Geppetto in *Pinocchio* and as Captain Hook in *Peter Pan*, as a concentration camp survivor who protests street demonstrations by Neo-Nazis in *Skokie* (1981), and as a mysterious old man who possesses a watch holding Earth's last hour in Harlan Ellison's "Paladin of the Lost Hour" for the revived *Twilight Zone* series (1985).

Kaye leaves behind a legacy of entertaining performances on Decca Records, several show-stopping comedy routines and songs in various films (where he usually played shy but lovable schnooks who won the girl at the end), an increased awareness of the aims of UNICEF, and a pair of powerful dramatic performances on television.

—Dennis Fischer

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Keaton, Buster (1895-1966)

With the possible exception of Charlie Chaplin, Buster Keaton stands as the greatest comedian of the silent movie era. Keaton



Buster Keaton

appeared in well over 100 shorts and features during his fifty-year film career. At the height of his popularity, he played aloof, stone-faced characters (he only smiled once in a film), who fiercely battled both nature and out-of-control machinery to achieve modest goals (usually for the affections of a woman). Much of his best work was lost for decades, only to be rediscovered by an appreciative new generation of filmgoers in the 1950s.

Keaton began learning his craft at an early age. Born Joseph Francis Keaton in Piqua, Kansas, in 1895, Buster spent his youth traveling the vaudeville circuit with his parents, who staged a mildly popular comedy act. By age five, Buster, who received his nickname from a family friend after he tumbled down a flight of stairs without hurting himself, had become the star attraction of "The Three Keatons." His primary role in the show was to absorb his father's abuse—he kicked, punched, and threw Buster around the stage with little regard for his well-being. Buster's ability to take this abuse without showing pain or emotion brought roars of approval from packed houses and lifted the act to prominence.

Keaton's big break came in 1917 when he met comedic film star Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle, who was familiar with his vaudeville work. Arbuckle asked him to make a brief appearance in his current short, *The Butcher Boy*. Keaton accepted and never returned to the stage. The film was a hit, and Keaton joined Arbuckle's Comique Studio as an actor, director, and gag writer. He eagerly studied Arbuckle's filmmaking methods and made them his own. He adapted the emotionless demeanor he had affected for his stage act to the screen, and tried to strike a balance between Arbuckle's slapstick style and his own, more subtle brand of humor. The resulting mix

worked, and the two made a number of successful films between 1917 and 1920. When Arbuckle left Comique in 1920, Keaton was put in charge of the studio's comedy unit.

Making the most of his new-found authority, Keaton made a string of acclaimed two-reel comedies that contain some of the finest moments ever captured on film. Many of his gags had a surrealistic quality. In *The High Sign* (1920), for example, he sits down on a bench and unfolds a newspaper which, when fully exposed, completely engulfs him. He wanders, lost, through a maze of want ads before escaping through a hole in the paper. His best work also took advantage of audiences' love and fear of the modern, mechanized world. Sometimes, as in *The Electric House* (1922), machines go too far. Keaton's elaborately wired house goes haywire, causing his washing machine to throw dishes and his escalator to move so quickly that it hurls people out of a window. At other times, man is clearly the master of machine. In *The Blacksmith* (1922), Keaton (without realizing it) manages to turn a white Rolls-Royce black, one handprint or blowtorch mark at a time. The infernal and filthy machine meets its final demise when Buster shatters its windows with a sledgehammer, then crashes an engine into it. Sometimes the laugh was at man's expense, sometimes at the machine's, but the two were always inextricably linked, both in audiences' world and Keaton's.

Keaton's sense of absurd surrealism and his use of machines as comedic vehicles carried over into his full-length comedies. In 1923, he directed his first feature film, *The Three Ages*, a satire of D.W. Griffith's *Intolerance*. Although it was an admirable debut, he did not really hit his stride until *Sherlock Jr.* (1924), in which he plays a projectionist who, while dreaming, becomes a character in the movie he is showing, a concept that Woody Allen would later use in *The Purple Rose of Cairo*. Keaton cranked out four more films in the next two years, including his hilarious *The Navigator* (1924), before producing his magnum opus, *The General* (1926). In this, his favorite film, he plays a young, Southern train engineer eager to enlist in the Confederate Army. The Army rejects him, claiming that he is more valuable as an engineer than a soldier. Adding insult to injury, the Yankees steal his beloved locomotive and spirit it across their lines, with Keaton furiously chasing in another engine. He eventually steals back his train, and the film climaxes with a spectacular crash as a bridge collapses under the pursuing bluecoats' train. Besides containing some priceless comedy, *The General* has an epic sweep that was matched by few films in the silent era.

Keaton's work during the 1920s should have been enough to ensure his place among the immortals of film. And yet, he was in very real danger of being forgotten. Even at the peak of his popularity, he was unfavorably compared to rival comic Charlie Chaplin (who he privately loathed). Critics labeled Chaplin an "intellectual" comedian, while Keaton was merely an average funnyman who knew how to take a fall.

His sound-era films did little to enhance his reputation. In 1928, Keaton gave up his independence and signed with MGM. He made the leap to talking films but found himself being typecast as an incompetent bumbler. Worse, he had to play second banana to the scene-stealing comic Jimmy Durante. The two combined on several dreary films in the 1930s that effectively ended Keaton's career. He continued to make mostly forgettable films into the 1960s, highlighted by memorable appearances in *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World* (1963) and *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), and also starred in two short-lived television shows. His silent movies sat in film cans, unwatched and disintegrating. The release of *The Buster Keaton Story* (1957), a mostly fictionalized account of his

life, renewed interest in his films, which were restored and finally acknowledged as classics. He received a special Academy Award in 1959 for his "unique talents." His body torn by a lifetime of smoking and periodic bouts of alcoholism, Buster Keaton died of cancer in 1966.

—David B. Welky

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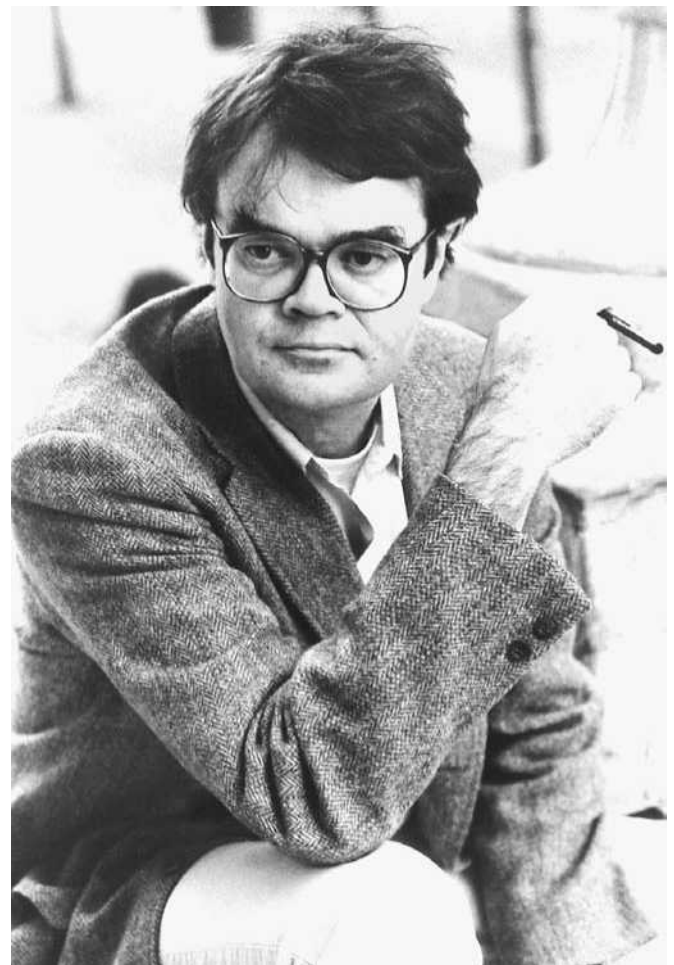
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Keillor, Garrison (1942—)

The humorist Garrison Keillor is best known as the host of *A Prairie Home Companion* (1974-1987; 1993—) and the *American Radio Company* (1989-1993), both of which have been carried nationally on public radio to up to five million weekly listeners. He has also published stories for the *New Yorker* and novels about radio



Garrison Keillor

and small town life in the Midwest. Keillor is the consummate storyteller, whose creation of the small town of Lake Wobegon, Minnesota, where “all the women are strong, all the men are good-looking, and all the children are above average,” has won him a large following of listeners and readers drawn to the nostalgic, down-home sentiment of his monologues and stories.

Born Gary Edward Keillor in Anoka, Minnesota, he grew up in rural Brooklyn Park, where he was a devoted listener of popular radio shows like *Fibber McGee and Molly* and *Gangbusters*. Because his fundamentalist parents banned television until Keillor was in high school, he tended to see television as sinful and radio as a magical doorway to another world far away from his hometown. In 1991, Keillor published *WLT: A Radio Romance*, a novel that recreates the golden days of radio and suggests the nostalgia Keillor feels for the medium. As he told Reed Bunzel, “There’s no romance in television; it’s just the Wal-Mart of the mind. Radio is infinitely sexier.”

Keillor began in radio in 1963 at KUOM at the University of Minnesota, where he was an English major. Simultaneously, he was also honing his writing skills, wanting to follow in the footsteps of the legendary Mark Twain and his favorite writers at the *New Yorker*, E. B. White and James Thurber. He published his first story in the magazine in 1970. Ever since, he has had a dual career as a radio personality and a writer.

In the 1970s, Keillor created a popular morning show on St. Paul’s public radio station which would eventually be called *A Prairie Home Companion*. The show combined many styles of music, humorous spots for made-up commercial sponsors—like Powdermilk Biscuits (which “help shy persons get up and do what needs to be done”) and Jack’s Auto Repair—and tall tales that bordered on burlesques of small town life. Over the years, Keillor would develop his style of storytelling to more closely resemble local-color realism told from the visitor’s point of view. Opposed to the ironic distance maintained by contemporary stand-up comics, Keillor wanted the freedom to poke fun at the provincialism and Lutheran view of life that pervaded small towns in Minnesota, while also creating sympathy for his characters (many of them based on people he knew). The result—his nearly 30-minute-long monologues on the news from Lake Wobegon—has become the most admired aspect of his radio shows.

With the publication of his most popular novel, *Lake Wobegon Days* (1985), Keillor solidified the identity of the small Minnesotan town in the nation’s imagination and established his own persona as the hometown boy who could never go home again. Two years later, he published *Leaving Home: A Collection of Lake Wobegon Stories*, and left St. Paul, where he had been producing *A Prairie Home Companion*, to move to Denmark with his new wife and devote himself to his writing. Within a few months he returned to settle in New York, where he fulfilled his long-time dream of being on staff at the *New Yorker*. But in 1989, Keillor returned to radio with his *American Radio Company*, which like *A Prairie Home Companion*, was a throwback. It drew many well known musical acts and tried to shed the small town image of its predecessor, becoming more of a glitzy big city program. Keillor’s new persona was that of a Midwestern boy who was wide-eyed and lost amidst the wonders of New York, which had beckoned to him through his radio as a child. Within a few years, though, Keillor’s radio company was forced to leave New York because of the exorbitant expense of producing its shows there.

In 1993, Keillor made the difficult return to Minnesota, where he resumed broadcast of *A Prairie Home Companion*, which combines many of the elements of his original show with those of his New York show. It continues to be a mainstay of public radio programming

nationwide. Keillor and company take the show on the road and broadcast a portion of the season from New York, drawing large audiences wherever they go. The show still features its trademark news from Lake Wobegon and commercial sponsors, which include Bertha’s Kitty Boutique and Bebop-a-rebop Rhubarb Pie (“Nothing takes the taste of humiliation out of your mouth like a piece of rhubarb pie”), as well as recurring spots like Guy Noir, reminiscent of old detective shows.

Keillor’s career continues on its dual path. He published the novel *Lake Wobegon Boy* in 1997 to much acclaim and is writing a film script. Although National Public Radio had refused to distribute Keillor’s radio program in the 1980s because it believed the show would have only regional appeal (causing Minnesota Public Radio to form its own distribution network), Keillor has proven that Americans from New York to California cannot get enough of the sentimental nostalgia and good-natured humor that pervade Keillor’s stories about Lake Wobegon.

—Anne Boyd

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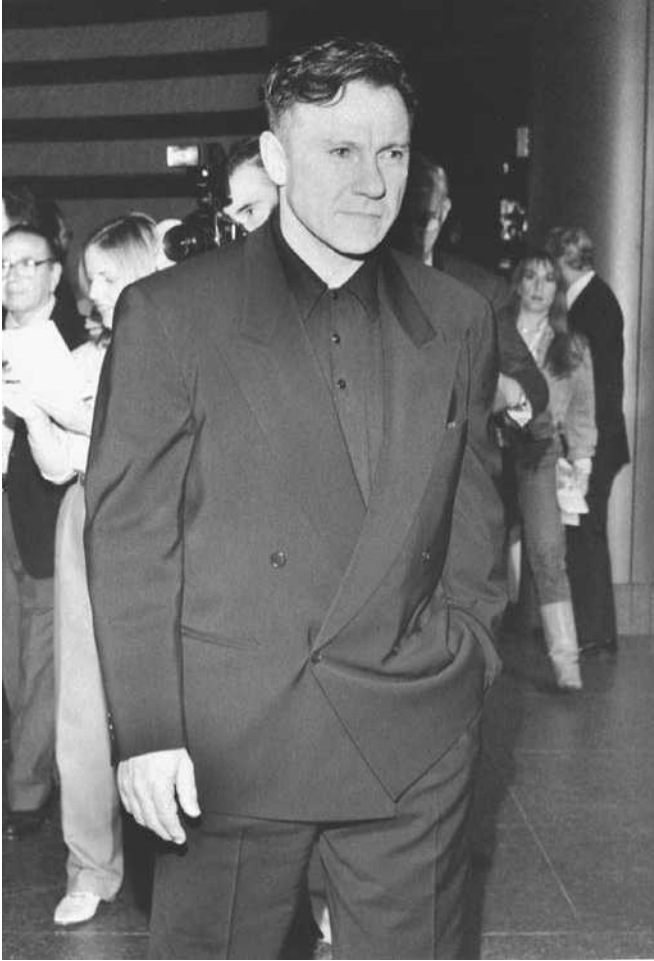
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Keitel, Harvey (1939—)

The long, prolific career of New Yorker Harvey Keitel comprises close to 80 films. They can be roughly divided into three main periods: 1973-1980, the years marked by his collaborations with Martin Scorsese; 1980-1992, a decade that Keitel spent waiting for his breakthrough while he made a long list of films in the United States and Europe; and the period after 1992, when he became a popular actor thanks to Quentin Tarantino’s *Reservoir Dogs*. Two biographical books about Keitel included the word “darkness” in their subtitles. Indeed, many in the audience appreciated, above all, Keitel’s ability to act out through his roles deep emotional conflicts that seemingly have to do as much with his characters’ as with the actor’s allegedly dark personality. Whether this darkness is part of Keitel’s public or private persona, the fact is that it has been an essential factor to his status as star.

No doubt, Keitel should be seen as a cult star rather than as simply a star, because in his work he has been constantly associated with cult directors working within independent cinema. The first to give him a chance as an actor was Martin Scorsese, who counted on Keitel’s talent for roles in *Mean Streets* (1973), *Alice Doesn’t Live Here Anymore* (1974), and *Taxi Driver* (1976). The association with Scorsese was later renewed when Keitel played Judas in the controversial *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988). This film marked the beginning of the end of a long period in which Keitel kept away from Hollywood, apparently embittered by his failure to land the role of Captain Willard in Francis Ford Coppola’s *Apocalypse Now!* (1979). It is important to note that during those years of semi-exile, Keitel played roles in European films of diverse nationalities, some of them



Harvey Keitel

better known—*Death in Full View* (Germany, 1980) or *La Nuit de Varennes* (Italy, 1982)—and others better forgotten. Keitel, however, maintained the links with European filmmaking even into the 1990s, when he became regarded as a well established star in Hollywood. He played, thus, the main role in the noted Greek film *Ulysses' Gaze* (1995), a film very far from the usual Hollywood fare.

At home, Keitel's association with independent cinema finally led to stardom thanks to his roles in Quentin Tarantino's cult hits *Reservoir Dogs* (1992) and *Pulp Fiction* (1994). Tarantino also benefitted greatly from this association, for Keitel was actively involved in the production of both films. The early 1990s brought Keitel other leading roles, first as the corrupt lieutenant of Abel Ferrara's violent, mystic *Bad Lieutenant* (1992) and then as the unlikely hero of Jane Campion's rereading of Victorian melodrama in *The Piano* (1993), possibly the first film in which Keitel was cast against type in a romantic leading role. Keitel's definitive entrance into mainstream Hollywood brought him roles in Ridley Scott's *Thelma and Louise* (1991) (Keitel had previously played one of the two duelists in Scott's 1977 TV film of Joseph Conrad's story "The Duelists") and the adaptation of Michael Crichton's novel *Rising Sun* (1993). The third name closely associated to Keitel's is that of writer Paul Auster. Keitel played Auggie Wren in *Smoke* and *Blue in the Face* (both 1995), films scripted by Auster, and starred in Auster's

debut film as director, *Lulu on the Bridge* (1998). Keitel's successful career developed, thus, in three fronts simultaneously: Hollywood mainstream cinema, American independent films, and European cinema.

Keitel is not easy to class in the Hollywood categories of leading or supporting actor. His many leading roles in independent films did not receive as much publicity as they deserved. As far as Hollywood is concerned, Keitel is one of the star supporting actors, but not a figure at the same level as his friend Robert de Niro, or Al Pacino. Keitel has taken, however, greater risks than may big stars would have assumed when playing, for instance, the tormented policeman of *Bad Lieutenant* or Champion's romantic hero in *The Piano*. Not only because of the physical nudity he indulged in in both, but mainly because of the force of the emotional nakedness he is capable of. It might well be that independent cinema affords versatile actors like Keitel more ground to test their acting instincts than Hollywood mainstream cinema, hence Keitel's fidelity to men such as Scorsese, Tarantino, or Auster. And theirs to him.

—Sara Martin

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Kelley, David E. (1956—)

With the success of the quirky hit *Ally McBeal* in the mid- to late 1990s, David E. Kelley established himself as the decade's pre-eminent producer-writer of popular television series. Hired by Steven Bochco to write for *L. A. Law* in 1986, Kelley demonstrated his aptitude early on for revealing the conflict between interior concerns and external realities, a gift that he can apply to drama and comedy with equal facility. At his best, Kelley creates programming that eschews formulaic plots and neat, tidy endings in favor of three-dimensional characters facing credible ethical dilemmas; these dilemmas, as notably in *Ally McBeal*, are often underscored by unsettling, self-reflexive fantasy commentaries that openly air difficult issues. He refined his techniques with some slightly surreal plots on *Picket Fences* (1992) and *Chicago Hope* (1994) before launching *Ally McBeal* and *The Practice* in 1998. Kelley, rare for a producer, writes much of every episode of his own productions. His judgment, acumen, and direct involvement has made him something of a television "auteur," and in 1999, he accomplished the unprecedented feat of a Golden Globe double, winning the Hollywood Foreign Press

awards for both for the best comedy (*Ally McBeal*) and best drama series (*The Practice*). Kelley is married to actress Michelle Pfeiffer.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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Kelly Bag

The Kelly bag became an American fashion institution in 1956. In September 1956, five months after she married Prince Rainier of Monaco, the former film star Grace Kelly returned to the United States for a two-month visit, clad in fashionable maternity wear and sporting a square, black bag that she had purchased for the journey. The princess was widely photographed carrying the large leather bag in front of her expanding waistline, and a fashion trend was born. Known from then on as the Kelly bag, it was in fact manufactured by Hermès, the chic and expensive Paris design house who had been making the pocketbooks—each of which was fashioned by hand—since 1935. The bags were scaled-down models of the Hermès saddlebags that were made to hold the bridles and riding tack of the European rich. For many American women, the bag symbolized the elegance and style for which Grace Kelly was known both on screen and off, but it has remained in favor with succeeding generations to become the most popular Hermès handbag ever.

—Jennifer Davis McDaid

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Kelly, Gene (1912-1996)

A dancer and choreographer of enormous grace and indefatigable vitality, Gene Kelly created a new synthesis of music and dance in American movies. In 1942 he made his first film with Judy Garland. In the next decade he made an unprecedented series of lively movie musicals, including *On the Town* (1949), *Summer Stock* (1950), and *An American in Paris* (1951), culminating with *Singin' in the Rain* (1952) which Kelly starred in, choreographed, and co-directed with Stanley Donen. Kelly's unique achievement was to expand the range of dancing in the movies. For Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers dancing took place in a refined social world; for Kelly dancing was part of everyday life and the real world. In place of the ballrooms of Astaire and Rogers, Kelly danced on car roofs, tables, and sofas, in streets



Gene Kelly in a scene from the film *Singin' in the Rain*.

deluged with rain, thus extending dance to a mundane world that would seem to ordinarily exclude it.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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Singin' in the Rain, (film), directed by Gene Kelly and Stanley Donen. 1952.

Kelly Girls

Since the 1960s Kelly Girls has been synonymous with female temporary office workers. Originally a groundbreaking temporary employment service, the name has expanded to a generic, describing all temporary workers, including those who are neither female nor employees of Kelly Services. Kelly Girls describes not only a company and a type of work, but a cultural and economic phenomenon, the shift from the permanent career employee to the flexible "temp." Even *Forbes Magazine* headlined its July 16, 1986, article about the practice of hiring nuclear scientists and technicians on a temporary basis, "Sophisticated Kelly Girls."

In 1946, William Russell Kelly opened Russell Kelly Office Services in Detroit to provide inventory, calculating, typing, and

copying services to local businesses. When his clients began to ask if Kelly's employees could come to their places of business to work, Kelly was happy to oblige. He began to offer workers who could fill in when needed in a variety of situations due to employee illness or vacations, busy seasons, or special projects. His hiring base was largely female, many of them housewives and students.

Kelly had tapped into a genuine employer need, and his business grew. In 1954, he opened his second office in Louisville, Kentucky. In 1956 Russell Kelly Office Services was changed to Kelly Girls, and by 1964 there were 169 offices in 44 states. The Kelly Girl became the perfect pre-feminist icon of the working woman—brisk, efficient, and unthreatening. After all, she was not a woman but a girl, and only temporary, just filling in.

In 1966, Kelly Girls became Kelly Services, and the company continued to expand the field of temporary employment. Living up to its motto "Tested, Bonded, Insured and Guaranteed," Kelly created specialized computer software for training workers with amazing rapidity to use a wide variety of word processing equipment. With many awards for business achievement and sales of over three billion dollars in 1996, Kelly Services is one of the leaders in the industry, along with employment giant Manpower, Inc., the Olsten Group, and newcomers like MacTemps.

The profit-driven economy of the 1990s dramatically increased the role of the temp worker. When Kelly Girls first began, there were three classifications of workers: clerk, typist, and secretary. By the 1990s Kelly Services had over 120 classifications. Besides the "pink collar" jobs, such as secretary and teacher, and the industrial jobs, temps are hired in management, technical, professional, and even executive positions.

While temporary work is touted as advantageous to a diverse group of workers because of flexibility and variety, in fact the majority of temp workers are minority young women who are hired for clerical or industrial jobs. While some are attracted to the flexible hours and training, almost two thirds would prefer permanent employment if it were available to them.

Corporations are drawn to the use of temps for a variety of reasons. It is a simple way to replace permanent workers who are off the job temporarily or to add extra hands during peak production periods. Sometimes a worker's skills, like computer programming or consulting, are only needed on a short-term basis. By going through a temp agency, an employer can avoid the interviewing and hiring process, and, often, also avoid paying benefits. Some employers, capitalizing on this advantage, have created a new category of worker, the "permatemp," hired on as a temporary worker, but kept on the job for months or even years without the benefits afforded to permanent employees.

In response to this, some employee advocates are attempting to organize temporary workers to fight against violations of their rights. One such group in Greenville, South Carolina, the Carolina Alliance for Fair Employment, has been working since 1984 to force employers to comply with state and federal employment laws.

The nebulous status of the temporary worker is chillingly dramatized in Jill and Karen Sprecher's 1998 movie *Clockwatchers*, about four female temp workers. Within a claustrophobic office atmosphere, the temporary workers are portrayed as invisible and powerless. The bosses do not even bother to learn their names or distinguish their faces, and their small acts of rebellion are mostly futile.

Temporary employment has undeniable advantages for both the employee, who may be able to learn a wide variety of skills on an individualized schedule, and the employer, who can inexpensively fill

in employees as needed. It can be problematic, however, working in an atmosphere where neither employee nor employer feels responsibility toward the other. The Kelly Girl, trim and brisk in her suit and carrying her steno pad may be out of date, but she initiated the era of the temporary worker. It remains to be seen whether the temporary worker will become the disposable worker.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Kelly, Grace (1928-1982)

Her icy beauty and regal poise made Grace Kelly one of the most popular movie stars of the 1950s. But when she married into one of



Grace Kelly

Europe's oldest royal families, becoming Her Serene Highness Princess Grace of Monaco, she became the star of a real-life fairytale romance that captured the global imagination.

Born into a wealthy Philadelphia family, Grace Kelly was raised in a household that valued achievement. Her father, Jack, had been a champion Olympic rower who became a successful businessman, so Grace and her siblings were encouraged to excel in both athletics and academics. Well-educated at parochial and private schools, Grace made her debut in Philadelphia society at sixteen, but after graduating from high school in 1947, the young blond beauty left Philadelphia for New York City, where she attended the American Academy of Dramatic Arts. After finding work as a model and in small roles on television, Kelly made her Broadway debut in 1949. With her strikingly perfect features and exquisite blond beauty, it was not long before she was brought out to Hollywood, where she made her first film appearance in 1951.

A year later, Grace Kelly starred as Gary Cooper's wife in *High Noon*, and overnight she became one of Hollywood's most sought-after leading ladies—the quintessential cool blonde. Signed by MGM in 1953, Kelly starred opposite Clark Gable in *Mogambo*, for which she garnered her first Oscar nomination. A year later, she would win the Academy Award for Best Actress for her performance in *The Country Girl*.

Kelly's next three films, all directed by Alfred Hitchcock, would become instant classics. As noted in Baseline's *Encyclopedia of Film*, Hitchcock "made brilliant use of her signature combination of cool, elegant charm and smoldering sensuality in *Dial M for Murder*, *Rear Window* and *To Catch a Thief*."

By the mid-1950s, Kelly was Hollywood's most popular movie star—an aristocratic beauty whose poise was no on-screen act. Her charm captivated one of the world's most eligible bachelors. While attending the Cannes Film Festival in 1955, Kelly had been introduced to Prince Rainier, the monarch of the tiny Mediterranean principality of Monaco. Afterward, Kelly returned to the States to film *High Society* with Bing Crosby and Frank Sinatra, but it would be her last film. In April 1957, Grace Kelly wed Prince Rainier in a ceremony which her biographer, Robert Lacey, wrote, was "the first modern event to generate media overkill." Guests included Ava Gardner and Aristotle Onassis.

Following her marriage, Kelly retired from acting. However, because she was under contract to MGM, the wedding was filmed as a movie and shown in the United States, which only increased her fame at home and around the world. Although her film career had lasted only six years, images of Princess Grace entertaining Hollywood celebrities at Monaco charity events and appearing around the world with other European royalty continued to command an audience in the United States, and she remained one of America's most popular public figures.

After the birth of three children—Princess Caroline, Prince Albert, and Princess Stephanie—rumors circulated that Grace was unhappy and lonely in her marriage. She had hoped to return to acting in 1964, when Hitchcock offered her the lead in *Marnie*, but negative public opinion in Monaco had forced Prince Rainier to decline on her behalf. Even as she grew older and gained weight, the fairy-tale appeal of Grace's marriage continued to intrigue and delight American audiences, who followed her life and that of her children. And when those children, particularly her daughters, turned out to lead wild and sometimes problematic lives, Americans ate up the European soap opera with glee. And so the United States joined Monaco in

mourning upon Princess Grace's death in a car accident on the windy roads above Monaco.

Because she stopped acting in her twenties, Grace Kelly remains locked in the public imagination at the height of her beauty. Although her status as a cultural icon is certainly enhanced by her marriage into royalty, her image as one of the most beautiful women ever to grace the silver screen can never be tarnished, even by rumors of her unhappiness or the knowledge that she did not remain the unsullied beauty she once was. Grace Kelly—beauty incarnate and an American Princess—still remains one of America's most intriguing stars.

—Victoria Price

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Kelly, Walt

See Pogo

Kennedy Assassination

The images are remarkably familiar. The convertible limousine winds its way through Dallas crowds; John F. Kennedy, America's youngest president, smiles and waves in the backseat; gunfire, three jerks, the limousine slows and then accelerates; Jackie Kennedy shrieks and covers her husband; an emotional Walter Cronkite tells the nation that its president has died, removes his glasses, and wipes his eyes.

On November 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was shot as he paraded through Dallas, Texas. That same afternoon, Dallas police arrested their suspect, Lee Harvey Oswald, an itinerant, self-described "Marxist-Leninist" who had lived in the Soviet Union. Within days, Oswald was also dead, shot by club-owner Jack Ruby on national television in the basement of a Dallas police station.

Kennedy's election to office marked, for some commentators, a new age in American political culture. "History with a capital H had come down to earth, either interfering with life or making it possible; and that within History, or threaded through it, people were living with a supercharged density: lives were bound up within one another, making claims on one another, drawing one another into the common project," Todd Gitlin explained, capturing the sense of immediacy that televised politics had brought to the American social sphere in the early 1960s. Americans knew Kennedy as "the television president," and their relationship with the man and his politics was infused with this sense of immediacy.

It should come as no surprise, then, that Kennedy's violent and sudden death moved the American public so dramatically. Kennedy's funeral rites were a profoundly public affair, broadcast on each of the nation's television networks, and witnessed in 93 percent of the



John F. Kennedy's assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.

country's television-viewing households. "America wept," *New York Times* columnist James Reston wrote, "not alone for its dead young President, but for itself. The grief was general, for somehow the worst in the nation had prevailed over the best."

What is surprising, however, is the range of responses the Kennedy assassination has elicited in the decades following. The official body convened to investigate the assassination, the Warren Commission, issued a report confirming that Lee Harvey Oswald was indeed the murderer and asserting that Oswald had acted alone. Almost immediately, critics began to contend that the scenario reconstructed in the Warren Report seemed unlikely at best, dismissing in particular the infamous "single bullet theory," which proposes that one bullet was responsible for multiple injuries to Texas governor John Connally, who was riding in the front seat of the car, and to the president. For many, Kennedy's death revealed a dark, conspiratorial underside to American politics. It was a loss of American innocence and a prototype for the turbulent decade that lied ahead. From them have come hundreds of conspiracy theories that attempt to account for Kennedy's killing.

Initially, these theories came largely from Europe. Soon, however, conspiracy theorizing on the Kennedy assassination became a

cottage industry in America, with leftists charging that a pact involving American security forces, the Mafia, and even Kennedy's vice president, Lyndon Baines Johnson, killed the president, and rightists uncovering plots that involved the Soviet Union, the Civil Rights movement, and American Communists.

By no means the first, one of the most prominent of the Kennedy conspiracy theorists was New Orleans district attorney, Jim Garrison. Garrison charged New Orleans businessman Clay Shaw with conspiracy to kill the president and, in 1967, Garrison brought him to trial. Shaw was acquitted, but in 1991, filmmaker Oliver Stone gave Garrison's theory a second hearing before the American movie-going public. Stone's *JFK* is a fast-paced, paranoid film that mixes Abraham Zapruder's 8 millimeter amateur film of the Dallas shooting and other pieces of historical footage with staged material and describes the assassination plot as "a riddle wrapped in an enigma inside a riddle." It brought crankish conspiracy theorizing into the American spotlight, rekindled the debate over Kennedy's death (and generated a new debate of its own about the popular media's cultural authority and responsibility), and was a booming commercial success. Fifty million people saw *JFK* in movie theaters, and the film brought Stone two Academy Awards.

The spread of conspiracy theorizing about the Kennedy assassination may be due, in part, to what Richard Hofstadter has called "the paranoid style in American politics." Largely, however, it seems to stem from a more innocent source. Television beamed the drama of the Kennedy assassination and its aftermath directly into the homes of millions of Americans. It made the Kennedy funeral the most widely watched television event in American history. Every American who was alive at the time, it seems, knows where they were when Kennedy was shot. And that is because, in a sense, every American was there, in Dallas, with the President as he died.

—Thurston Domina

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Kent State Massacre

For 13 seconds on May 4, 1970, Ohio National Guardsmen opened fire on students protesting the Vietnam War at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, killing four and wounding nine others.



A protestor holds a sign at the Kent State demonstration after the Massacre.

What had merely been a small campus demonstration—one of thousands nationwide, quickly developed into a symbol of the Vietnam era in America. A Pulitzer Prize winning photograph taken at the shooting of an anguished young woman kneeling over the body of a dead student with her arms raised in despair became a significant illustration of the end of the Woodstock era. Any romantic notions of the 1960s ended with the Kent State massacre.

On April 30, 1970, President Richard M. Nixon appeared on national television to announce that U.S. troops were invading Cambodia to strike suspected guerrilla strongholds. The new policy contradicted his previous plan, which pledged that a “Vietnamization” of the war would gradually reduce America’s involvement in the conflict. Reaction to the escalation of the war effort was immediate and intense, especially on the nation’s college campuses, where over 1.5 million students protested the announcement. Nixon fueled the outrage by labeling the student protesters “bums” who were “blowing up the campuses.”

On May 1, a late night disturbance in downtown Kent fueled by a warm spring evening, students leaving local bars, and a motorcycle gang led Mayor Leroy Satrom to declare the city under a state of emergency. Although the city suffered only minor damages, the next day the mayor requested the presence of the Ohio National Guard to quell the unruliness. Even with the soldiers on campus, student

protesters held a rally the next day and the university ROTC building was burned down. The destruction of the ROTC building was a major event leading to the violence at Kent State, but the mystery over who set the fire has not been solved. Initially, it was assumed that the fire was started by radical students, but others speculated that it may have been set by government agents to provide a reason for government intervention.

Ohio Governor James Rhodes arrived in Kent on May 3 and condemned the student radicals, comparing them to Nazi brownshirts and communists. That evening, protesters gathered on campus but were forced to leave with the assistance of teargas. A sit-in held on Main Street was also dispersed by the troops.

A rally was scheduled for May 4 and drew approximately 2,000 students, many of whom were curious onlookers and shuffling between classes. National Guard officers ordered the protesters to leave and shot tear gas into the crowd when the command was not followed. Over 100 fully armed guardsmen then moved against the students. The troops advanced toward the students, over a hill, and then down to a practice football field. When they reached a fence at the far end of the field, some of the soldiers knelt and aimed their weapons at the demonstrators. While the troops massed together, students retreated into a parking lot between several buildings. Others lobbed rocks and tear gas canisters back at the guardsmen.

After ten minutes, the troops moved back up the hill. When they reached the crest, a group of 28 guardsmen wheeled around and fired in the direction of the parking lot. They fired 61 rounds of ammunition. Of the 13 people killed or injured, only two were actively participating in the demonstration. One student was killed while walking to class and another, ironically, was an ROTC student. Many of the injured students were more than 100 yards from the guardsmen.

Kent State was shut down after the shootings and remained closed for the rest of the school year. As news about Kent State spread, campus unrest escalated. Nearly 500 colleges were closed or disrupted. Ten days later, another campus shooting occurred at Jackson State University in Mississippi when police and state patrolmen fired into a dormitory at the all-black school, killing two students and wounding nine others. The lack of attention given to the massacre at Jackson State embittered many African Americans.

The Kent State Massacre bookends a generation that began with the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963 and included the murders of his brother Robert F. Kennedy and civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968. Kent State was transformed from a sleepy midwestern college into the symbolic epicenter of student protest in the Vietnam era.

Kent State remains a symbol of antiwar protest and government repression. The incident has been immortalized in countless books and even a television movie, but nothing was more stinging than the Crosby, Stills, Nash, and Young song "Ohio" with its haunting lyrics, "Tin soldiers and Nixon's coming—Four dead in Ohio!"

—Bob Batchelor

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Kentucky Derby

The oldest continuously run sporting event in the United States, the Kentucky Derby is America's most famous horse race, rich in tradition and celebrated by racing fans throughout the world. In May, 1875, Colonel Meriwether Lewis Clark, taking his lead from the English Derby at Epsom Downs, established the race for three-year-old thoroughbreds over a one-and-a-half-mile course (later reduced to a mile and a quarter). Attracting an annual crowd of more than 100,000 spectators, the Kentucky Derby has been called the "greatest two minutes in sports." It is also the first leg of racing's most sought-after goal, the Triple Crown, awarded to those rare horses who win at the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness, and at Belmont.



The Kentucky Derby race in progress, Churchill Downs, Louisville, Kentucky.

Although the idea for building a race track and attracting the best horses to a rich, classic race originated with Colonel Clark, a visionary promoter in his mid-twenties, the business and promotional talents that elevated the Derby to a race of international importance came from a Louisville tailor named Matt Winn, who began managing the failing track in 1902. As a boy, standing on his father's flat-bed truck, Matt had seen Aristides win the first Derby at the Churchill Downs race track in Louisville, Kentucky, and attended every single Derby after that—75 in all—before his death in 1949. The event received a boost in prestige in 1915 when Harry Payne Whitney agreed to run his filly Regret. She led from the start, becoming the only female thoroughbred to win the Derby until the 1980s, when Genuine Risk and Winning Colors duplicated the feat. After the race, Whitney remarked that he did not care whether or not Regret ever raced again. "She has won the greatest race in America," he said, "and I am satisfied." From then on, Winn was determined to keep the Kentucky Derby at that high level.

Racing historian Joe Estes has divided the Kentucky Derby story into three periods: 1875 to 1898, 1899-1914, and 1915 onwards, with the first period highlighted by the appearance at Churchill Downs of the finest American thoroughbreds, both from Kentucky and the great stables of the northeast. Though the purses were not large, owners were motivated to improve the breed of racehorses by competing with

the best. One of the racing stars of this early period was Isaac Murphy, an African-American jockey who rode Buchanan to victory in 1884, Riley in 1890, and Kingman in 1891. His record of three Kentucky Derby wins was not equaled until 1930, when Earl Sande won on Gallant Fox, and it was not surpassed until 1948, when Eddie Arcaro won the fourth of his five Derbies on Citation. Murphy has been credited with the highest winning percentage of any jockey, 44 per cent. The significance of this phenomenal record is evident when compared with that of Eddie Arcaro, the greatest of modern era jockeys, whose lifetime winning average in a more competitive era was 22 per cent. Among the memorable horses of the first years were Hindoo, who had a string of 18 consecutive race victories that included the 1881 Derby; Ben Brush, who won the first mile-and-a-quarter Derby in 1896; and Plaudit, the winner in 1898.

From 1899 to 1914, the great stables in the northeast began shipping their horses to the American Derby at Washington Park in Chicago, and the Kentucky Derby became more of a local race. When a horse named Donerail won in 1913 and paid \$184.90—the longest odds of any Derby winner in history—the classic race received some beneficial publicity, but it was not until 1915 that the modern era began, signaling the return of America's greatest racehorses to the "run for the roses." Racing fans remember such brilliant thoroughbreds as Exterminator, Sir Barton, Zev, Black Gold, Bubbling Over, Gallant Fox, Twenty Grand, Cavalcade, Omaha, War Admiral, Whirlaway, Count Fleet, Assault, Citation, Swaps, Carry Back, Northern Dancer, Majestic Prince, Riva Ridge, Secretariat, and Seattle Slew.

The most famous of American racehorses, Man o' War, overwhelmingly voted the greatest horse of the first half of the twentieth century, did not run in the Kentucky Derby but did win the other two Triple Crown races. He only raced for two seasons (1919-29), but he won 20 of 21 races and established speed records at five tracks over various distances. He was such a compelling favorite that he raced at odds as short as 1-100. Retired to stud in late 1920, Man o' War sired 64 horses who ran in stakes races, one of his sons being War Admiral, winner of the 1937 Triple Crown. Gallant Fox, who won the Triple Crown in 1930, raced for two seasons, winning 11 of 17 starts. His winnings of \$308,275 in 1930 held the single season record for 17 years until purses escalated after World War II. He sired Omaha, the Triple Crown winner in 1935, and numerous other successful horses. Gallant Fox and Omaha remain the only father-son combination to win the Triple Crown.

Whirlaway, a nervous and erratic animal with an unusually long tail, won the Triple Crown in 1941, and his record-breaking run in the Derby, ridden by Arcaro, stood for the next 24 years. Noted for spectacular stretch runs, he would either win gloriously or lose badly, compiling a record of 32 wins in 60 races, but he was the first horse to earn more than half a million dollars; Citation, the 1948 Triple Crown winner, was the first horse to win a full million. Native Dancer, the first outstanding horse whose major victories were seen on national television, finished second to Dark Star in the 1953 Kentucky Derby, marking his only defeat in a career of 22 races. At his death his offspring had won more than \$4 million in purses. The first televised Derby was won in 1952 by Hill Gail.

In 1973 Secretariat became the first Triple Crown winner since Citation in 1948. An unusually large chestnut, 16 hands in height, he combined size with amazing speed. He was the first horse to run the Derby in less than two minutes, also setting a record for the final half-mile and quarter-mile. At Belmont he won by 31 lengths while establishing the track record of 2:24. In 1977, a "Cinderella" horse,

Seattle Slew, became the first horse who, unbeaten in his racing career, also won the Triple Crown. Slew had been bought as a colt by Mickey and Karen Taylor and Jim and Sally Hill for the bargain-basement price of \$17,500 in 1975. They sold him to a syndicate for the then-record sum of \$12,000,000 in 1978, the year that Affirmed became the third Triple Crown winner of the 1970s, an amazing decade for racing.

Jockeys have played a prominent role in the history of the Kentucky Derby. Eddie Arcaro and Bill Hartack each won the classic race five times, and Willie Shoemaker rode into the winner's circle four times. During a remarkable seven years from 1958 through 1964 Shoemaker was America's leading moneymaking jockey. Angel Cordero joined the legendary Isaac Murphy and Earle Sande as a three-time winner in 1985. In 1970 Diane Crump made history as the first female jockey to ride in the Kentucky Derby. Raleigh Colston became the only person to own, train, and ride a Derby runner; he rode Searcher in the first Derby and owned and trained Colston, the third-place finisher in the 1911 race.

125 years later (its 125th anniversary is to be celebrated on the first Saturday in May, 2000), the race is still being contested on the same hallowed turf that the first Derby winner trod. The Kentucky Derby has thus entered a third century, firmly entrenched as a celebrated occasion in "the sport of Kings."

—Benjamin Griffith

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Kentucky Fried Chicken

When Corbin, Kentucky, restaurateur Harland Sanders began to establish a chicken franchise business in the mid-1950s, the pressure-cooking process he had developed twenty years earlier ensured his position at the forefront of the American fast food revolution. In 1964, Sanders sold the flourishing Kentucky Fried Chicken Corporation for \$2 million. However, by retaining the "Kentucky Colonel" as a roving ambassador, and instituting his image as the corporate icon, the company was able to continue promoting its product as "finger lickin' good" chicken in the best tradition of Southern-fried home cooking. The "down home" identity was somewhat compromised by PepsiCo's \$840 million buyout in 1986. The company was rebranded "KFC"—the word "fried" deemed inappropriate in an era of consumer health-consciousness—and integrated with other PepsiCo-owned fast food chains, Taco Bell and Pizza Hut. Nevertheless, the Southern patrician visage of the Colonel continues to decorate thousands of KFC's worldwide.

—Marty Bone

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Kern, Jerome (1885-1945)

Jerome Kern was one of the most significant composers for Broadway and Hollywood. With his string of Princess Theater musicals, the immortal musical *Show Boat* (1927), and his songs for stage and screen, Kern in many ways defined the American popular song.

Through his series of Princess Musicals such as *Oh, Boy!* (1917), Kern helped to create an intimacy in the musical comedy which helped to end the dominance of European imports on Broadway. But it was with *Show Boat* (1927) and its cavalcade of songs such as "Ol' Man River" and "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man" that Kern achieved his greatest fame. Other important Kern songs include "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes" from *Roberta* (1933) and "All the Things You Are" from *Very Warm for May* (1939). He wrote songs for the films *Swing Time* (1936) and *You Were Never Lovelier* (1942), among others. He won two Academy Awards for best song, in 1936 for "The Way You Look Tonight" and in 1940 for "The Last Time I Saw Paris." Kern, in his scores for stage and screen, established a standard for popular song which exists to the present day.

—William A. Everett

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Kerrigan, Nancy (1969—)

The 1993 United States figure skating champion, Nancy Kerrigan, was recognized as an elegant and artistic practitioner of the sport, one of America's premier ice princesses. In 1994, the beautiful Kerrigan was catapulted into much wider and most unwelcome fame through an internationally scandalous incident that brought her arch-rival, Tonya Harding, into international disrepute, and irrevocably altered the image of the sport. Already the holder of the 1992 Olympic bronze medal, Kerrigan was the favorite for the gold at the upcoming Winter Olympics in Lillehammer, Norway, at the time of the 1994 U.S. Championships in Detroit, Michigan, which doubled as the Olympic Trials that year. On the eve of the championships, while practicing at Detroit's Cobo Arena, Kerrigan received an injurious thwack on her

right leg, which put her out of competition. The assailant, Shane Stant, proved to be part of a conspiracy of four men, one of whom was Harding's husband, Jeff Gillooly, and the attack was planned to put Kerrigan out of action, thus clearing the way for Harding to win the U.S. title, and a place at the Olympics. The gifted Kerrigan, granted an exemption from the U.S. trials, won the silver at Lillehammer, finishing only a fraction of a point behind Oksana Baiul, the Ukrainian gold medalist. Harding was allowed to skate at the Olympics, and the final free skate between Kerrigan and Harding drew record television ratings. Kerrigan subsequently endured bad press when she sniped at Baiul, was overheard to complain about her corporate sponsor, and married her agent. She took a break from her career to have her son, but returned to the rink as a professional skater, enjoying considerable popularity and financial rewards, while the sport itself, thanks to the 1994 scandal, attracts major viewing figures on television.

The anti-Kerrigan conspiracy backfired disastrously. The four men involved all served prison sentences, while Harding—put on three years' probation, divorced from Gillooly, and banned from the U.S. Figure Skating Association—has remained covered in ignominy.

—Mary Hess

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Kershaw, Doug (1936—)

Doug Kershaw, from Tiel Ridge, on the Gulf Coast of Louisiana, was one of the first to popularize southwest Louisiana's Cajun sound, an infectious dance music characterized by fiddles and accordions as lead instruments. French is the language of most Cajun music—Hank Williams' "Jambalaya" is essentially an English lyric to the Cajun standard "Grand Texas," and Little Richard's "Keep a-Knockin'" is an Anglicized rock 'n' roll version of "Tu Peut Coupez." Kershaw, however, sang in English from the beginning, and that gave him a quick in-road to a larger musical world. With his brother Rusty, he went to Nashville in the mid-1950s. They made several records together as "Rusty and Doug," culminating in Kershaw's breakout hit, "Louisiana Man," which reached number four on the country charts in 1961. "Louisiana Man" never reached the top 100 on the pop charts, but an appearance on Johnny Cash's hit television show made Kershaw a pop phenomenon, and his flamboyant fiddle style and stage presence (he favored velvet Edwardian suits) put him in demand as a solo act. He has recorded duets with Hank Williams, Jr., and Fats Domino, and in 1960, "Louisiana Man" became the first song broadcast back to earth from the moon during the Apollo 12 Mission.

—Tad Richards

Kesey, Ken (1935—)

Described as a psychedelic outlaw and the “Dr. Strange” of American letters, Ken Kesey’s fame as a counterculture luminary was assured with the impact of his novel, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962). Kesey was a champion wrestler who graduated from the University of Oregon and studied creative writing at Stanford, where he discovered the bohemian life he continued to pursue. Over the years, he turned that life into the stuff of fiction, traveling across the country in a psychedelic-colored bus (now in the Smithsonian Institution) with his band of Merry Pranksters, whose adventures were chronicled by Tom Wolfe in *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968) and by Kesey himself in *The Further Inquiry* (1990). Kesey fraternized with Timothy Leary, fled to Mexico to avoid prosecution for marijuana possession, and lived in a commune with his wife Faye (who bore him three children) and others, including Mountain Girl, who bore his fourth child, Sunshine. While embracing this unconventional lifestyle, Kesey wrote several major novels and other fiction, including two charming children’s books. *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962), was his first novel. The story of an unlikely redeemer who triumphs over the authoritarian “Combine” run by Big Nurse Ratched, the work was partly based on Kesey’s own experiences as the paid subject of drug experiments at the Veteran’s Hospital in Menlo Park. It remains a comedic masterpiece and a cult classic, lent further weight by the 1975 multi-Oscar-winning film version, starring Jack Nicholson.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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Kewpie Dolls

The creation of Rose O’Neill (1874-1944), Kewpie Dolls were one of many crazes that swept America, and the world, in the early years of the twentieth century. Baby like figures with a tuft of hair (or top knot) similar to very young infants, the figures were popular prizes at carnival and amusement parks and also sold through retailers. The figures are still popular among doll collectors and are still manufactured under license from the original molds by Lee Middleton Original Dolls.

The figures originally appeared in *Ladies Home Journal* around 1905 as heading and tail illustrations accompanying stories by O’Neill. At the prompting of her editor, O’Neill expanded the drawings into a series of illustrated verse for children and dubbed her creations kewpies after cupid. In 1910 she moved her characters to the *Woman’s Home Companion*. According to O’Neill, hundreds of letters began to arrive from admirers seeking a doll of some kind. At first O’Neill responded with paper dolls, but in 1912 she filed a design pattern for a doll.

At first the new dolls were manufactured for the Borgfeldt company of New York by a number of European doll makers, such as the renowned German firm Kestner, and were mostly china, or bisque, dolls. At this time the bulk of dolls sold in America were manufactured in Europe. America’s entry into World War I altered this arrangement and other manufacturers such as the Mutual Doll company began producing Kewpies. These later dolls were made from a variety of materials. The dolls were probably modelled in clay from O’Neill’s drawings by Joseph Kallus, often described as O’Neill’s assistant. After O’Neill’s death, Kallus controlled the licensing and manufacture of Kewpie dolls until his death in 1984 when Jesco acquired the rights.

In the 1910s Kewpies were a hot property and O’Neill received licensing proposals for a variety of products including cutlery, crockery, baby carriages, ice cream molds, and long johns. Many manufacturers simply bypassed O’Neill and appropriated the name and image for use in their products. William Hecht used Kewpies as the name of a line of children’s clothing without authorization. Japanese toy manufacturers turned out unauthorized Kewpies much in the manner of the cheap knock-off copies of brand name goods that are readily available in South East Asia.

Kewpie Dolls came in a variety of sizes and types. O’Neill authorized military Kewpies in American, German, French, and British uniform. Likewise, Kewpies came as cowboys, farmers, bellboys, and firemen. There were also black Kewpies known as Hottentots.

One licensing venture that appealed to O’Neill was a comic strip version of the Kewpies. In 1917 O’Neill produced a weekly page for the Sunday comic supplements featuring drawings and verse. It appeared for a year. In the mid-1930s, she revised the feature as a comic strip proper with word balloons and a continuous story line. But the strip was short lived as a result of O’Neill’s declining health.

Rose O’Neill’s Kewpie Dolls packaged cuteness as an item for purchase. It says something about the commercialization of American culture in the twentieth century that the readers of her early stories were not satiated by the illustrations and requested something more tangible. The ubiquitous nature of the dolls is attested to by the appearance of “kewpie” in standard dictionaries to describe a type of doll rather than a brand name product.

—Ian Gordon

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Key West

Located on an eight-square-mile coral island off the southern tip of Florida, Key West is the southernmost city in the continental United States. Its location and environment give the place a mystique as the Last Resort, the place where mainland North America dribbles to an ambiguous end in the Caribbean. As an artifact of popular culture, Key West generates powerful and often contradictory cultural messages: it is at once a quintessential Navy town and a haven for



The 1930 model of the Kewpie Doll.

literary figures, beachcombers, and assorted eccentrics. During the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and thereafter, it served the rhetoric of American presidents as a rugged outpost of democracy vis-à-vis Castro's Cuba with its Russian missiles "just 90 miles from our shores."

Contrary to popular belief, the name Key West has nothing to do with the island's western aspect in the Florida Keys, which seem to drift languorously from the mainland like a strand of seaweed. The name is really a corruption of Cayo Hueso (Island of Bones), the name given the island by Spanish explorers after they reputedly found the skeletal remains of native people slaughtered in a fierce battle. Perhaps the coral rock that forms the island suggested bony encrustations to superstitious sailors wary of shipwreck on the jagged reefs that have long made Key West a nautical graveyard and a refuge for smugglers, salvagers, and castaways.

For much of its history, Key West has been the site of a U.S. Navy base. Commander David Porter established the first Navy presence there in the 1820s, and imagined he had created the "Gibraltar of the Gulf." Key West prospered as the only southern city to remain under Union control throughout the Civil War. At the

time of the Spanish-American War, the entire Atlantic fleet was based in Key West's harbor. During World War II, the island was known rather dubiously as the "Singapore of the West." Resident poet Elizabeth Bishop predicted in 1942 that after the war a ruined Key West would be "nothing but a naval base and a bunch of bars and cheap apartments." The island regained some of its dignity in 1946 when President Harry Truman procured the Naval commandant's headquarters for his "Little White House." Although its presence was much diminished by the 1990s, the Navy still owned a quarter of the town at century's end.

All things nautical contribute to the island's famous ambiance. Winslow Homer discovered Key West in 1885, finding watercolor the perfect medium through which to capture the shimmering cerulean seas and lush green landscapes drowsing under a tropical sun. For poet Wallace Stevens, the essence of Key West was its aqueous ambiguity, its ephemeral substance surrounded by the "ever-hooded, tragic gestured sea." His well-known poem, "The Idea of Order at Key West," can be interpreted as a hymn either to order or disorder, or to a subjective reality simultaneously negotiating between both.

Even the act of withdrawing to the bustling, commercial North, and away from sultry Key West, can bring uncertainty, as Stevens laments in the poem "Farewell to Florida." Here, the poet watches from a ship as "Key West sank downward under massive clouds/And silvers and greens spread over the sea. The moon/Is at the mast-head and the post is dead. But yet: Her mind had bound me round."

More than any other writer, Ernest Hemingway is associated with Key West in the popular mind. After leaving Paris in 1928, Hemingway acted on the suggestion of fellow writer John Dos Passos and established residence in a rented house in Key West with his wife, Pauline. In 1931, the Hemingways bought an 80-year-old limestone villa where they lived together until they divorced in 1940, and which now serves as one of the island's principal tourist attractions. Hemingway wrote several short stories, many articles, and one novel, *To Have and Have Not*, about Key West, which he portrayed as seedy, decadent, and impoverished, "the St. Tropez of the poor." Hemingway's growing celebrity soon obscured the more prosaic details of his life. Leicester Hemingway writes that his brother's Key West period "begins in the public mind with a picture of a bronzed giant fighting huge fish, then heading inshore for the roughest, toughest bar to celebrate the catch, possibly pausing somewhere to beat out a letter to *Esquire*, using words growled from one corner of the mouth. It was not like that ever." But the Hemingway Days Festival, which began in 1981, celebrates the machismo image of the writer with parodies and pastiches of his works, contests in which white-bearded and barrel-chested men compete in Hemingway lookalike contests, costume parties, arm-wrestling competitions, and drinking bouts at Sloppy Joe's Bar.

A long line of other writers, including Jack London, Tennessee Williams, Robert Frost, John Hersey, Tom McGuane, Truman Capote, Alison Laurie, Elizabeth Bishop, and Annie Dillard, have found Key West congenial. Popular crime and mystery writers such as Laurence Shames and James W. Hall have used the city as the backdrop for their stories, exaggerating its eccentricities. In "Bones of Coral," Hall describes Key West as an "outpost for the unstable, maladjusted, the just plain insane. If they weren't insane when they came, they turned that way. They became islanders, devolved creatures."

More likely, they were merely inspired to become beachcombers, boozers, and faux marooned mariners awaiting the next tide. Singer Jimmy Buffett and his Coral Reefer Band, with their besotted, ersatz-pirate, parrot-pop anthems, celebrate this offbeat, unfettered Key West attitude, which can be decanted in Buffett's Margaritaville Cafe on the island and purchased in any of the dozens of souvenir shops and tee-shirt emporia. Conch Republic Days each year advance this maverick tradition, commemorating the island's ostensible secession from the United States in 1982, with the imaginary Conch Republic surviving as a symbol of Key West's singularity as the Last Resort.

—Paul Ashdown

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The Keystone Kops

By the end of the 1990s, almost nine decades since their first appearance on the early silent screen in *Hoffmeyer's Legacy* (1912), Mack Sennett's Keystone Kops had long entered the language as a byword for bungling, absurd, and hilarious incompetency. Icons of the early comedy "flickers" that made Sennett the most significant, famous, and successful pioneer of film comedy, the Kops, named for Sennett's Keystone company, featured regularly in the American silent era slapstick movies pioneered at Keystone Studios from 1912. With the release of *The Bangville Police* (1913), the Keystone Kops were established as a much-loved American institution and an integral element of Sennett's production output and comedy style. Sporting handlebar mustaches and ill fitting uniforms, the conscientious but utterly inept policemen (and sometimes the Keystone Firemen) fell out of cars, under cars, over cliffs, and more often than not over themselves, all at artificially high speed, defining the art of slapstick in which Sennett specialized and which would be refined by the arrival of Charlie Chaplin at his studio in 1914.

Mack Sennett was blessed from the beginning with a stable of gifted comic practitioners, tuned into Keystone's rambunctious style with its emphasis on sight gags, pratfalls, and the throwing of custard pies (a routine that originated there), and enhanced by Sennett's under-cranked camera, speeded up frames, and skillful editing. Among these artists were Ford Sterling and Chester Conklin, the most famous members of the zany police force whose escapades, in which reality was suspended and subverted to create a world of comic chaos, characterized the approximately 500 slapstick comedies and farces made at Keystone.

Renowned for carrying out their own hair-raising, and frequently dangerous stunts, the original Kops line-up featured actors Charles Avery, Bobby Dunn, George Jesky, Edgar Kennedy, Hank Mann, Mack Riley, and Slim Summerville. Mann, who played police chief Teeheezel, was subsequently replaced by Ford Sterling, and with Sennett using the group as a proving ground for ambitious young actors seeking a career with the studio, the line-up changed frequently, at one time including Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle among its uniformed members. Despite their considerable success with contemporary audiences, however, the Kops were eased out of the regular Keystone roster within four years. Many other Sennett comedies continued to feature the group's chaotic brand of slapstick, and they were paid homage, making a return (of sorts) in *Abbott and Costello Meet the Keystone Kops* (1954).

The influence of the Keystone Kops on the development of comedy is of paramount importance in the history of the cinema. This could be most particularly perceived in the films of Laurel and Hardy and, later, in cruder form, The Three Stooges. And while, over the decades, verbal humor came either to replace or complement visual humor, the preposterously farcical elements that informed the antics of the Kops have survived in variously modified forms to the present



The Keystone Kops

day. Sennett's imagination has influenced the material and performances of comic artists from Jerry Lewis through Mel Brooks to Robin Williams and Jim Carrey.

—David Holloway

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King, Albert (1924-1992)

Albert King was one of the most distinctive, innovative, and influential blues guitarists of the postwar era. He was one of the only blues players to sell records and play for white audiences without losing his traditional black following. His years with Stax Records in the 1960s produced a series of albums that blended classic blues with modern R & B and soul.

King was an imposing figure—standing 6'4" and weighing over 250 pounds—and it could be heard in his music. His muscular guitar

tone and economical use of notes was sustained by a raw power nearly impossible to copy. A left-handed player, King played his Gibson Flying-V guitar upside down and backwards, so rather than fret notes quickly up and down the neck, King was forced to use his strength to bend notes, producing a strikingly vocal quality. His tone was an inspiration to white guitarists Stevie Ray Vaughan and Michael Bloomfield as well as fellow lefty Otis Rush. British guitarist Eric Clapton played an Albert King solo nearly note-for-note in his 1967 hit "Strange Brew" with Cream.

King was born in Indianola, Mississippi, not far from fellow blues guitarist B. B. King, who was about 18 months younger. Albert would often joke that they were brothers, but the two didn't meet until both were famous. Although they cited the same musicians—Blind Lemon Jefferson, Lonnie Johnson, and T-Bone Walker—as their biggest influences, the two Kings sounded nothing alike. While B. B. danced above the beat with a jazz player's phrasing and a treble tone, Albert dug deep into the groove with thick, meaty bends. While B. B. rose to prominence in the 1950s, Albert had to wait into the mid-1960s, when he was over 40 years old, to make his mark.

As a child, King built his own guitar from a cigar box and whisk broom wires. He finally bought his first real guitar, a Guild acoustic, from another young man for \$1.25 when he was 18. He spent the next 15 years picking cotton, working construction, driving a bulldozer, and developing his beefy musical style. In the early 1950s while living in Oceana, Arkansas, King formed the In the Groove Boys, his first band, with some friends.

King soon moved to Gary, Indiana, where he began playing drums for Jimmy Reed. In 1953, he cut his first singles, "Bad Luck Blues" and "Be on Your Merry Way," for the Parrot label in Chicago. King's next recordings were for the Bobbin label in St. Louis in 1959. Here he adopted a big band swing style, led by Johnnie Johnson, the pianist who played on many of Chuck Berry's greatest



Albert King

recordings. King remained with Bobbin and Cincinnati's King label, which leased some of the Bobbin sides, until 1963, when he made the move to Stax Records in Memphis.

King's union with the Stax house band of Booker T. and the MGs resulted in some of the best and most popular blues records ever produced. Drummer and producer Al Jackson, organist Booker T. Washington, bass player Donald "Duck" Dunn and guitarist Steve Cropper, plus the Memphis Horns of Wayne Jackson and Andrew Love, provided the perfect foundation for King's career. *Born under a Bad Sign*, released in 1967, was a revelation. Most of the songs strayed from typical 12-bar blues shuffles, but King was right at home.

"We were, basically, on top of the music scene as far as what we thought the R&B public wanted to hear," Cropper said in *Blues Guitar: The Men Who Made the Music*. "So it was a little more polished, a little slicker than some of the other blues coming out. He had his own unique style, and it still got in the blues rack. But the songs that we picked for him and some of the arrangements we did wound up in the pop and R&B racks, too."

Rock critic Robert Palmer said in the liner notes to *Albert Live*, a double album released in 1977 and available on the Tomato label, that King's impact at the time of the release of *Born under a Bad Sign* "was as inescapable among blues players as John Coltrane's influence was on jazz."

King became popular with young, white audiences in the late 1960s when rock promoter Bill Graham booked King to open a series of shows at the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco, sharing bills with Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin. King's second album on Stax,

Live Wire/Blues Power, was recorded at the Fillmore, and is regarded as one of the finest recordings of blues in concert.

King continued to push the boundaries of blues into the 1970s by playing with the St. Louis Symphony and becoming the first blues player to appear with full orchestration. His 1972 album, *I'll Play the Blues for You* built upon *Born under a Bad Sign* with a James Brown funk feel.

King's mid- to late 1970s releases took on a disco feel, which was an attempt to update his sound. These albums were overproduced and failed to capture the energy of his previous work. King continued to record for Fantasy Records of Berkeley, California, which had bought out Stax, and returned to form with his final album *I'm in a Phone Booth, Baby* in 1984. King continued to tour until his death from a heart attack on December 21, 1992, in Memphis.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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King, B. B. (1925—)

To people the world over, B. B. King is the literal personification of blues. No blues or rock 'n' roll musician in the postwar era in America could escape his influence, either directly or indirectly. His fusion of acoustic country blues with jazz set the stage for a half century of development in African American music. Although he never attained the widespread commercial success enjoyed by others, King rose to his billing "King of the Blues" without compromising his style or musicianship.

King is credited with bringing vibrato to the electric guitar, and the stinging, fluttering sound of his guitar, named Lucille, was totally unique and instantly recognizable. His story is one of the most amazing in American music. His rise from picking cotton in Mississippi to touring the world has become part of the mythology of the American Dream.

Riley B. King was born September 16, 1925, on a farm near Itta Bena, Mississippi. His parents separated when he was four, and he lived with his mother until her death when he was nine. He then lived with his maternal grandmother, his father in nearby Lexington, and on his own, supervised by an extended family of aunts, uncles, and caring white plantation owners. His earliest musical memories were the hollers of fellow field workers and his first exposure to the guitar came in church, where he heard the Reverend Archie Fair play. He listened to the records of Blind Lemon Jefferson and Lonnie Johnson on an aunt's Victrola.

"Blind Lemon and Lonnie hit me the hardest, I believe, because their voices were so distinct, natural, and believable. I heard them talking to me," King said in his autobiography, *Blues All Around Me*. "As guitarists, they weren't fancy. Their guitars were hooked up to their feelings, just like their voices . . . No one melded my musical manner like Blind Lemon and Lonnie. They entered my soul and stayed." As a teenager, King fell under the spell of T-Bone Walker,



B. B. King

the swinging Texan who pioneered the electric guitar along with Charlie Christian. Other key influences were Gypsy guitarist Django Reinhardt from Belgium and saxophonists Lester Young and Louis Jordan.

King bought his first guitar for \$15 when he was 12 and played it while singing tenor with the Elkhorn Jubilee Singers, a gospel group he organized with a cousin and two friends. By the mid-1940s, King moved to Memphis and sought out his cousin, Bukka White. Already a famous musician, White took King under his wing. King's signature vibrato developed as a result of his failure to master White's slide technique.

King played blues and gospel on street corners around Beale Street and landed a 10-minute show on radio station WDIA sponsored by Pepticon, a cure-all tonic. King was a hit and became a regular disc jockey known as the Beale Street Blues Boy, later shortened to B. B. His radio show led to bookings outside Memphis and the recording of his first singles in 1949 on the short-lived Bullet label.

King was soon discovered by Ike Turner, at that time working as a talent scout for Modern Records. King had a hit with "Three O'Clock Blues" which spent 15 weeks at the top of Billboard's R&B (rhythm and blues) chart in 1951, which allowed him to tour nationwide.

King stayed with Modern Records until 1962 when he left for ABC Records—signing a contract he has honored for over 35 years.

Through the 1950s and 1960s, King kept up an unbelievable touring schedule, playing as many as 340 dates a year. He recorded *Live at the Regal*, one of the finest examples of live blues, in 1965 at Chicago's Regal Theatre. Still, King remained a star only on the "Chitlin' Circuit" of black clubs. He fell through the cracks when rock 'n' roll came around, unable to cross over like Little Richard, Fats Domino, or Bo Diddley, and did not fit in with the soul movement of the 1960s like Ray Charles or the Motown Records roster. Furthermore, he was unable to capitalize on the blues revival of the 1960s, where country blues artists like Lightnin' Hopkins and Son House were embraced by white folk music fans. Academics saw King's electric guitar and swinging horn section as a corruption of the country blues tradition.

Things changed for King in 1968 when he hired manager Sidney Seidenberg. Seidenberg booked King into white rock venues like the Fillmore Auditorium in San Francisco and on the *Tonight Show* and *Ed Sullivan Show* on television. Seidenberg's work paid off in 1970 when King's biggest hit, "The Thrill Is Gone," reached number 15 on the Billboard pop chart. Continuing to push for mainstream bookings, Seidenberg opened up Las Vegas and booked tours of the Soviet Union and Africa.

King's fans had always been older, but he gained exposure with a much younger audience when Bono of the Irish rock group U2 wrote a duet with King, "When Love Comes to Town," in 1988. The song

made the U2 concert movie *Rattle and Hum* and won an MTV (Music Television) Video Music Award. King also spent three months opening for U2 on the band's North American tour.

The winner of countless awards and honors, including seven Grammy Awards, King continued to play over 200 dates a year into the late 1990s. His 1993 album *Blues Summit*, consisting of duets with 11 other top blues performers, maintained his reputation as an American institution. That reputation was confirmed when his life was celebrated by President Bill Clinton at the Kennedy Center Honors in 1995.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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King, Billie Jean (1943—)

Intensely competitive and outspoken in her demand for equality for women athletes, Billie Jean King changed the face of women's sports, paving the way for today's professional women athletes. Holder of a record 20 Wimbledon titles and winner of all four Grand Slam tournaments, King is perhaps best remembered for her defeat of Bobby Riggs during the epic Battle of the Sexes in 1973. Passionately dedicated to tennis, to women's rights, and to being one of the best athletes, male or female, of her day, Billie Jean King's heroic actions redefined what was possible for women, making her a role model for generations to come.

Billie Jean Moffitt was born in Long Beach, California, on November 22, 1943. The daughter of a fireman and a homemaker, and the sister of future San Francisco Giants relief pitcher, Randy Moffitt, Billie Jean was an athletic girl who excelled at softball. At a very young age, she announced to her mother that she planned to do something special with her life, and when she discovered tennis a few years later, she dedicated herself to the sport. Because the Moffitts could not afford a membership at the local country club, Billie Jean learned her sport on the public courts. By the time she was 12, she was good enough to play in sanctioned tournaments, and her father started moonlighting, while her mother sold Avon and Tupperware, so that their daughter could compete. As a teenager, Billie Jean not only fought the elitism of tennis, but she was also aware that girls' sports were valued differently than boys', when the boys' team received funding and the girls had to fend for themselves.

In 1961, 17-year-old Billie Jean qualified to play doubles at Wimbledon and she and her partner, Karen Hantze, funded by a local businessman, flew to England to compete. They won, becoming Wimbledon's youngest women's doubles winners ever. But in the



Billie Jean King

early 1960s, winning Wimbledon was not enough to start a career in tennis. In fact, there were no real careers in tennis for women. Tennis was an amateur sport, and the only money to be made was a few hundred dollars under the table for showing up at a tournament. So Billie Jean returned home and enrolled at Los Angeles State College, where she fell in love with a fellow student named Larry King.

Billie Jean and Larry married in 1965, and Billie Jean put her husband through law school by playing tennis, which she continued to do with great success, winning all the big tournaments. In 1968, the major championships were finally opened up to professionals as well as amateurs. But the prize money for the women was dramatically unequal to that awarded to the men—women sometimes earned as little as one tenth of what men did. This infuriated King, who conceived of the idea of starting a women's tour.

In 1970, King and a group of women players refused to play an important tournament where the prize money was eight to one in favor of the men. Instead, with the aid of Gladys Heldman, the founder of *World Tennis* magazine, they put together a competing tournament in Houston, with \$5,000 in prize money. The powers-that-be in the tennis world threatened to suspend the defecting players, but the women held fast. When Heldman solicited \$2,500 more in prize money from Philip Morris, who was marketing a new cigarette for women, the tournament was named the Virginia Slims International, and the first professional women's tournament was held.

By 1971, with Billie Jean King as the spokeswoman, the Virginia Slims women's tour was founded. Although some of the players, most notably Chris Evert, refused to sign on, the tour was a success in its first year. And so was King, who continued to do well in

the major tournaments, beating Chris Evert in the United States Open final that same year, becoming the first woman athlete to win \$100,000 in prize money in a single year.

Within two years, all the women players would join the tour and tennis would never be the same. Billie Jean King, however, still had more causes for which to fight. Holding her ground against all dissenters, she pushed through the Women's Tennis Association, their own union. Women's sports, buoyed by Title IX, which prevented discrimination against women athletes, had begun to change. Then came the event that would transform King into a feminist heroine beyond the boundaries of tennis.

In 1973, 55-year-old former Wimbledon champion, Bobby Riggs, played the number two woman in the world, Margaret Court, in a tennis match that would prove, Riggs hoped, that men were better athletes than women. In what has been referred to as the Mother's Day Massacre, Riggs beat Court in straight sets. As Billie Jean King later wrote, "My first reaction was, 'Oh no, now I'm going to have to play him.'" Indeed, a match was soon arranged between Riggs and the number one woman on the tour.

On September 20, 1973, 30,000 fans filled the Houston Astrodome and 50 million viewers tuned in on television to watch Billie Jean King take on the self-proclaimed male chauvinist pig, Bobby Riggs, in the Battle of the Sexes. Fit, tanned, and ready to play, King won the \$100,000 winner-take-all match in three straight sets. More than a sports event, the King-Riggs match became a defining moment in American popular culture and feminist history, one of the few events that elicits an exact response to the question, "Where were you when. . .?"

At the end of her career, King was outed as a lesbian, becoming the first woman in professional sports to bear the brunt of a nation's homophobia. Although her admission of her sexuality was clouded by her stated discomfort with being a lesbian and her continued marriage to Larry King, Billie Jean laid the groundwork for women such as Martina Navratilova, Melissa Etheridge, and Ellen DeGeneres to come out of the closet. Now openly lesbian, King lends her outspoken advocacy to gay causes.

One of *Life* magazine's 100 Most Important Americans of the twentieth century, Billie Jean King is a heroine to countless women who saw, in her defeat of Riggs and her unqualified success as one of the first professional women athletes, hope for their own dreams. A dedicated activist and coach, King continues to lobby on behalf of the causes in which she fervently believes, from Team Tennis to Elton John's AIDS Foundation, remaining a powerful force for change and a monument to passionate persistence; indeed, she is an icon for the ages.

—Victoria Price

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King, Carole (1942—)

Carole King has had two of the most successful careers in rock history: first as a member of early rock 'n' roll's best known songwriting team, and then as the best-selling singer/songwriter of the 1970s. Along the way, she proved there was a place in rock 'n' roll for someone who wrote and sang pleasant, unpretentious songs, without stage theatrics, sexual abandon, or any other gimmicks.

Born on February 9, 1942, Carol Klein started writing songs at an early age. By the time she reached her teens she was riding the



Carole King

subway from her Brooklyn home into Manhattan, where she shopped her tunes on Tin Pan Alley (where most of the day's pop hits were cranked out in assembly line fashion). Her first recording (using her stage name Carole King) was "Oh Neil," an answer to "Oh Carol" recorded by Neil Sedaka, and she hit the Top Forty in 1962 with "It Might as Well Rain until September." But by that time she was having more success as a songwriter for others. King met lyricist Gerry Goffin in 1960; they married soon thereafter and divorced in 1967. Along the way, they wrote many of the most enduring songs in early rock 'n' roll: "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?," "Take Good Care Of My Baby," and "The Loco-Motion" (written for their babysitter, who recorded under the name Little Eva). Together with their contemporaries Burt Bacharach and Hal David, and Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, Goffin and King made standard pop formulas seem fresh and alive. Though they wrote in a small office around the corner from the Brill Building, their melodies and lyrics were expansive: simple but original, memorable and timeless. (Their only brush with controversy came with a 1964 dealing with domestic violence, "He Hit Me and It Felt Like a Kiss.") In 1963 John Lennon and Paul McCartney stated their ambition to be the British Goffin and King.

Ironically, it was rock groups like the Beatles who wrote their own material that ultimately ended Tin Pan Alley's dominance over the pop charts, and the couple soon found themselves unable to make hits. After divorcing Goffin, King went back to recording her own songs, first as the frontwoman for the three-piece rock group The City. Their one 1968 release failed, and King decided to go it alone. Her first solo effort, 1970's *Writer*, failed to make a splash though in retrospect it was excellent: she covered a variety of pop and rock styles with lively, accessible melodies; unassuming, gentle vocals; and for good measure she threw in one song from her Tin Pan Alley days. With few variations, she stuck to this formula during the multiplatinum years that followed.

A year later, the general public—primed by successful soft-rock singer/songwriters Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young; and James Taylor—was ready for King. *Tapestry* was an immediate smash, a seemingly endless source of AM radio hits: "I Feel The Earth Move," "So Far Away," "It's Too Late," and her own versions of "Will You Still Love Me Tomorrow," "You've Got A Friend," and "(You Make Me Feel Like) A Natural Woman." The themes were easily understood, upbeat though touched with sadness, intelligent but not intellectual—a Joni Mitchell for the masses. The record sold 15 million copies, and for a span of several years was the best selling LP of all time.

The pattern continued with *Music* and *Rhymes and Reasons*, but the backlash came against her ambitious 1973 concept album *Fantasy*. Critics didn't want to hear her view on the world's ills, though in hindsight it's a remarkably affecting, coherent piece of work. After two more huge hit singles, "Nightbird" and "Jazzman" from 1974's *Wrap Around Joy*, King watched her album sales steadily decline. However, her gentle piano-based approach could still be heard in artists from Christine McVie to lesbian icon Cris Williamson. In 1980 King resorted to an entire album of songs from Goffin and King's heyday, *Pearls*. "One Fine Day" was a hit single, but it didn't reverse the trend: New Wave and heavy metal were sweeping singer/songwriters off the pop landscape, and in the early 1980s King fared no better than Taylor, Mitchell, Carly Simon or Janis Ian. After 1983's *Speeding Time*, she virtually retired.

In 1990, Goffin and King were elected to the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame, and in 1996 the Alison Anders film *Grace of My Heart* loosely portrayed King's life. By the late 1990s, King was justly hailed as a pioneer. Her sincerity and gift for deceptively simple melody were a profound influence on artists from Mariah Carey to Alanis Morissette, and King came out of a long hiatus in 1998 with the single "Anyone At All," the theme from Nora Ephron's film *You've Got Mail*.

—David B. Wilson

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King, Freddie (1934-1976)

Of the three "Kings of the Blues" (Albert and B. B. are the others), Freddie King had arguably the most influence on early rock 'n' roll. The youngest of the three unrelated guitarists, Freddie had hits as early as 1961 that had an enormous impact on the California surf music of Duane Eddy and the Ventures. He was also a key early influence on British band leader John Mayall and young guitarists Eric Clapton and Peter Green.

King came from the Texas blues tradition of T-Bone Walker and Lightnin' Hopkins, but moved to Chicago at age 16, where he fell under the spell of Eddie Taylor and Jimmy Rogers. King joined Magic Sam and others in founding the west side sound, a more percussive and up-tempo alternative to the blues played on the south side by older musicians such as Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf. King's initial success came on the Federal/King label in Cincinnati, where his instrumental recordings, including "Hideaway" and "The Stumble," served as a dictionary of licks for aspiring guitarists.

—Jon Klinkowitz

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King Kong

One of the classic monster movies of all time, the 1933 production of *King Kong* is best remembered for the dramatic scenes of a giant ape climbing the recently erected Empire State Building and batting away airplanes with Ann Darrow in his grasp, though she is universally remembered not with that character's name, but as the real-life actress who portrayed her, blonde scream queen Fay Wray. That image of Kong and Wray atop a New York skyscraper, along



King Kong perched atop the Empire State building in a scene from the film *King Kong*.

with Dorothy on the Yellow Brick Road and Scarlett returning to the ruins of Tara, ranks among the iconic film scenes of the pre-World War II era. A popular sensation in its day, *King Kong* failed to win a single Academy Award nomination, yet has outlived most of its contemporaries to achieve the stature of a twentieth-century myth.

A modern variation on *Beauty and the Beast*, the screenplay was credited to popular pulp writer Edgar Wallace, though *King Kong* was the brainchild of documentary film pioneer Meriam C. Cooper and his partner in adventurous filmmaking, Ernest Schoedsack. The film's effects, groundbreaking in their day, were the handiwork of stop-motion animator Willis H. O'Brien, whose efforts on the silent film version of Doyle's *The Lost World* had laid the groundwork for *King Kong*. Promising Fay Wray "the tallest, darkest leading man in Hollywood," Cooper and Schoedsack cast her as Ann Darrow, the petite object of Kong's affection. Rounding out the cast were Robert Armstrong as headstrong filmmaker, Carl Denham (modeled after Cooper), and Bruce Cabot as the rugged seaman who falls for Darrow even before Kong does. Kong himself was in actuality a small model. O'Brien's genius was that movie-goers not only believed Kong was a giant, but also that he had a soul.

Like other "jungle" movies of the period, *King Kong* delineates a clash between the "civilized" and the "primitive." Denham's "bring 'em back alive" expedition to remote Skull Island uncovers a living prehistoric world populated by local natives and—on the other side of their great wall—dinosaurs, pterodactyls, and Kong himself. The islanders kidnap Ann to offer her as a bride for the giant gorilla, prompting a struggle in which many men die in the attempt to rescue her from her fate. Eventually Kong is subdued and taken to Manhattan, where Denham exploits the great beast as "The Eighth Wonder of the World." But the love-smitten Kong escapes, rampages across Manhattan, recaptures Ann, and ends up atop the Empire State Building, only to plummet to his death in a dramatic air assault. Denham's rueful obituary: "It wasn't the airplanes—it was beauty that killed the beast."

All of this thrill-packed hokum was made convincing by O'Brien's effects, aided by skillful art direction—Skull Island was a mythical landscape straight out of Gustave Doré—the optical printing of Linwood Dunn, the sound effects of Murray Spivak and, above all, the almost wall-to-wall musical score by Max Steiner. It has been suggested that Depression-era audiences took a particularly vicarious

delight in seeing Kong lay waste to the buildings and subway trains of the cold-hearted Manhattan. *King Kong* has remained a staple of late-night television and in film festivals, chiefly because O'Brien endowed his great brute with an uncanny personality that evoked sympathy from audiences.

King Kong spawned a modestly budgeted, inferior sequel, *Son of Kong* (1933). O'Brien also worked on one more giant ape movie, *Mighty Joe Young* (1949), aided by his young protege, Ray Harryhausen, who went on to make many successful screen fantasies of his own, such as *The Seventh Voyage of Sinbad* (1958) and *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963), all of which carry echoes of *King Kong*. In truth, there is something of the big hairy ape in every giant-monster movie that has followed in his pawprints, from Japan's *Godzilla* (1955) to Spielberg's *Jurassic Park* (1992) and, of course, in the successful 1976 remake *King Kong*. But no other creature feature seems to have quite caught the public imagination as the original *King Kong*.

The image of Kong and his beloved atop the skyscraper has been continually copied in horror movies, parodied in cartoons, comic books, and countless television commercials. For a period in the 1980s, a pop shrine to the gorilla's memory was created when a giant inflated model of King Kong was hung near the top of the Empire State Building. Still, the original black-and-white film has lost none of its power to enthrall. Modern digital technology may have outstripped O'Brien's hands-on puppetry, but it has not replaced the charm and humanity that every great fairy tale requires and which *King Kong* displays in abundance.

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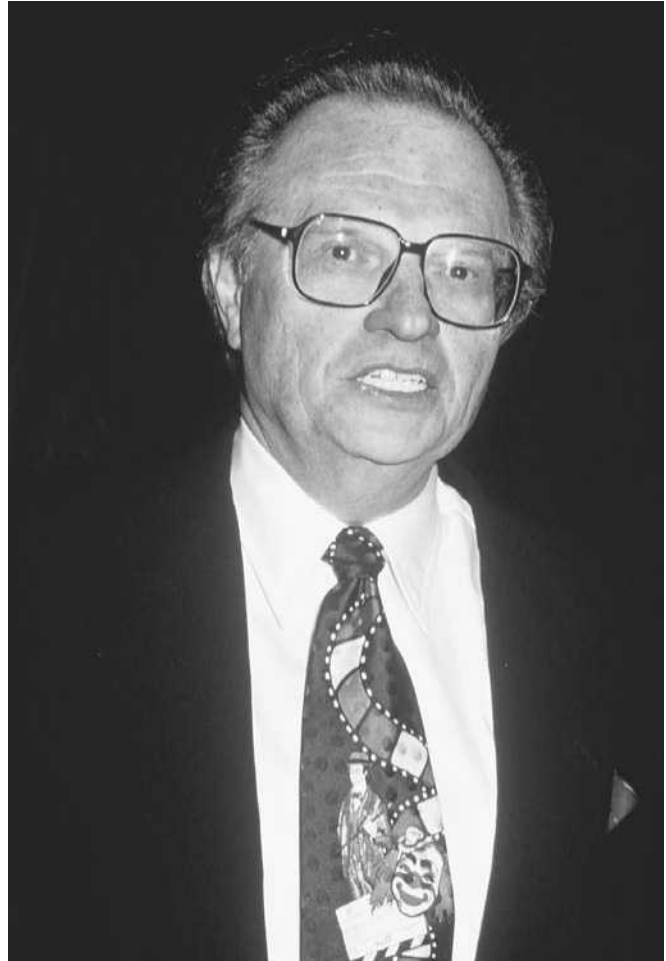
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King, Larry (1933—)

One of the late twentieth century's foremost television talk show hosts, Larry King's distinctive style, at once relaxed and commanding, and his focus on issues of topical interest, elevated the talk show genre to something of national importance. Starting out as a disc jockey on local radio, King worked hard to rise in the broadcasting media, overcoming self-created reversals of fortune to become a pioneer of the modern phone-in show on both radio and television. CNN's most popular program, *Larry King Live* (1985—), has made its host one of the most sought-out interviewers in the world, a man who has proved that entertainment value need not be sacrificed in order to examine important matters.

Born Lawrence Harvey Zieger in Brooklyn, New York in 1933, the son of Russian immigrants who a year previously had been devastated by the death of their firstborn son, the young Larry was nine when his bar-owner father died of a heart attack, leaving his mother to support the boy and his younger brother on welfare. Deeply



Larry King

affected by his father's death, King stopped paying attention to his studies and crippled his chances of entering college. After graduating from high school, he immediately sought work to help support his mother and brother.

Despite his lack of academic dedication, King aspired to a career in radio. In his early twenties, while working for UPS as a delivery man, he frequented broadcasting studios around New York, but grew increasingly despondent about the prospects of getting his dream job. However, a chance meeting with a CBS staff announcer resulted in the suggestion that if he was serious about getting on the air, he should leave the world's media capital for a smaller but growing media market where more opportunities might present themselves.

This advice led King to Florida, where a lack of immediate success found him sweeping floors at the smallest station in town. He used the opportunity to learn everything he could about the radio business and, at age 23, he got his break as a morning disc jockey on a small AM Miami station. It was the station's manager who suggested he drop the "ethnic" name Zieger in favor of the more American King. By 1961, Larry King was a popular personality in the south Florida radio market. His success in the medium led him to try his hand in the emerging world of television, and in 1960 he began hosting a program on a Miami station. During this time and through the early 1970s, he maintained shows on both radio and television,

and added newspaper columns in *The Miami Herald* and *The Miami News*, which helped fuel his popularity in Florida.

King's hard-earned success shuddered to an unfortunate halt in the 1970s. During the 1960s, he overspent wildly, gambled on horses, and failed to pay his taxes. He also became involved with Lou Wolfson, a shady Florida financier who had been connected with the scandal that led to the resignation of Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas in 1969. A scheme to bankroll New Orleans District Attorney Jim Garrison's investigation of the President Kennedy assassination was Wolfson's brainchild, one in which King became deeply enmeshed. King was the middleman in the arrangement, but skimmed some of the cash intended for Garrison as a means to help get himself out of debt. When Wolfson learned of this, he charged King with grand larceny and, although the charge was eventually dismissed, the damage was done. King left Florida radio in 1971, taking his talents and his focus to the West Coast, where he rebuilt his career by writing magazine articles and working in radio. By the mid-1970s, time had healed his reputation and image and he was welcomed back into the market where he had started: south Florida.

After building his show up in Miami, King was able to take his self-titled radio program, *The Larry King Show*, to a national audience in 1978, making it the first nationwide call-in show. King's popularity in the overnight program led to further opportunity in 1985 when the four-year-old Cable News Network (CNN) was looking to expand its programming in order to temper its image as merely a video wire service. CNN put *Larry King Live* on television as the first international live phone-in television program, where he proceeded to interview public figures across a wide spectrum that included athletes, actors, writers, politicians, and foreign dignitaries. The mix of guests and King's unique style found an immediate public response. King projected innate curiosity and intense interest onto his guests in such a manner as to provoke more honest answers than many of them were accustomed to giving before a national audience. Furthermore, by allowing the general public to ask questions, which like King's own, tended to be softballs not intended to inflame, King gave the show a friendly feel that has contributed to his reputation as "The King of Talk."

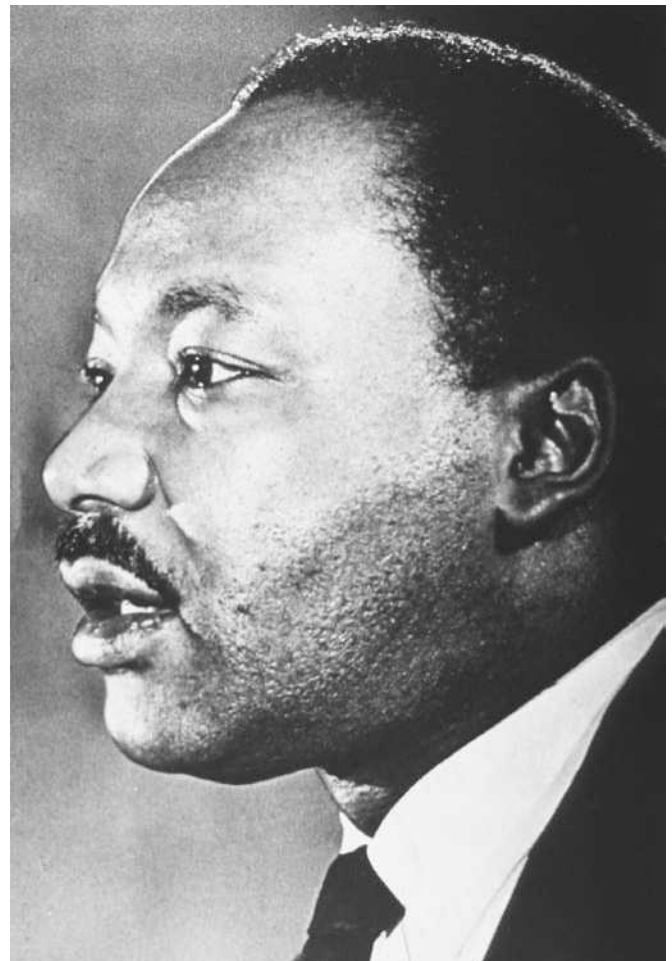
King's influence was highlighted on February 20, 1992 when billionaire Ross Perot used *Larry King Live* to announce his intention to run for the presidency. Following the attention surrounding the Perot announcement and the unique means through which it was made, other politicians chose to use King's program as a significant forum to discuss the issues of the 1992 election. The election, which is recorded in history as the first time candidates used talk shows as a major means to reach voters while circumventing traditional channels, saw King, by now dubbed "The King Maker," as the number one choice of host for the purpose. The major presidential candidates appeared on King's show 17 times in the last two weeks of the campaign alone, each of them devoting a full hour to the show during this intense time. The status of *Larry King Live* rose several more notches on November 9, 1993, when vice-president Al Gore agreed to appear on the air with Perot to have King moderate a debate on the controversial North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was under consideration by Congress. On the road to the 1996 elections, King's influence was not forgotten: a number of potential candidates used his show to test the waters for their White House chances.

The many awards with which Larry King has been honored include the Broadcaster of the Year Award from the International Radio and Television Society and the ACE Award for Program Interviewer. He has also won the Jack Anderson Investigative Reporting Award and the George Foster Peabody Award for Excellence in Broadcasting. He is the author of a number of books, including *Larry King by Larry King* (1982), *Tell It to the King* (1988), "Mr. King, You're Having a Heart Attack" (1989), *Tell Me More* (1991), *On the Line: The New Road to the White House* (1993), *How to Talk to Anyone, Anytime, Anywhere: The Secrets of Good Conversation* (1994), the children's book *Daddy Day, Daughter Day* (1997, with daughter Chaia), and *Powerful Prayers* (1998). King also writes a weekly column for *USA Today*.

—Alyssa L. Falwell

King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929-1968)

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was, quite simply, the most popular and effective leader of the African American struggle for civil rights. His philosophy of non-violent direct-action galvanized thousands of



Martin Luther King, Jr.

Americans, both black and white, to press for the full measure of human and political rights for African-Americans. Although he was not personally responsible for mobilizing protest, he was certainly one of the greatest organizers of people the world has ever seen. Today, a national holiday is named in his honor and numerous highways, streets, schools, playgrounds, and public buildings display his name.

For a man who would capture the attention of both his country and the world, King's life seemed like a fairy tale. Born into Atlanta's black upper class in the midst of the depression, King felt very few effects of the economic crisis. As the son of a popular Baptist pastor, King was afforded the opportunity to have a childhood free from overt racial discrimination. Upon graduating from the all-black elite Morehouse College at the age of 19, he then undertook training in theology at Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he received a bachelor's degree. While at Crozer, King absorbed the ideas of Christian socialism that would play a tremendous role in his life's work. King built upon these ideas of social justice as he pursued his doctorate in theology at Boston University.

Upon receiving his doctorate at the age of 26, Martin Luther King, Jr. was appointed pastor of the conservative Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, where he gained notoriety by spearheading the successful Montgomery Bus Boycott under the auspices of the Montgomery Improvement Association. The leaders of the MIA chose King as leader for several reasons, but primarily since he was new to the area and the white power structure had not yet made his acquaintance. After the success of the bus boycott, King then decided to institutionalize his popularity by forming the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). And until his death SCLC would be King's vehicle for mobilizing African Americans to protest discriminatory treatment. Largely made up of ministers, SCLC's motto would be "To Redeem the Soul of America."

After forming the SCLC King, with the help of the other civil rights organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the NAACP, initiated several campaigns throughout the South in their quest for voting rights and integration. Throughout the civil rights drive King remained firmly committed to his philosophy of nonviolence. At times, both his critics and supporters failed to understand how blacks could remain nonviolent in a country that spoke the language of violence. But King was persistent in his Gandhian philosophy that nonviolent resistance was the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom.

King's popularity reached new heights at the 1963 March on Washington with his "I Have a Dream" speech. Although it was a phrase that he had used many times before, this time it struck a rich chord with both blacks and whites alike. On the heels of this dramatic speech, King then received the Nobel Peace Prize for his unwavering commitment to nonviolent social change. For King, who was the first African American to receive the award, it illustrated that the world was behind the black struggle for civil rights. Although white Southerners were defiant in their opposition to the twin goals of voting rights and integration, millions of people across the globe were in support.

With his popularity skyrocketing, King was continually in both the print and broadcast media. He immediately became an icon. He capitalized on his press coverage by cleverly articulating the goals and aims of the Civil Rights Movement to viewers and readers far away. He also published three popular books, *Strive Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, *Why We Can't Wait*, and *Where Do We*

Go from Here? Chaos or Community, to further express his ideas on the Civil Rights Movement. Throughout the 1960s King gave an untold number of speeches and sermons as he often toured the country to speak on behalf of the cause he so ardently espoused. In nearly every city he spoke before a packed house. To some activists, a local campaign did not seem legitimate unless King gave it his blessing.

In 1965, King and other civil rights leaders saw the fruits of their labor when President Lyndon Baines Johnson signed into law the Voting Rights Act. In the words of one historian, "it was the crowning achievement of the Civil Rights movement."

Although he was successful in the South, King's popularity began to wane when he spoke out against the Vietnam War. In May of 1966, against the wishes of even some of his close confidants, King began to denounce the conflict. Many thought that he should just stick to the issue of civil rights and leave foreign policy to others. However, feeling that it was an unjust war, King decided to speak out. After voicing his opinion on the war, nearly every major U.S. newspaper came out against him. As his popularity began to decrease, King launched the Poor People's Campaign that would transcend the wide chasm of race, culture, and religion. Tragically, he was fatally wounded by an assassin's bullet on April 4, 1968 while aiding Memphis sanitation workers in their fight for better working conditions.

Few activists can ever hope to be as popular or successful as Martin Luther King, Jr. Today, mere mention of his name evokes greatness, commitment, and dedication. His name is respected throughout the world, even by his enemies. However, his life's work on behalf of the oppressed will long be the standard by which others are measured.

—Leonard N. Moore

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King, Rodney (1965—)

An international symbol of racial violence and ongoing social injustice, the brutal police beating of Rodney King on March 3, 1991, and the subsequent acquittal of all officers involved, were the trigger events that led to the Los Angeles uprisings in April 1992.

Born in Sacramento, California, in 1965, the second of five children, the life of Rodney Glen King prior to the beating was, in many ways, typical of many African-American men. When his family moved to South Pasadena, King's father, who worked in maintenance and construction, turned more and more frequently to alcohol. Left back a grade in high school, and relegated to special education classes, King, who was only functionally literate, dropped out of school altogether in 1984. He fathered two children with two different women early on, but was unable to provide for his family with the



A scene from the videotape of Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King.

occasional construction jobs that he was able to secure. In marrying Crystal Waters, who had two children of her own, King took on additional responsibilities that soon overwhelmed him.

Convicted of attempted robbery in 1989, King served one year at the California Correctional Center in Susanville before being paroled and allowed to return home. More unable than ever to find construction work, King was eventually hired as a part-time laborer at Dodger Stadium.

When he wasn't working, the 6'3" man referred to as a "gentle giant" by his loved ones, could be found hanging out with old friends and drinking 40-ounce bottles of Olde English 800. On the night of March 2, he and his friends were doing just that. In fact, there was an open bottle of beer in the car when King saw the flashing lights of the California Highway Patrol. Knowing that he was violating his parole, King initially tried to get away, leading the officers on a high-speed chase. When King finally pulled off the freeway, he was in a community called Lake View Terrace. By then several Los Angeles Police Department squad cars had arrived, and there was a helicopter hovering above.

George Holliday, who was awakened by the commotion, reached for his new Sony Handycam recorder and began taping the activity below his apartment window. His nine-minute amateur videotape, which revealed some 81 seconds of King being brutally beaten by at least four police officers, was broadcast on KTLA 5, a local Los Angeles news station, the next day. In the video, viewers watched as King was stunned with Taser darts, and then pummeled repeatedly with steel batons—blows that resulted in a fractured eye socket, facial-nerve damage, 11 skull fractures, and a severe concussion, which has led to permanent brain damage. King also suffers from leg numbness and a permanent limp.

In a 1992 trial held in the predominately white community of Simi Valley, officers Stacey Koon, Theodore Briseno, Laurence

Powell, and Timothy Wind were found not guilty on charges of using excessive force. Almost immediately following their April 29th acquittal, Los Angeles erupted in a groundswell of violence. Dozens of residents were left dead, and hundreds of businesses were burned to the ground, leaving an estimated \$550 million in damage. Two days after the verdicts, King made his now famous plea for an end to the rebellion. Facing news cameras outside his attorney's Wilshire Boulevard office, a visibly shaken and tearful King spoke: "People, I just want to say . . . can we all get along? Can we get along? Can we stop making it horrible for the old people and the kids? . . . We'll get our justice. . . . Please, we can get along here."

Not all of the protest was unorganized. Unified Against Genocide, for example, was a San Francisco-based group headed by activist Angela Davis, whose members called for a retrial under California's hate crime law. Most, however, looked to the upcoming Federal trial for justice. That trial, which took place in 1993, found two of the officers—Stacey Koon and Laurence Powell—guilty of violating King's civil rights. Both men were ordered to serve 30-month prison terms.

Although King's first attorney, Steven Lerman, had initially stated that he would seek \$56 million (one million for each blow) in a civil rights suit against the Los Angeles Police Department, the amount went down to around \$9 million by the time King and his new lawyer arrived in court. On April 20, 1994, a third jury awarded King \$3.8 million in damages.

Since the infamous 1991 beating, King has spent most of his days sequestered in his Altadena home, and at the local park, watching baseball games and organizing recreation programs for local youths. He has also invested in his own music label—a rap recording outfit called Straight Alta-Pazz.

And yet, King continues to be haunted by his past. Despite having completed at least one 90-day alcohol abuse program as a

condition of his earlier parole, he has been arrested several times since 1991, on charges of both drunken driving and spousal abuse.

—Kristal Brent Zook

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King, Stephen (1948—)

Stephen King's connections with horror fiction are so compelling that for many he virtually embodies the genre; he has become, in



Stephen King

words consciously echoed by more than one commentator, the unchallenged "King of Horror." His reputation is well-deserved, resting as it does on a strongly colloquial narrative style that has proven particularly appropriate to his brand of horror, and on a prolific output that includes at least 60 novels and books of nonfiction in some 25 years, along with well over 100 published short stories, more than double that number of nonfiction articles ranging from scholarship to fan writing, in excess of two dozen theatrical and television adaptations of his works, and seemingly endless variations on audiocassettes, videocassettes, and even Broadway musicals retelling his stories. His popularity has made him a legitimate "brand name writer," as witnessed by references to him and his creations in films, television specials, sitcom episodes, syndicated newspaper cartoons, and elsewhere. As a writer, he has continuously redefined the commercial possibilities of horror fiction, beginning with his first appearance on the bestseller lists with *'Salem's Lot* in 1976. In August 1980, *Firestarter*, *The Dead Zone*, and *The Shining* appeared on the lists simultaneously, marking the first time that an American author was represented by three books. During one week in January 1986, King had five titles simultaneously on the national lists: the hardcover editions of *Skeleton Crew* and *The Bachman Books* and the mass-market and trade paperback editions of *The Talisman*, *The Bachman Books*, and *Thinner*. Since then, instance of two, three, and four titles appearing simultaneously are frequent enough not to occasion much more than passing notice: the exceptional has become the norm—for Stephen King, at least.

At the same time, King has used his facility with the conventions of horror fiction to achieve more than base titillation and terror. From the beginning, his books have been constructed not only on strong narratives and intriguing characters but also on insights into contemporary American society in the closing quarter of the twentieth century. More than any other single author in the field, King speaks for the experiences, expectations, achievements, and disappointments of the "Baby Boomer" generation, often coupling his cosmic horrors and monsters with references to the minutiae of daily life: Gypsy curses share the pages with Ding Dongs, and apocalyptic plagues with Payday bars (reformulated in a chocolate variety to bring the candy bar into line with King's description of one in *The Stand*). His novels have examined flaws in American education (*Carrie* and *Rage*), ramifications of America's love-hate relationship with the automobile (*Christine*), the failure of the American family (*The Shining*, *Roadwork*, *Christine*, *IT*, *Rose Madder*), America's obsessive consumption of energy regardless of the cost (*The Tommyknockers*), and America's potentially suicidal flirtation with devastating technology (*The Stand*). King has also reflected a distinctly political/social agenda, with what are essentially feminist tracts in *Gerald's Game* and *Dolores Claiborne* and more balanced but still socially conscious themes in *Rose Madder*, *Insomnia*, and *Bag of Bones*. In most of his novels and stories, however, he constructs an artful balance between story and commentary, rarely allowing theme to overmaster narrative. In this, if in nothing else, King has demonstrated himself a master of his art.

King's centrality as a master of contemporary popular fiction is no accident; rather, it is the result not only of a native genius for storytelling but also of an extraordinary dedication to his craft. Born on September 21, 1948, King had spent about three-quarters of his life committed to storytelling by the end of the twentieth century. Beginning with derivative stories and juvenilia including self-published chapbooks such as *The Star Invader*, King had placed his first

marketable story by the age of 17; then written major portions of at least three novels, composed nearly 18 months of weekly columns for his college newspaper, and published seven short stories before graduating from the University of Maine at Orono in 1970.

A decade later, King had made his permanent home in Bangor, Maine; completed the first draft for what many consider one of his masterworks, *It*; had seen the publication of ten books, with film versions of several; and enjoyed the first of many triple-title entries in the bestseller lists. A further decade later saw King publish the original version of *The Stand*, using his unique position to restore hundreds of pages cut for its first publication and thus to re-emphasize King's mastery of his chosen genre.

And as the year 2000 approached, King confirmed his stamp on American publication with the appearance of the six-part novel, *The Green Mile* (each short paperback episode rising immediately to bestseller status); two novels published simultaneously by two "authors"—Stephen King's *Desperation* and Richard Bachman's *The Regulators*—using the same casts of characters as imagined by two distinctly different personalities and both verging on an awareness of the numinous in human life; a novel, *Needful Things*, that systematically destroys King's trademark city, Castle Rock, while at the same time asserting the reality of The White—the image of cosmic order and rightness that lies at the core of many of his novels; and the most recent episodes of a decades-long, multi-volume tale-in-progress, "The Dark Tower" series, which promises to fulfill not only King's significant promise as novelist but also his position as heir to the grand traditions of Renaissance epic, the American Western, apocalyptic fantasy, post-apocalyptic science fiction, and mythic romance.

Yet even at his most breathtakingly apocalyptic—or at his most mundanely political and social—King remains true to his roots. An outline of King's titles at the end of the 1990s suggests his wide-ranging interests and his ability to tell stories about almost every traditional monster or conventional terror associated with horror fiction, while transforming that monster into an emblem for contemporary events, problems, or concerns. *Carrie* (1974) blends narrative with pseudo-documentary to detail a naive girl's confrontation not only with menstruation but with ill-defined and partially understood psychic powers. *'Salem's Lot* (1975) revitalized the vampire tradition by emphasizing the underlying isolation and disintegration of community implicit in the figure of the Undead feeding unsuspected on the energy of the living. *The Shining* (1977), one of King's finest, most literary, and most cohesive novels, interweaves sophisticated literary layerings with a traditional ghost story, while at the same time dissecting one American family and demonstrating how fragile family bonds can become in times of social upheaval.

Also in 1977, King published the first of six pseudonymous novels, under the name "Richard Bachman." The first, *Rage* (1977), partially completed prior to King's enrolling at the University of Maine, Orono, embodies a scathing indictment of American education as King portrays a protagonist, a high school student, who murders a teacher and holds his class hostage—events perhaps startling in fiction at the time but, as King seems to foreshadow in the novel, occurring only too frequently in real life by the close of the twentieth century. Subsequent "Bachman" books included *The Long Walk* (1979), *Roadwork* (1981), *The Running Man* (1982), *Thinner* (1984), and—after a decade-long hiatus during which "Richard Bachman" surfaced primarily in in-jokes among readers and critics—*The Regulators* (1996). All except *Thinner* and *The Regulators* were early works, more recognizably mainstream than anything King

had published until *Gerald's Game* and *Dolores Claiborne*, with appropriately socially-oriented themes—the inequity and insanity of military draft in *The Long Walk*, the 1974 oil crisis in *Roadwork*, the depersonalizing effects of the media in *The Running Man*. These novels frequently suggest horrors but remain primarily psychological and evocative rather than physical and explicit, demonstrating once again that King is capable of more subdued and realistic treatments than many of his critics might allow.

In 1978, *The Stand* appeared. Although the novel was structurally deformed by editorial deletions amounting to some 400 manuscript pages (restored in the 1990 unexpurgated, revised version), this epic fable of technology-gone-mad, of wholesale death, and of the struggle to restore order from chaos remains one of King's strongest novels. The complex web of character and subplot—particularly in the restored version—gives the story unusual resonance and demonstrates King's deft hand at characterization, often with a single character, is sufficient to generate a realistic presentation. *The Stand* is also central to King's vision of the struggle between Light and Darkness, with its villainous Randall Flagg reappearing as the Magician Flagg in *The Eyes of the Dragon* (1985, 1987); as the Man in Black in *The Dark Tower: The Gunslinger* (1982); and as LeLand Gaunt in *Needful Things* (1991); with subtle echoes in *Insomnia* (1994), *Rose Madder* (1995), and *The Drawing of the Three* (1987), *The Waste Lands* (1991), and *Wizard and Glass* (1997)), in which readers discover that the world of *The Stand* may belong to an alternate reality threatened by forces surrounding the Dark Tower.

1978 also saw the publication of King's first collection of horror tales, *Night Shift*, which included not only early versions of materials treated in *'Salem's Lot* and *The Stand*, but also the inspiration for a number of subsequent films: *Graveyard Shift*, *The Boogeyman*, *Trucks*, *Sometimes They Come Back*, *The Ledge*, *The Lawnmower Man*, *Quitters, Inc.*, *Children of the Corn* (and its multiple sequels) and *The Woman in the Room*. The stories established King as a master of short fiction as well as novel, and in stories such as "Night Surf" and "I am the Doorway" give play to his occasionally surrealistic, almost poetic imagination.

The Dead Zone (1979), *Firestarter* (1980), and *Cujo* (1981) further demonstrate King's ability to meld horror with realism, science fiction with science, fantasy with imagination. Readable, engaging, and ultimately frightening beyond their suggestions of monsters, each attacks a manifestation of contemporary culture: insanity disguised as rationality, uncontrolled science in league with power-hungry politics, families disintegrating under the internal pressure of selfishness and the external pressures of economics and, again, politics. They also provide useful background to King's critical assessment of horror in fiction and film, *Danse Macabre* (1981), which describes the evolution of dark fantasy from 1953 through 1978. *Danse Macabre* is both entertaining and enlightening, not only defining a genre but often reflecting the autobiographical and literary impulses behind King's own fictions.

In 1982, King published *Creepshow*, a comic-book anthology of five tales, and *Different Seasons*, a collection of four novellas including "Rita Hayworth and Shawshank Redemption," the inspiration for the subsequent Academy-Award winning film (screenplay by Frank Darabont, author of the film version of *The Woman in the Room*); the starkly realistic and semi-autobiographical "The Body," translated brilliantly by Rob Reiner into the first King film-adaptation aimed toward a mainstream audience, *Stand By Me*; "A Winter's Tale," a traditional ghost story; and "Apt Pupil," a frightening

analysis of reciprocal corruption recently released as a film. The concern for adolescent trauma at the heart of “The Body” and “Apt Pupil” continues in 1983’s *Christine*, an oddly disjointed novel in which narrative stance shifts from first-person, to third, and back to first, but which nonetheless extends King’s concern for anatomizing contemporary society while at the same time providing the backdrop for a chilling ghost story.

Cycle of the Werewolf (1983), originally conceived as text for an illustrated calendar, is King’s first extended treatment of the werewolf, but the major novel published that year was *Pet Sematary*, a disquisition on death that remains one of King’s darkest and most powerful stories, as it directly confronts the reality of death and its effect on the human personality. The major characters must confront death and attempt a reconciliation to it. To the degree that they fail, the novel becomes a tragedy verging on desperation, culminating in what is arguably King’s most chilling conclusion.

In 1984, King published a number of experimental works. The first collection of Dark Tower stories, *The Dark Tower: The Gunslinger*, introduced an on-going quest-cycle, incorporating elements of horror but transcending them to incorporate traditional Westerns, action-adventure, romance, and alternate-universe science fiction, all blending seamlessly into what may justly claim to be a legitimate twentieth-century epic. Subsequent volumes—*The Drawing of the Three*, *The Waste Lands*, and *Wizard and Glass*—emphasize King’s ambitious format, his streamlined style, his interconnecting thematic structures, and his highly imaginative combinations of characters, settings, and plots. Similarly, *The Eyes of the Dragon*, published by King’s Philtrum Press, is unique as King’s major foray into overt fantasy. A story of a dying king, a wronged prince, and an evil magician, set in a mythical kingdom complete with dragons, *The Eyes of the Dragon* touches briefly on one of the alternate worlds of *The Dark Tower* but nevertheless stands alone as an important alternative to horror in King’s works. The same year also saw the appearance of King’s only collaborative novel to date, *The Talisman*, written with Peter Straub, one of the few writers who could then challenge King’s preeminence in contemporary horror. An epic-quest that parallels the outlines of the Dark Tower stories, while alluding to writers as disparate as Mark Twain and C. S. Lewis, *The Talisman* balances between the reality of twentieth-century America and the idyllic potentials of the Territories, and blends horror with an innocent’s journey across the face of a modern America populated by monsters both real and illusory, human and inhuman. Readers expecting a combination of King’s colloquialism and Straub’s meticulous formalism might be disappointed in a novel that is stylistically and structurally unlike anything either might write individually, yet which generates its own movement and power through the synergy of their imaginations. The fourth novel to appear in 1984 was King’s final pseudonymous work, *Thinner*, a gritty assessment of the American obsession with dieting and weight. Combining a Gypsy curse with the hypocrisy of suburban life, *Thinner* was so obviously a King story that it led several researchers to unravel the secret of the “Richard Bachman” pseudonym.

In 1985, King published his second major collection of short fiction, *Skeleton Crew*, which contains some of his best short works, including “The Mist,” “Raft,” “Gramma,” and “The Reach,” the latter among his finest and most restrained short pieces. The collection was followed in 1986 by *It*, King’s ‘magnum opus’ and the culmination of his year’s-long concentration on children, childhood, and monsters. Criticized for its scope and length (over 1,100 pages in

the American hardcover edition), it attempts a complex, multi-leveled, encyclopedic look at American culture and society between 1958 and 1985, in which seven children—and their grown-up counterparts—confront the monster in the sewers, the darkness beneath the surface of their lives. King stretches his storytelling powers to create an intricacy of text rivaled only by *The Stand* and the Dark Tower saga.

The next sequence of novels represents a shift in direction for King. *Misery* (1987), *The Tommyknockers* (1987), *The Dark Half* (1989), and “Secret Window, Secret Garden” from *Four Past Midnight* (1990), show King turning his imaginative microscope on himself—the writer as public personality and as private individual. Ranging from the ‘realism’ of *Misery*, in which the only monster is a grotesquely insane human, to the ‘horror’ of *The Dark Half*, in which the monster is a pseudonym-made-flesh (the novel is appropriately dedicated to Richard Bachman), these stories suggest the fine line between imagination and reality. Although they are unlike much of what might be considered ‘classic’ Stephen King, they have been well accepted by readers; the film version of *Misery* received the Academy Award for Best Actress and helped suggest King’s increasing mainstream appeal.

Needful Things (1991) departs radically from King’s earlier novels. Set in the Castle Rock, Maine, his primary fictional landscape, this novel is his version of Mark Twain’s “The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg,” complementing themes initiated in *The Dead Zone*, *Cujo*, “The Body,” *The Dark Half*, *Christine*, *The Talisman*, and *The Tommyknockers*. When a new store opens, townspeople may find what they believe is their heart’s desire and purchase it at a bargain price, contingent on the promise of a small trick. The consequent interlocking circles of purchases and promises magnifies the worst in the human nature, leading a powerful tale of sin and redemption through trial and suffering and forgiveness. Concluding with the destruction of Castle Rock itself, *Needful Things* closes out one segment of King’s career with a complex and ultimately optimistic fable of good versus evil of the White confounding, however momentarily, the Dark.

Gerald’s Game (1992) and *Dolores Claiborne* (1993), *Insomnia*, *Rose Madder*, and *Bag of Bones* (1998) suggest King’s new focus. In each, theme threatens to overshadow storytelling; each indict excesses of patriarchalism, chauvinism, sexism, and/or racism, leaving little doubt that in sexual terms, males are monsters—or, as *Rose Madder* states explicitly, men are beasts. *Gerald’s Game*, a thin book for King, both in page count and in content, received strong reviews from establishment journals but less favorable responses from readers awaiting further evidence of King’s ability to combine commentary with story. In *Gerald’s Game*, commentary clearly takes precedence, since the story could effectively be told in a quarter the length. *Dolores Claiborne* continues the social commentary, linking themes and episodes directly to *Gerald’s Game*, but significantly returns in part to King’s earlier focus on story. A literary *tour de force*, the novel is a single, uninterrupted monologue of over 300 pages that exploits the multiple possibilities in the title character’s name (*Dolores* = “sorrow” + “clay-borne”). With *Insomnia*, King moves toward a balance between his desire to examine social problems—specifically spouse- and child-abuse—and his compulsion to tell his stories. In a daring move, King makes his protagonist a septuagenarian, and simultaneously commits himself to describing the tedium of an insomniac, yet ultimately the story creates its own momentum and moves itself and King’s readers, one step further toward the Dark Tower itself. By the time *Rose Madder* appeared, King was again

writing novels that created their social impact through the medium of the story. His protagonist is an abused woman—echoing the previous four novels—but her restoration to power and dignity becomes an integral part of a greater narrative, one that develops fully King's penchant for mythic themes. Much the same might be said for *Bag of Bones*, in which racism and child-abuse become elements in a story that becomes larger than the sum of its parts—ghost story side by side with social indictment, each concern echoed in the other, amplifying the other, and completing the other.

Perhaps the most conspicuous of all contemporary horror writers, certainly the most recognizable of them, Stephen King has been the subject of scores of books—scholarly, academic, biographical, bibliographical, documentary, and fannish; of hundreds of articles ranging from intense analysis to popular appreciation; of conferences and symposia; of scornful mainstream reviews and fan responses verging on idolatry; and of more media attention than perhaps any other living writer. He has altered the face of modern horror, and—working along with a handful of other writers of equal stature—has come closer than ever before to making this once-denigrated genre an accepted branch of literature. As he passes his fiftieth year and approaches the end of the millennium, King has more firmly than ever established himself as the “King of Horror” and as the master of an intricate and complex trade.

—Michael R. Collings

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Kingston, Maxine Hong (1940—)

Novelist Maxine Hong Kingston was born in the United States to Chinese immigrant parents. Her writing centers on the experience of Chinese-American culture and is part of a multiculturalist critique that challenges images which represent the culture of the United States as homogenous. Her first book, *The Woman Warrior: Memoirs of a Girlhood among Ghosts* (1976), is an autobiography that details her own journey to integrate the Chinese and American elements in her life, interweaving them with a feminist perspective. In her books, the traditions of narrative are undermined, just as she undermines any one view of culture or history.

—Petra Kuppers

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The Kingston Trio

Formed in 1957 in San Francisco, the folk group called the Kingston Trio took the country by storm with its three-part harmonies and energetic, humorous approach to folk music. Courting a pop



The Kingston Trio, from left: Bob Shane, Dave Guard, and Nick Reynolds.

audience and sporting striped shirts, neatly pressed chinos, and an upbeat, *Sing-Out!* attitude, the group originally consisted of guitarists Bob Shane and Nick Reynolds and banjoist Dave Guard (he was replaced by songwriter/rock artist John Stewart in 1961). Backed by Guard's five-string banjo, an acoustic guitar, and congas, the Trio's first big hit was "The Ballad of Tom Dooley," a harmonized saga of a condemned man awaiting execution, based on an old song of the Civil War era. The recording sold three million copies and won the Kingston Trio its first Grammy. Among its numerous albums, several of which now count among the best selling records of the 1950s and 1960s, five of its first six would make it to the Number One spot.

The Kingston Trio began as a casual association between Shane, Reynolds, and Guard. After working up their repertoire at local bars, the trio got its first major gig: a one-week stint at the Purple Onion, a favorite nightspot of San Francisco's college crowd during the late 1950s (Guard was a student at Stanford University when the group formed). Quickly signed to Capitol Records, the group released its first record in early 1958 and went on to release 29 other recordings, including a 1962 tribute to the presidency of John F. Kennedy titled *New Frontier*. The Kingston Trio's appearance at the groundbreaking 1959 Newport Folk Festival was documented in its album, *Live at Newport*. Until the British Invasion in the 1960s, the Trio was a mainstay of the U.S. pop charts. In addition to being the first musical group to have sales of LP records outnumber singles, 14 of the Kingston Trio's albums made it to the Top Ten spot, with five of those reaching Number One and seven charting for 12 months or more.

Punctuated by the twang of the banjo, the music of the Kingston Trio had a danceable feel that captured the hearts of pop fans and turned the band into one of the first crossover groups to bridge the folk and pop genres. Because it made three-part harmony and acoustic guitar look so simple, the Trio sparked a wave of interest in folk music across the country and have been credited with helping usher in the American Folk Revival of the 1960s. As strong as its fan-base was, the Kingston Trio also had its detractors. The group's overt commercialism stood in direct contrast to the back-to-the-earth values associated with folk music and embodied by groups like the Weavers, and the group was reviled in many folk-music circles. "I don't think we ever took ourselves seriously enough to think that we belonged to folk music," Stewart told an interviewer in 1966. Rather than stick to the traditional musical interpretations extolled by purists, the Trio intentionally sought new input for its music, adapting such diverse ethnic music traditions as Appalachian Mountain melodies and Calypso into its own clean-cut, upbeat style.

Children of the Morning (1966) was the last album recorded by the Kingston Trio. The times indeed were a-changing, and the rock-folk synthesis the Trio catalyzed in the 1950s was, by the late 1960s, the province of groups like Simon and Garfunkel, the Mamas and the Papas, and the Association. Although the band officially broke up in 1967, Shane continued to tour with musicians Jim Connor and Pat Horine as the New Kingston Trio into the 1990s. By the end of that decade, Shane, Nick Reynolds, and George Grove were being listed as members of the group. Stewart went on to record with Stevie Hicks and Lindsey Buckingham of the rock group Fleetwood Mac. Guard, who had left due to personality clashes with Shane and Reynolds, formed the Whiskeyhill Singers in the early 1960s.

—Pamela L. Shelton

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Kinison, Sam (1953-1992)

Sam Kinison is remembered as the innovator of "rage comedy," a style defined by the punctuation of a comedy routine with seemingly out-of-control fits of screaming and howling. Kinison began his "performance" career as a Pentecostal minister, but soon drifted into comedy clubs where he caught the attention of Rodney Dangerfield. Dangerfield provided Kinison with showcase bookings in his own nightclub and a role in his movie *Back to School* (1986). The comedian also appeared on *Saturday Night Live*, an HBO special, and the short-lived TV sitcom *Charlie Hoover*. Ironically, Kinison had recently completed successful treatment for his well-documented substance abuse when he was accidentally killed by a teenage drunk driver who professed to having been one of his fans.

—Barry Morris

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Kinsey, Dr. Alfred C. (1894-1956)

Although he was in many ways the very model of the "egg-head" scientist, complete with crew-cut and bow tie, few academic researchers have had such a widespread impact on American culture as Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, the founder of the Institute for Sex Research (later renamed for Kinsey) at Indiana University. Kinsey and his colleagues revolutionized the study and understanding of human sexuality through the publication of the two famous *Kinsey Reports*, more accurately entitled *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1952). Instant bestsellers and cultural touchstones that few people actually read, the reports explicitly divorced moral judgment from the study of sexuality and opened sexual inquiry to professional disciplines beyond the medical sciences. While the aim of Kinsey's work was explicitly to collect quantifiable data, its cultural repercussions can be felt in the ways sexual topics are taught, discussed, and debated in American society throughout the latter half of the twentieth century.

Raised in a strict home and trained in zoology and entomology at Harvard, Kinsey began his scientific career by becoming the world's expert on gall wasps, which he collected by the thousands; among other things, Kinsey discovered that they exhibited odd reproductive



Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey

habits. After being hired by Indiana University in 1920 and asked to coordinate an undergraduate course on marriage, Kinsey discovered how little reliable scientific research was available on human sexuality. He and his colleagues (most notably Wardell Pomeroy, Clyde Martin, and Paul Gebhard) then initiated an elaborate project to collect data, which eventually involved almost 18,000 personal interviews and the accumulation of a vast archive of erotic as well as scientific materials. Though linked to a state university, the institute relied upon independent funding and donations in order to counter regular misperceptions that Indiana taxpayers might be supporting a pornography collection: early on, to demonstrate his techniques, Kinsey even collected the sexual histories of his sponsors at the Rockefeller Foundation and National Research Council. Adopting a radically empirical stance, Kinsey's institute categorized and cross-indexed sexual information in minute detail, while carefully avoiding the moralizing perspectives that had hampered previous discussions of sexual behavior and expression. In the institute's neutral vision, pornography might be as valuable for research as anthropology. For the first time in American culture, the practice of masturbation was simply taken for granted, though its multiple variations were carefully catalogued. By all accounts, Kinsey and his team were masterful in their ability to put their interviewees at ease while they revealed their most intimate activities and fantasies. The public response to those interviews was, on the other hand, a mixture of shock and fascination that also turned the research scientist into a national celebrity.

Undoubtedly the first report's most controversial revelation, especially in the historical context of ex-servicemen returning to civilian life, was that homosexual activity was common to many

American men: 37 percent of Kinsey's sample had experienced at least one homosexual encounter leading to orgasm. Adopting a scale from 0 to 6, ranging from exclusive heterosexuality to exclusive homosexuality, Kinsey challenged stereotypes linking homosexuality and effeminate behavior and defined homosexuality as behavioral rather than constitutional. According to Kinsey's statistical summary, about four percent of American men were exclusively homosexual. Although Kinsey's statistics have been the subject of extensive criticism and confusion (he is commonly misquoted as claiming that 10 percent of American men are homosexual), reexaminations of his figures have also frequently affirmed the validity of his findings. Overall, Kinsey's research argued that homosexuals as a group, and homosexuality as an activity, were much more typical and, therefore, less statistically "deviant" than previously assumed.

The report on female sexuality was equally controversial, though the press and public downplayed its discovery that, while only three percent of Kinsey's sample were exclusively homosexual, the women in the study tended to be better educated than their male counterparts. Instead, attention focused on Kinsey's detailed analysis of the female orgasm and his revealing that almost half of the women interviewed had experienced premarital intercourse, while around 26 percent had enjoyed extramarital sexual relations. Clearly, Kinsey's data challenged beliefs about the prevailing female behavior, which turned out to largely be ideals rather than reality.

Half a century after the publication of his reports, Kinsey remained a controversial figure, though the most heated debates about his work have generally moved back into the academy where they began. Periodically Kinsey's objectivity and statistical findings are challenged, and often they are reconfirmed. James H. Jones's biography revealed many surprising details of Kinsey's own complex sexual life—married and the father of four children, Kinsey was also homosexually active. For cultural historians, the recurrence of such debates itself provides evidence of Kinsey's ongoing role in American life. Many have credited Kinsey with making once taboo topics—masturbation, homosexuality, female orgasm—frequent discussion topics in the media and in the home.

—Corey K. Creekmur

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Kirby, Jack (1917-1994)

One of the most prolific and influential comic-book creators, Jack Kirby is deservedly known as “the king of comics.” Kirby, born Jacob Kurtzberg, grew up on New York’s tough Lower East Side. The brawls and colorful characters of his youth influenced his work, from the explosive fight scenes to the numerous kid-gangs he created (Newsboy Legion, Boy Commandos, among others). In 1940, Kirby teamed with Joe Simon, and they created scores of comic books, including the first romance comic. In March 1941, their most famous creation, Captain America, debuted in *Captain America Adventures*. Over the next 20 years, Kirby virtually created the visual language of super-hero comics. His panels were crammed with dynamic action and visual excitement. Perhaps Kirby’s best work was in the 1960s when he and writer-editor Stan Lee transformed faltering Atlas Comics into pop culture powerhouse Marvel Comics, with characters such as the Fantastic Four and the X-Men.

—Randy Duncan

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KISS

After more than 20 years in the business and sales of nearly 80 million albums, KISS can legitimately be placed in the pantheon of the world’s great rock and roll bands. Their best known songs, such as “Rock ‘n’ Roll All Nite,” “Shout it Out Loud,” and “Detroit Rock City” stand as some of the greatest rock anthems of all time. The band might also be credited with inventing the radio-friendly power ballad (“Beth”), even though it took nearly 10 years before other hard rock bands made such an addition to an album mandatory. Their chart successes notwithstanding, KISS’s greatest contribution to rock and roll may be their pioneer efforts on the stage. Their outrageous make-up and a commitment to over-the-top theatrics radically expanded rock fans’ expectations for showmanship.

KISS was formed in New York City in 1972 by bass player Gene Simmons and vocalist/guitarist Paul Stanley after their band Wicked Lester was dumped by Epic Records. Stanley and Simmons recruited guitarist Ace Frehley and drummer Peter Criss, both of whom who had advertised their availability in music magazines. With the lineup in place, the group devised an ingenious strategy to market their act to fans and record labels. Drawing on precedents set by glam rock acts like the New York Dolls and shock rocker Alice Cooper, the members of KISS reinvented themselves as four larger-than-life stage characters, by means of elaborate costumes and Japanese Kabuki make-up. Gene Simmons played a blood-spitting, fire-breathing demon; Paul Stanley masqueraded as a bare-chested, hyper-macho Casanova; lead guitarist Ace Frehley became an outer space guitar wizard; and Peter Criss played the role of a prowling cat-man. To intensify the effect, the quartet did not permit themselves to be seen or photographed in public without their make-up.



Ace Freely (left) and Paul Stanley of KISS.

In addition to their clever use of theatrical disguise, KISS also developed an elaborately choreographed performance that, along with their aggressive self-promotional releases, attracted the attention of television producer Bill Aucoin, who helped the band to a contract with Casablanca Records. Their first three albums, released in quick succession in 1974 and 1975, sold modestly, and the band was lambasted by critics everywhere. Nevertheless, KISS quickly built an impressive audience through constant touring. Certainly, much of their in-concert appeal rested on their groundbreaking use of pyrotechnics, set design, and stage lighting. They also greatly expanded their audience because they were more willing than most bands to schedule dates in smaller market cities and geographically isolated places.

Recognizing that their musical energy was somewhat lost in the studio setting, KISS released a concert album. Peaking at number nine on the charts, *Alive* (1975) catapulted the band into the upper echelons of the rock world and relieved them of nagging debt and royalty problems. The next studio album, *Destroyer* (1976), marked an important shift in sound and image as KISS abandoned its simplistic, almost silly, straight-ahead guitar rock for a more polished and radio friendly sound. By broadening their sound, the band built a more diverse fan base. The KISS Army, as the band’s fan club is known, once peopled almost exclusively by teenage males, began to include not only teenage females, but a lucrative pre-teen audience as well. Perhaps most important in their transition was the release of the pop single “Beth,” a ballad penned by Criss as a tribute to his wife. “Beth” reached the top ten, and became the band’s best-selling single. Their biggest year was 1977, which saw several of their

albums on the charts simultaneously, leading them to end the year as *Billboard*'s number two album artist, second only to Fleetwood Mac.

Capitalizing on their multi-platinum successes, the group further expanded their multimedia approach to rock. Taking a leaf out of the Beatlemania book, KISS made everything from black light posters to lunch boxes to costumed action figures available to their adoring fans. In 1977, Marvel comics published a KISS comic book, purportedly printed with ink mixed with blood drawn from the band. The next year the band was featured in a movie called *KISS Meets the Phantom of the Park*. First released in late October, the timing was appropriate, since dressing up like a KISS character had become a favorite Halloween costume for kids across America. It was rumored that the band even bought 200 acres near Cincinnati in order to build a theme park that never materialized. KISS's widespread popularity and Gene Simmons' demonic stage character prompted concern by parents groups and the nascent Religious Right—several youths, trying to copy Simmons' fire-breathing stage act, were badly burnt—and objectors suggested that KISS was really an acronym for Knights in Satan's Service, a charge flatly rejected by the band. The KISS logo also raised concern in Germany because its last two letters resembled the swastika worn by Nazi-era military officers.

As the more conservative 1980s approached, KISS and their exaggerated excesses began to seem dated. Beginning with their four "solo" albums released in 1978, the band hit a slump that would last through the early 1980s. Among the ill-fated releases of this era were the *Dynasty* album (1979), which featured the peculiar disco-ish single, "I Was Made for Loving You," a song that alienated many long-term fans. They departed even further from their basic formula of teen-friendly pop-rock when they recorded *The Elder* (1981), a concept album that was partially co-written by Lou Reed. Neither album sold well by the standards set a few years earlier.

During the 1980s, KISS underwent several lineup changes. Peter Criss and Ace Frehley left the band and were replaced by Eric Carr and Vinnie Vincent respectively. Subsequently, Vincent was replaced by Mark St. John who, in turn, was replaced by Bruce Kulick. After nearly a decade, Eric Singer replaced Carr, who was terminally ill with cancer. In 1983, KISS abandoned their make-up and entered headlong into the emerging pop metal arena, competing with the likes of Def Leppard and Bon Jovi instead of Grand Funk and Led Zeppelin. As metal mania reached its fever pitch in the 1980s and early 1990s, KISS enjoyed a significant resurgence, again reaching platinum status with albums such as *Lick it Up* (1983) and *Animalize* (1984). Though their albums were selling well, they never regained their former momentum, and members of the band ventured into other non-musical projects. (Both Stanley and Simmons, for example, tried their hand at acting).

As the 1990s rolled around, KISS had very little left to prove. The legion of fans they established in the 1970s spawned many dozens of aspiring musicians. Dozens of outright tribute bands were on the road in the 1980s and 1990s, albeit without the elaborate stage sets, and KISS was paid the high honor of a tribute album recorded in 1994. Entitled *KISS My Ass*, the album stood as a sarcastic rebuke to all the critics who had scorned the band over the years, and featured KISS covers from artists as diverse as Garth Brooks and Lenny Kravitz. Perhaps far greater tribute was the number of bands clearly influenced by KISS. Though no band actually copied their stage routine or dress, a number of very popular 1980s metal bands, including Faster Pussycat, Mötley Crüe, Ratt, DIO and Twisted Sister, showed overt signs of the KISS influence on their visual and sonic characteristics. That influence can also be felt, if not heard, in

the so-called grunge rock of bands like Nirvana and Soundgarden, who approached the business of song-writing and rock stardom with a clearly tongue-in-cheek attitude and the playful absurdity of KISS close to their hearts.

Interest in KISS was revitalized substantially in the mid-1990s when the original line-up reunited for a few numbers for MTV's *Unplugged* program. Reaction from fans was so favorable that a reunion tour was scheduled, replete with make-up, blood spitting, and pyrotechnics. The tour drew huge crowds and brought the band's peculiar brand of entertainment live to a new generation of fans.

—Steve Graves

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Kitsch

The word "kitsch" is perhaps one of the oldest, crudest, and most unclear terms used to describe the popular art of modern societies, though it is also a term which is almost universally understood. First appearing in the writings of cultural and social critics of the late nineteenth century to describe the effects of early industrialism on the common culture of Western nations, the term has evolved and taken on a variety of sometimes quite contradictory meanings throughout the century or so of its use. The precise etymology of kitsch is uncertain: some attribute kitsch to the Russian "keetchetsya," meaning "to be haughty and puffed up," though a more widely accepted view attributes its origins to the Munich art markets of the 1860s, where "kitsch" was used to describe inexpensive paintings or "sketches" (the English word mispronounced by Germans, or elided with the German verb *verkitschen*, to "make cheap"). Kitsch artworks appealed to the naive tastes of the emerging, newly monied Munich bourgeoisie who, in typical *nouveau riche* fashion, desired objects they thought to be typical of "high taste," without knowing exactly what high taste was. Like "pornography," "art" or other slippery terms, kitsch is easier to demonstrate by example than it is to clarify by definition: kitsch tends to apply most easily to ornamental statuary, chachkas of different kinds, manufactured sentimental nicknacks, souvenirs, and decorative objects reflecting a childlike simplicity—things that are simply meant to make us feel good about ourselves and the world. What makes kitsch kitsch, however, is not simply the fact of its being decorative, but that kitsch artificially inflates the comfort of decoration into a uniquely fake aesthetic statement.

Thus, there are two sides of kitsch which have to be explained: kitsch is a unique aesthetic style, but it is also the effect of specific social and historical changes. As an effect of historical changes, kitsch is caused by industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of a new middle class. As an aesthetic quality, kitsch combines an



An example of kitsch: baby dolls displayed in a store window.

emulation of high art forms and styles with a dependence on comfort and very direct expressions of aesthetic pleasure. In what follows these two aspects of kitsch, its historical causes and its aesthetic dimensions will be considered in turn.

By the mid-nineteenth century, improvements in mechanized manufacture, distribution, and commercial retail, together with a trend toward urbanization made it possible for mass-produced cultural goods to reach vast numbers of people. In Europe and North America, clerical and lower-level management positions opened up by these economic changes created a new, largely urban middle class. Peasants and traditional workers who had previously been content with regional, rural, and traditional forms of culture found themselves buying mass-produced trinkets, decorations, and ornaments for the home. With disposable income and leisure time to kill, this new class of urban professionals sought distractions and amusements, but most importantly it sought to carve out a status for itself as “cultured” and “sophisticated” by exhibiting its taste for “fine things.” These petty professionals swarmed over the new luxury items that were being churned out in mass volume, gravitating especially to the knock-off imitation luxury products, “fine art” items crudely and glibly manufactured to resemble the posh and high art objects of the old

aristocracy: gilded furniture, glass-beaded jewelry, highly ornate candelabras, imitation oil paintings, miniature ceramic copies of ancient statues and other household ornaments meant to produce maximum effect without too much bother or cost. As societies industrialized and more and more people gained access to mass-produced cultural goods, kitsch emerged as the lowest common cultural denominator of modern society, cutting across old class distinctions through the techniques of the new “mass consumption.” For this reason the rise of kitsch has been widely blamed for the erosion of elite “high culture” and the uprooting of regional “folk cultures,” and the wider “dumbing down” of modern societies.

The influx of kitsch objects gradually brought with it an overall change in attitudes toward the definition of beauty itself. Unlike the traditional elite classes who exercised refinement and cultivation in their appreciation for the subtleties of true artistic expression, the new classes lacked any taste for subtlety, preferring art that was loud, direct, and excessive. Where true art required strenuous interpretation, a cultivated sensibility, and presented the viewer with personal and ethical challenges, the kitsch of mass-produced art sought to make itself available to the maximum number of people. It took the shortest, easiest, and most direct route, always preferring more intense aesthetic expression through added features and exaggerated effects. On the question of beauty, the purveyor of kitsch reasons according to the principle, more is better: Why have a chandelier hung only with cut glass baubles when you can afford one with cherubs and electric candles? Why be content with a plaster reproduction of the Venus in the foyer when it can be lit from behind, producing a more “dramatic” effect. Why settle for a simple oil seascape when you can have one with crashing waves, sea gulls, and a partially obscured full moon shining right through the towering curl of a cresting wave? The mass-produced art of the new classes simply declares the effect it intends: “beauty!” “exotica!” “sentiment!” The familiar earmarks of kitsch: exploding fields of flowers, the faces of cute children, etc., deliver aesthetic response with greater intensity and in a more direct manner because of its use of overstatement. However, even while kitsch maximizes aesthetic effect, it remains faithful to its vision of high art: kitsch believes itself to be sincere, graceful, even profound—like high art itself. Thus, this quality of maximized effect in the form of high culture defines an important aspect of kitsch.

But that is not all: more than simply graceless and overstated, what makes kitsch kitsch is its dependence on expressions of comfort, “happiness,” and an artificial sense of well-being. Kitsch expresses a pleasurable experience of everyday comfort, coziness, and easy solace, an artificially simplified and synthetically comfortable image of the world, allowing an easy and gratuitous sense of bliss. Kitsch achieves this in many ways: in Norman Rockwell’s paintings of small town America, for example, kitsch expresses a contrived sense of wonderment at the innocence and folly of everyday people and things, especially children, animals, and old people whose everydayness is raised up to the level of an important human virtue. In Rockwell’s paintings there is little ambiguity about the people he represents: they are cute, and this fact hits the viewer with immediate and unmistakable force. Kitsch aims for the easiest responses it can get, preferring rather to deliver us back to the comfort of familiar feelings than to challenge us with new ones. For this reason, kitsch appeals to sentimentality, as demonstrated in the work of Margaret Keane, the notorious painter of teary eyed clowns and children with enormous almond-shaped eyes. The sappy figures in Keane’s work squeeze out a response before we know what has hit us, and this response is a simple, obvious, and direct joy in what is simply and obviously joyful:

cute little children. However, for both Rockwell and Keane, there is a pretentious aspect to their work: though their subject matter is comfortable and accessible it is not simply decorative. These are sincere, human expressions of a fundamental human quality, calling for the same respect and admiration we reserve for the humanity alone. In this way, cute kitsch makes the same appeal to the higher values of human beauty as does high art. And, more importantly for kitsch, the fawning sentimental reactions these images demand from its viewers are made to seem somehow virtuous, profound, and universally human. The viewer is flattered into feeling that the cuteness of one of Rockwell's everyday folks expresses the same essential value of human life that Michaelangelo gave to the David. All of this expresses the value of familiarity and comfort itself, raised up to the level of a true artistic statement, amplified through exaggerated effects so as to be easy and accessible to all. In short, kitsch tries to stimulate us in a direct and accessible fashion, passing off comfort and sentimentality as expressions of profound human significance, or deep personal meaning. Kitsch prefers to show us what we already know so as to save us the discomfort of experiencing something for the first time.

Kitsch, however, is a very volatile, flexible, and vague term, infinitely adaptable to the specific historical conditions of its use, conditions where popular culture is thought to be getting out of hand. Comparing a few of the most important uses of the term, we see how some uses of kitsch emphasize its aesthetic and others the historical and social dimensions.

The Austrian writer Hermann Broch has discussed kitsch's development in the nineteenth century, and its connection with romanticism: both kitsch and romanticism promised a uniquely modern flight from reality into a world that was sheltered from the tension and uncertainty of modern life. His essay, *Notes on the Problem of Kitsch*, points out how kitsch expresses that escape as a dreamy experience of happiness, tranquillity, and sugary harmony, and a flight into comfort. Broch's article goes to the heart of that comfort as the product of these historical changes: kitsch comfort has its origins in the rising middle class that invented kitsch. This taste for domestic comfort, Broch writes, became the badge of bourgeois identity, or the marker of their status as a legitimate class, rivaling the elite aspirations of aristocratic art. In this way, the middle-class valuation of comfort was inflated to the pretentious status of high art, as it was learned to masquerade as art.

By the twentieth century, kitsch was given a new set of meanings by the critics of "mass culture," particularly American Left intellectuals who used kitsch to criticize the culture of the new "consumer society" or mass society. With Dwight MacDonal, Irving Howe, and others, kitsch was no longer blamed for the erosion of elite or regional culture, but for the manipulation of the consciousness of the masses, controlling their thoughts and cultural outlooks through a kitsch bombardment of comic books, radio, TV shows, and movies expressing manufactured emotional, aesthetic, and social outlooks. Reducing adults to children, the new kitsch made masses easier to manipulate by reducing their cultural needs to the easy gratification offered by Disney cartoons, pulp literature, and romance novels. Macdonald wrote: "The Lords of kitsch, in short, exploit the cultural needs of the masses in order to make a profit and/or to maintain their class rule." To these commentators of the 1950s, writing at the heyday of the mass culture theory, it seemed as if the same propaganda tactics that had worked so well for fascists and communists were operative in the kitsch of American capitalism and mass culture,

draining the minds of consumers and ultimately cultivating a subordination to authority. So barbarous was the effect of kitsch that one commentator was inclined to compare the manic and violent behavior of Donald Duck to the sadism of the S.S. soldier. Kitsch also proved useful for advocates of avant-garde culture, most notably Clement Greenberg, whose classic essay *Avant-Garde and Kitsch* stands as one of the best known pieces on the topic. Greenberg, bent on marking a distinction between the avant-garde and the popular culture of the masses, trashed kitsch for its parasitic quality, drawing its life-blood from the creative sweat of "real artists," and keeping the masses in a state of cultural imbecility and confusion. For Greenberg, kitsch represented "the epitome of all that is spurious in the life of our times."

Taken together, all these arguments hinge on the assumption of an objective standard of taste of one sort or another: one cannot call something kitsch without assuming that there is, somewhere, a universal standard of beauty against which an object can be judged and condemned as kitsch. By the end of the twentieth century, with an increasing emphasis on cultural diversity, and a "post modern" acknowledgment of the relative standards of beauty in different societies, this objective standard of taste was not so easy to argue. In a climate of multiculturalism and cultural relativism, "kitsch," as a term describing an inherently inferior variety of art and culture seemed to have no ground left to stand on. In fact, the tables had turned: in much cultural criticism of the late twentieth century, kitsch had fallen out of use. Particularly in the late 1990s, when the charm of camp (an ironic appreciation of kitsch, quite distinct from kitsch itself) defined so much of contemporary taste in popular culture, classical uses of the term kitsch seemed more and more difficult to justify. The "cultural studies" approach to popular culture had largely abandoned the term, at least in the morally charged, pejorative usage given it by nineteenth century and mass culture theorists.

Nonetheless, kitsch has refused to go away, and has appeared in some highly innovative commentaries. The closed, artificial world of kitsch, and the dreamy sense of pleasantness and well being it promises still puzzled cultural analysts, even when it was not tied to a strong judgment on the value of aesthetic content or on the control of the masses. Two commentaries on kitsch stand out: Milan Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* discusses the kitsch of communist society, which trumpets an artificial joy in the spontaneous exuberance of socialist life and the strained comfort of the company of one's comrades. A darker side of kitsch is revealed by Saul Friedlander in his *Reflections of Nazism: an Essay on Kitsch and Death*. Friedlander discloses the ways in which Nazi kitsch, in a manner quite different from standard forms of capitalist "entertainment" kitsch, excites a morbid fascination with death, particularly in the melodramatic image of the tragic death of the soldier. In fact, freed from its elitist underpinnings, kitsch has proven more effective a term for describing the strange euphoria of the synthetic that characterized much of consumer culture at the end of the twentieth century.

—Sam Binkley

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Kiwanis

In the words of its mission statement, the Kiwanis Club is an international organization dedicated to "service" and the "advancement of individual, community, and national welfare. . . ." It promotes a strong spiritual life for its members, a high standard of living, and the idea of citizens' civic obligations to others. The organization was founded on January 21, 1915, in Detroit, Michigan, by Allen Simpson Browne, a Moose Lodge organizer, and Joseph Prancela, a tailor. The name drew from a Native American phrase which can be interpreted differently to mean "we have a good time," "we trade," or "we advertise." By the late 1990s the organization had 300,000 members in more than 8,000 clubs in 82 countries. Made up predominantly of business people and professional men and women, the organization gives approximately \$70 million a year to charitable organizations and individuals as well as seven million hours of direct community service. Perhaps best known for widely posted signs that feature a circled K, the Kiwanis Club symbolizes a commitment to the biblical Golden Rule—doing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Drawing its membership largely from American business persons (the organization began as something of a networking club for local merchants and salesmen to make contacts with prospective clients), it came to symbolize certain features of modern middle-class life. Cultural critics of the 1920s poked fun at its conformist, self-congratulatory, and boosterist elements. Spurred on by H. L. Mencken's antagonism to the "booboisie," Sinclair Lewis drew up a scathing portrait of small-town businessmen in his novel *Babbitt*. Lewis mocked his central character's membership in local civic organizations that seemed more concerned with providing stability and making connections than with actually doing good works. In response, *Kiwanis* magazine called for continued "boosting" against the negativism of critics like Lewis. Nonetheless, Lewis's portrait of simplistic spirituality wedded to pragmatic materialism remained a popular image of the Kiwanis.

The Kiwanis Club grew out of a variety of voluntary organizations that Alexis de Tocqueville discussed in *Democracy in America*, his classic analysis of nineteenth-century American culture. In fact, many early members of the Kiwanis Club were originally Moose and

Elk lodge members. The Kiwanis Club became part of a modern set of mainstream service organizations, including the Rotary and Lions clubs. Fostering the belief that citizens can solve social problems through local and voluntary activity, the Kiwanis provide opportunity for and examples of middle-class philanthropy and service for societal good. As Jeffrey Charles argued in his book *Service Clubs in American Society*, the Kiwanis have tried to bring together traditional values of community and compassion with the modern system of corporate profit and competitive individualism.

The emphasis on voluntarism, some may argue, symbolizes the more conservative element of the Kiwanis. This voluntary spirit became identified with Herbert Hoover's distrust of the federal government during the early years of the Great Depression. The Kiwanis then became closely associated with anticommunist campaigns during the 1950s and conformist culture that social critics mocked in books like William Whyte's *Organization Man* and C. Wright Mills's *White Collar*. Not surprisingly, it was during the 1950s that the Kiwanis spread internationally in larger numbers, building upon America's rise as a world super power.

Like other civic organizations, the Kiwanis have experienced a decline in American membership during the mid to late 1990s. Reporting on these general losses of voluntary group membership, Robert Putnam, a political scientist at Harvard University, argued that this trend reflects a wider loss of civic engagement in America and the passing of Tocqueville's ideal of America as a voluntarist republic. Nonetheless, the Kiwanis Club has had a great impact on the civic and social identity of many middle-class Americans, and, for better or worse, has played a significant role in American culture.

—Kevin Mattson

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Klein, Calvin (1942—)

More than any other designer, Bronx-born Calvin Klein has rendered fashion as popular culture. Long an elite and "trickle-down" phenomenon from most privileged clothes to least, fashion is wholly democratic for Klein beginning with his success in Calvin Klein jeans in the 1970s, continued through massive advertising, and sustained in such forms as designer underwear. He is now the designer fashion students aspire to emulate; the designer whose name appears on innumerable T-shirts and underwear waistbands. He was the first designer to invade and conquer popular culture. Since Brooke Shields seductively uttered "nothing comes between me and my

Calvins” in a memorable advertising campaign in 1980, Klein’s edgy ads have been the forefront of contemporary visual culture defining sexual limits, the spirit of the young, and cultural provocation. In design sensibility, austere, reductive, and modern, Klein’s ubiquitous name is synonymous with fashion as media and mass culture.

—Richard Martin

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Klein, Robert (1942—)

One of the leading lights of stand-up comedy in the 1970s was New York-born monologist Robert Klein. Although often compared to scatological trailblazer Lenny Bruce, Klein perfected a gentler, more observational form of humor in the same vein as his contemporaries David Brenner and Woody Allen. After making his initial splash as a stage actor, Klein became the darling of the comedy club circuit after the 1973 release of his album *Child of the Fifties*. A series of one-man shows followed, which he eventually parlayed into a successful second career as a character actor. In the 1990s, Klein focused almost exclusively on ensemble performance, appearing on stage to positive reviews opposite Jane Alexander in Wendy Wasserstein’s *The Sisters Rosenzweig* (1992), and on film for his old friend Mike Nichols in *Primary Colors* (1998).

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Kmart

Once the nation’s largest retailer, Kmart was an early leader in the discount merchandising game. An offshoot of the venerable S. S. Kresge variety store chain, Kmart came to epitomize the familiar, everyday shopping experience of the late twentieth century: a massive parking lot on the edge of town and the large boxlike, single story structure with a bewildering selection of reasonably priced goods. The spontaneous in-store advertising gimmick of a moveable cart with its revolving beacon has made “blue light special” part of American society’s shared language. Often the object of ridicule and disparaging comments (the *New York Times* characterized the store as “a caricature of strip mall culture”), it nevertheless played host to the consumer purchasing power of some 70 million customers. Along with Wal-Mart and Target, Kmart changed the way Americans buy what they need.

The very first Kmart opened in a suburb outside of Detroit (Garden City, Michigan) in 1962, which happened to be a watershed year for retailing in this country, as it also witnessed openings for the first Target and the first Wal-Mart. While many observers were captivated by the charismatic personality of the late Sam Walton and focused on the phenomenal growth of his Wal-Mart empire, it should be remembered that Kmart was the first of the discount chains to

aspire to a national presence and the first to successfully challenge the department store giants for retail supremacy. It was also the first retail firm to accurately cater to the new suburban lifestyle by offering the type and variety of consumer items that were increasingly in demand. By 1970 the company had built over 400 stores and was the undisputed discount store sales leader with more than a billion dollars in sales annually. During the next two decades Kmart grew enormously, and by 1989 the firm had surpassed Sears to become the nation's leading retailer. It turned out to be but a brief stint at the top, however, for the following year Wal-Mart caught up and took over the lead position, which it retained throughout the 1990s. Many analysts felt that it was simply a matter of age and beauty, as most Kmart stores were both older and smaller than the more recently built Wal-Marts. Different locality strategies may have played a role also, with Kmart avoiding the smaller towns where its fierce competitor seemed to thrive best. Looking for an edge, the Kmart corporation took an ill-advised leap into diversification, acquiring several specialty outlets, such as Builders Square and Walden Books, which did not perform as expected. During the late 1990s, under the watchful eye of former Target executive Floyd Hall, Kmart embarked on an aggressive program of store renewal.

Acting to rectify public perception of poorly stocked, dark, and dirty stores, Kmart executives launched a modernization program to remodel and replace aging facilities with brighter, wider aisles and more sophisticated displays and replicated the computerized warehousing and inventory techniques pioneered by arch rival Wal-Mart. Adopting a strategy of "lifestyle merchandising," the company sought to capitalize on celebrity sponsorship of select collections of specialty clothing and housewares, contracting with Kathy Ireland, Jaclyn Smith, and Martha Stewart to push a more upscale product line. In something of a radical departure in terms of both market and store design, the company opened a four-level outlet in the heart of Manhattan. With innovative on-line internet shopping matched with realtime returns to any of its 2,000 store locations across the country, the company poised itself to capture a larger market share of the discount retail world. While the store was long regarded as simply a cheap and convenient place to buy necessities (a larger version of its ancestral five-and-dime), Kmart management strove to change that image during the late 1990s. As the firm's own mission statement audaciously professed, "Kmart is a symbol to Americans—the place which helps them attain the quality of life guaranteed in the American dream." Barring any radical shifts in popular culture, it is likely the familiar loudspeaker announcement "Attention Kmart Shoppers!" may yet ring in the ears of American shoppers for years to come.

—Robert Kuhlken

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Kniewel, Evel (1938—)

A familiar sight on television in the late 1960s and 1970s, colorful motorcycle stuntman Evel Kniewel thrilled and delighted record crowds across the country and the world. With reckless abandon, Kniewel attempted monumental motorcycle stunts that almost always ended with broken bones and serious injuries.

Robert Craig Kniewel was born in Butte, Montana, on October 17, 1938. At age eight, Kniewel witnessed the stunt show of Joey Chitwood's Auto Daredevils and a dream was born. It was also at this early age that Kniewel began a sordid series of entanglements with the law that would continue for many years. An incredible athlete, Kniewel won the Northern Rocky Mountain Ski Association Class A state ski jumping championship in 1957 and played professional ice hockey in North Carolina before starting, managing, and playing for his own semiprofessional ice hockey team, the Butte Bombers.

In the early 1960s, Kniewel worked for a while as a hunting guide with his own Sur-Kill Guide Service. After he discovered that elk were being senselessly slaughtered in Yellowstone National Park, he hitchhiked to Washington, D.C. to save them, and his efforts helped stopped this needless killing. After a motorcycle accident, insurance sales became the next career for Kniewel; in just one week, he sold a record 271 policies. This didn't last long, however, and soon Kniewel was back on the wrong side of the law—this time as safecracker and con man. Kniewel finally left this life of crime and opened a Honda dealership in Washington.

Kniewel's road to national stardom began in 1965, with the creation of Evel Kniewel's Motorcycle Daredevils. Members of the team began slowly leaving until it was finally just Evel. He continued going it alone, supervising every aspect of the stunt show, until he made the big time in 1968, on New Year's Day, leaping over the fountains in front of Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, a distance of 141 feet. Though the jump was successful, the landing was not, and Kniewel spent 30 days in a coma. He followed this with other record-breaking jumps—at the Los Angeles Coliseum and the ill-fated attempt at jumping the Snake River Canyon in 1974 in Idaho on his "Skycycle." In 1975, Kniewel took his show overseas to Wembley Stadium in London, where he broke his pelvis in an attempt to leap 13 double decker buses in front of a crowd of 90,000. Not to be outdone, his next leap took place at King's Island in Ohio in 1975, where he jumped 14 greyhound buses on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. His last jump was a total disaster, and he was seriously injured as he tried to leap a tank of live sharks in the Chicago Amphitheater in 1976.

Kniewel's stunt career propelled him to celebrity status enjoyed usually by only movie stars and mainstream athletes. The Evel Kniewel Stuntcycle became a popular toy, and other products with his likeness and name sold in the millions. He appeared on an episode of the *Bionic Woman* (1976) as himself and starred in *Viva Kniewel* (1977), again as himself. George Hamilton starred in a motion picture about Kniewel, entitled *Evel Kniewel* (1971). Kniewel provided excitement and escape for the country at a troubling time in the early 1970s, on the heels of Watergate and the Vietnam War. His red, white, and blue jumpsuit was an obvious play for patriotism, as he captivated the minds of old and young alike. He managed to thrill and excite, providing a form of entertainment to take the nation's mind of its woes, thus endearing himself to Americans as a courageous folk hero.

—Jay Parrent



Evel Knievel

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Knight, Bobby (1940—)

Perhaps no coach in all of sports has been reprimanded and disciplined as much as Indiana University head basketball coach Bobby Knight. Much to his displeasure, Knight's sideline and press conference antics have at times overshadowed his team's remarkable championship play. With his incredible personality and passion, Knight is one of a rare breed in the world of sports who transcends his game and becomes an icon in other worlds. Just the name Bobby

Knight conjures images of thrown chairs and tirades at officials, even for the most casual of college basketball fans. These tantrums and erratic behavior sometimes shield the love Knight has for not only the game of basketball but his players as well.

As a child in Orrville, Ohio, young Bobby Knight played a number of sports growing up. His favorite, unquestionably, was baseball, and his idol was Mickey Mantle. He graduated from high school in 1956, earning letters in baseball, basketball, and football. After graduation, Knight entered Ohio State University to play basketball. There, Knight teamed with Jerry Lucas and John Havlicek to win one national championship in 1960 and make trips to the final game three times. While not a star on the court, Knight was a competent player. He took advantage of his position to learn everything Ohio State coach Fred Taylor had to offer. Knight graduated in 1962 and took an assistant coaching position in Cuyahoga Falls High School in Ohio while deciding his future.

Knight's close friend Bates Locke offered him an assistant coaching position at West Point in 1963. When Locke resigned, Knight took over the reigns and developed the West Point basketball



Bobby Knight

team into a formidable one, winning 102 games and earning four trips to the National Invitational Tournament finals. It was at the U.S. Military Academy, where Knight's harsh discipline and coaching style evolved. He believed that discipline and hard work would bring out talent.

After six years at West Point, in 1971 Knight was offered the Big Ten coaching job he always wanted, at Indiana University. He achieved success during his early years there, leading the Hoosiers to the Final Four in 1973. After a Coach of the Year award in 1975, he led the Hoosiers to an undefeated season, a National Championship and a Coach of the Year award for himself in 1976. Knight won another national Championship in 1981, then again in 1987 with yet another Coach of the Year award. He led a talented team to earning the 1979 Pan American Games Gold Medal and coached the Olympic Gold Medal winners in the 1984 summer games in Los Angeles. With over 700 career coaching victories, Knight was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame in 1991.

Bobby Knight remains one of the most respected and revered basketball coaches in the nation. His fiery attitude and refusal to lose have at times jeopardized his career and his team's success. He stresses not only discipline in the game, but in life as well. Graduation rates for his basketball players consistently rank as the best in the nation. Bobby Knight developed Indiana basketball into a national

powerhouse and, in the process, made himself into one of the most recognizable figures in American sports.

—Jay Parrent

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Knots Landing

The second longest running prime time drama—after *Gunsmoke*—in television history, *Knots Landing's* (1979-1993) 14-season tenure is even more prestigious because it survived both the competition of glitzier prime time soaps (such as *Dynasty*) and the advent of cable television. Prophetically, series co-creator David Jacobs told his cast at the outset, “We’re not going to get any attention. We won’t win any awards. But we’re going to go on forever.”

Ironically, this spin-off of the phenomenally popular *Dallas* was created prior to its predecessor. Creators David Jacobs and Michael Filerman envisioned a television series modeled after Ingmar Bergman’s 1973 Swedish mini-series (later edited into an Oscar-nominated film) *Scenes From a Marriage*. The concept involved a study of neighboring married couples—in various states of contentment—living in a cul-de-sac in Southern California. Though CBS liked the pilot, they wanted something more glamorous and on a larger scale, resulting in Jacobs and Filerman pitching *Dallas*.

Once *Dallas* became a hit, the producers wove in the story of Gary Ewing (Ted Shackelford), the alcoholic and weak-willed younger brother of both J. R. (Larry Hagman) and Bobby (Patrick Duffy). A ne'er-do-well, the teenage Gary had married Valene Clemmons and fathered their child, Lucy. Though circumstances had separated them for sixteen years, on a special of *Dallas* on December 13, 1979, Gary Ewing and Valene Clements Ewing (Joan Van Ark)—who had found each other again—remarried and moved to a California town named Knots Landing. The original idea was that if the couple could get on their feet in a place far away from Gary’s powerful relatives, they could then send for Lucy and be reunited as a family. But as luck—and the vicissitudes of television drama would have it—this reunion never took place.

Though *Knots Landing* received only mediocre ratings its first short season (only thirteen episodes), the producers made three major changes in the second season which caused ratings to escalate. First, they shifted the format of the show from self-contained episodes to serialization, introducing plotlines which could span the entire season. Second, they create plotlines which would allow for visits from *Dallas* characters to boost ratings. And third, and perhaps most important, they cast television and film actress Donna Mills—known primarily for, as she puts it, “victim roles”—as sultry vixen Abbie Cunningham, Sid Fairgate’s sister who is obsessed with both money and power. Thus, upon meeting Gary Ewing and learning of his wealthy family, Abbie sets her sights on him, and her destructive efforts become the most central conflict in the series run as “true lovers” Gary and Val break-up and then struggle to reunite through a succession of lovers and spouses.



Ted Shackelford and Donna Mills of *Knots Landing*.

As seasons passed, *Knots Landing* continued to hold its own in its Thursday night time slot against stiff competition from the popular *Hill Street Blues* and then *L. A. Law*. Despite the increasing influx of more melodramatic plotlines (such as Valene's twin infants being stolen and then sold by a nefarious baby doctor), the producers of *Knots Landing* contended that the secret of their longevity was the emphasis on middle-class characters and relationships which, to some extent, mirrored the experiences of their audience. Scenes often depicted characters involved in everyday situations such as preparing meals and taking out the trash. These sentiments were confirmed by *USA Today*, which contended, "KNOTS always shone as the least guilty of TV's guilty pleasures," giving "nighttime soap fans middle-class characters and backyard barbecues as an alternative to the flowing champagnes and life-styles of the rich and famous of other shows." In addition, the show was often praised by critics for taking on such serious subjects as alcoholism, prescription drug abuse, teen drug abuse, mental illness, child abuse, divorce, and bereavement; issues with which its campier rivals refused to deal.

While former Broadway star Michelle Lee proved the show's anchor, appearing in every episode in the run as Valene's neighbor and best friend Karen Fairgate McKenzie, throughout the course of its run *Knots Landing* also featured a series of appearances by veteran Hollywood stars such as Ava Gardner, Howard Duff, Ruth Roman,

and Julie Harris, who actually became a cast member for several seasons as Valene's mother, receiving an Emmy nomination for her work. But the show could also prove a star-making vehicle, as evidenced by the rise of Alec Baldwin, who later starred in major Hollywood films such as *The Hunt for Red October* and *The Edge*. Originally introduced as mild-mannered Joshua Rush, Valene's half brother, Baldwin performs a virtuoso transformation over the ensuing season as this humble preacher's son becomes first a televangelist then a raving megalomaniac who marries and then batters his wife, Cathy Geary (played by singer Lisa Hartman).

As the plotlines grew more outlandish (Michelle Lee's Karen suddenly becomes a talk show host and is stalked by a crazed fan), ratings slipped dramatically in the thirteenth season. In addition, annual contract renewals of the increasingly large cast rendered the show too costly to produce despite the producer's reducing the number of appearances by regular cast members, and even writing out the show's long-running characters. As a result, the producers willingly canceled the show in 1993, David Jacobs commenting, "I think we all felt rather than continue to amputate limbs, which is really what we were doing, that it was just time to stop."

In 1997, the majority of the cast members reunited for a four hour miniseries, *Knots Landing: Back to the Cul-de-sac*, which suffered from contrivance and silliness, resulting in its low ratings. In its wake, creator David Jacobs went on to create other short-lived series, scoring another hit with *Lois and Clark*. Both Michelle Lee and Donna Mills have formed their own production companies. In addition, fans of the show have developed a number of *Knots Landing* internet sites where they can continue the show by writing their own episodes.

—Rick Moody

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Kodak

Kodak is the American corporate photo giant whose film and imaging products are recognized worldwide. Headquartered in Rochester, New York, the Eastman Kodak Company (Kodak, for short) was incorporated in 1901 as the successor to the small dry-plate business founded in Rochester in 1880 by George Eastman (1854-1932). From its modest beginnings in a rented loft space, the original Eastman Dry Plate Company (which became the Eastman Dry Plate and Film Company and then simply the Eastman Company) expanded rapidly, largely because of Eastman's inventive and marketing genius. By 1900, distribution outlets were established in France, Germany, Italy, and other European countries. By the end of the twentieth century, Kodak, one of industry's most readily identifiable trademarks, had operations in Canada, Mexico, Brazil, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and Australia, and Kodak products were marketed by subsidiary companies to people in more than 150 countries.

An amateur photographer with little formal education, Eastman recognized the technological possibilities of the newly discovered dry plate method of photography, which, by substituting a dry coat of

gelatin emulsion containing silver salts for the wet collodion then in use, allowed plates to be prepared well in advance and developed long after exposure. For three years Eastman worked as a bank clerk and experimented at night in his mother's kitchen. By 1880, having developed both a successful formula for creating gelatin emulsions and a patent for a machine to mass produce the pre-coated dry plates for sale to other photographers, he began commercial distribution. Devoted unconditionally to the quality of his product, he once recalled and replaced a batch of defective plates already in the hands of dealers. "Making good on those plates took our last dollar," he said; "but what we had was more important—reputation."

As manager of all phases of the new company's operations, Eastman—assisted by a full-time research scientist—continued pursuing ways to simplify the photographic process. One result was American film (1884), a three-layered strippable negative that eliminated the burdensome glass plate and became the forerunner of all modern film. By 1888, the Kodak camera, the first camera uncomplicated, affordable, and portable enough to be used by large numbers of amateur photographers, was introduced with the slogan "You Push the Button, We Do the Rest"; after use, the camera was mailed back to Rochester for film processing and reloading. The new camera also marked the initial appearance of "Kodak," a name coined by Eastman himself. Noting the "strength" and "incisiveness" of his favorite letter "K" (the first letter of his mother's maiden name, Kilbourn), Eastman had played with it in various combinations. The resulting word "Kodak," trademarked in 1888 and today one of the company's most valued assets, was, according to Eastman, "short" and "[in]capable of mispronunciation," and it would not be "associated with anything . . . except the Kodak [camera]."

Other photographic innovations followed, including the first commercial transparent roll film, which made possible Thomas Edison's developments in motion pictures; the pocket (1895) and folding pocket (1898) Kodak cameras, which are considered the ancestors of all modern roll-film cameras; and the inexpensive but revolutionary Brownie camera (1900), which sold for \$1.00 plus 15 cents for film. Each time a new possibility for the photographic medium arose, Eastman seized the opportunity: for instance, he entered into an agreement to supply plates and paper for Wilhelm Roentgen's newly discovered x-ray process and produced the first film especially coated for motion pictures. (Today, over 90% of all motion pictures are shot on Kodak film.)

Yet Eastman was more than a brilliant inventor; he was also a remarkably shrewd and progressive businessman who followed four very modern principles: mass production, low product pricing, foreign and domestic distribution, and extensive advertising. So strong was Eastman's belief in the last principle that he promoted his company's products in the leading papers and periodicals of the day, often writing the ads himself. He inaugurated the use of the "Kodak Girl" to pitch his cameras; instructed his advertising department to embark on ambitious campaigns, like the installation of 6,000 road signs ("Picture this! Kodak as you go") on American highways in the early 1920s; linked the marketing of the Brownie to Palmer Cox's familiar cartoon characters; and tied in products to particular audiences and events—e.g., Boy Scout Brownie Cameras (1932), New York World's Fair Baby Brownies (1939), and Kodak Coquette Cameras, with matching lipstick holders and compacts (1930).

Believing that employees deserved more than just a good wage, Eastman implemented benefit, accident, and pension funds, as well as company reward programs, like the "Wage Dividend" program, in which workers benefitted above their wages in proportion to the

yearly dividend on the company stock. Eastman's social philosophy also extended to his personal life: a noted philanthropist who often posed as "Mr. Smith," he contributed generously to educational and cultural institutions and to other charities, especially those that supported improved children's welfare. On one day alone in 1924, he gave \$30 million to MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), from which he recruited some of his best scientists and engineers; the University of Rochester; the Hampton Institute; and the Tuskegee Institute. In 1932, moments after bequeathing the bulk of his estate to the University of Rochester, an ailing Eastman took his own life. His suicide note was simple and direct: "My work is done. Why wait?"

With the introduction of products such as Kodachrome color film (1935), cartridge-loaded Instamatic still and movie cameras (1960s), the disc camera series (first marketed in 1982), digital and single-use cameras, and with various advances in optics (established as a Kodak department as early as 1912) and imaging technologies, the company that George Eastman founded remains on the cutting edge of professional and amateur photography.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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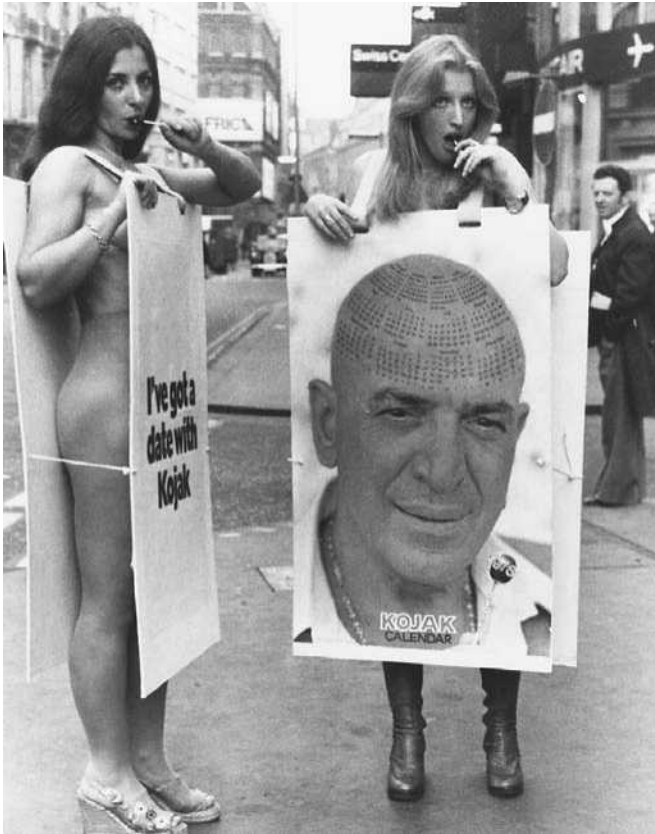
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Kojak

The popular TV series *Kojak* took its name from the character of Lieutenant Theo Kojak, the iconoclastic commander of a detective squad at the Manhattan South precinct in New York City and one of the more memorable characters to appear on 1970s television. With his habitual consumption of lollypops and his trademark line, "Who loves ya, baby?," Lt. Kojak earned a loyal TV following that ultimately led to cult status as one of the small screen's most endearing law enforcers.

At first Telly Savalas, the actor who brought Lt. Kojak to life, might have seemed an unlikely candidate for a television hero. The fortyish Greek-American actor, with his shaven head, substantial nose, and unconventional looks, had generally played villains throughout his career. Among his many portraits of evil, he had depicted Pontius Pilate (*The Greatest Story Ever Told*), James Bond's nemesis Ernest Stavro Blofeld (*On Her Majesty's Secret Service*), and redneck psychopath Archer Maggot (*The Dirty Dozen*). But Savalas turned out to be an inspired choice for the role of the tough-but-tender detective. *Kojak's* first appearance was in the made-for-TV movie *The Marcus-Nelson Murders*, broadcast in the spring of 1973. Widely regarded as one of the best television films ever made, the two-hour special won two Emmy Awards (for writing and directing) and generated network interest in a series, which premiered in the fall of 1973 and ran five seasons, airing a total of 112 hour-long episodes.



An advertising campaign for the television show *Kojak*.

Although the opening title sequence included footage of Kojak firing a pistol, the character rarely engaged in violent action during the weekly episodes. Kojak usually solved crimes by interpreting evidence, persuading reluctant witnesses, playing department politics when necessary, and directing his squad of detectives while conducting an investigation. As an urban crime drama, *Kojak* did not lack for incidents of violence—but these were typically played out either by criminals or by Kojak's detectives while engaged in apprehending the criminals. As such, the principal enforcer on Kojak's squad was Detective Bobby Crocker (played by Kevin Dobson). Other regular cast members included Kojak's boss, Captain McNeil (Dan Frazier), Detective Saperstein (Mark Russell), and Detective Stavros (played by Savalas' brother George, but billed in the cast as "Demosthenes").

Although the show was cancelled in 1978, the character of Kojak was revived several times during the next decade. He was the protagonist in two made-for-TV movies: *The Belarus File* (1985) and *The Price of Justice* (1987). Then, in 1989, Savalas agreed to portray Kojak in a series of two-hour shows to be part of a "wheel" program, *The ABC Saturday Mystery*. As such, the adventures of Kojak alternated with three other detective shows, including the popular *Columbo*, starring Peter Falk. The new show, which lasted only one season, promoted Kojak to Inspector and surrounded him with a new supporting cast—including Andre Braugher, who would later go on to acclaim and an Emmy Award for his work on another cop show, *Homicide: Life on the Streets*. Telly Savalas died in 1994.

—Justin Gustainis

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Koontz, Dean R. (1945—)

Few writers have labored as long and as hard as Dean R. Koontz has to achieve his reputation as a writer of high quality commercial suspense fiction. Not only has he produced quality works in a variety of genres, but Koontz has also become a leading advocate for quality writing and creativity, producing two guides for would-be writers of fiction. Clearly one of the more significant trend-setters of the twentieth century when it comes to maintaining integrity in the highly commercialized fiction market, Koontz's reputation is well deserved.

Born an only child in Everett, Pennsylvania, in 1945, Dean Ray Koontz married his high school sweetheart, Gerda Cerra, in 1966. That same year he published his first story, "Kittens," in *Atlantic Monthly*, an auspicious beginning for a young writer. Taking a job as a teacher-counselor in the Appalachian Poverty Program, Koontz published his first stories as a professional writer, "Soft Come the Dragons" and "Behold the Sun," both of which appeared in *The Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction*. A year later, Koontz worked as a high school English teacher in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, writing after the school day was done. By 1969 he had sold 20 short stories and three short novels, all works of science fiction. That year, he left his job as a teacher to write full-time. In quick succession, more science fiction stories and novels came into print, with his novella *Beastchild* receiving a 1971 Hugo nomination.

In 1972, Koontz's prolific output and perception by the public as a writer of science fiction forced him to adopt the first of several successful pseudonyms. His goal, as he made clear in various interviews, was to break out of the claustrophobic shell imposed by commercial category fiction. Under the watchful eye of Random House editor Lee Wright, Koontz adopted the *nom de plume* of K. R. Dwyer and wrote his first thriller, *Chase*. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, alongside fiction that continued to appear under his own name, Koontz wrote thrillers, mysteries, romance novels, horror tales, and even science fiction as Brian Coffey, Anthony North, Richard Paige, Aaron Wolfe, John Hill, David Axton, Leigh Nichols, and Owen West. Only in the early 1990s did Koontz give up his various guises, republishing several of his pseudonymous works under his own name.

Koontz's success can largely be summed up by the attention he consciously has paid to his craft. Unlike many of his commercial peers, Koontz recognized right away that to use a formula for writing commercial fiction meant caring deeply about that formula. For evidence of this heartfelt belief, one only needs to look at his nonfiction work. In 1972, owing to his early success, Koontz was tapped by the publishers of *Writer's Digest* to author *Writing Popular Fiction*, a how-to guide for beginning writers of popular fiction. Nine years later, he revisited the topic in *How to Write Best-Selling Fiction*, also published by *Writer's Digest*. In the first guide, the still novice writer emphasized the profitability of category fiction, offering basic advice about the various genres in which he had written. In the latter guide, his earlier suggestions were turned on their head as the seasoned writer admonished would-be writers to avoid all forms of category fiction, providing instead pointers for the creation of high quality cross-genre suspense fiction. According to Koontz, between

the words “Popular” and “Best-selling” lie all the differences between two approaches to writing, a reflection of his decision in 1973 (a year after publishing *Writing Popular Fiction*) to leave the narrow field of science fiction.

Signs of Koontz’s early success as a writer came first with contracts he had landed at major publishers like Random House, Atheneum, and Bobbs-Merrill. His novels *Demon Seed* (Bantam, 1973) and *Shattered* (Random House, 1973) proved especially auspicious, receiving film treatments by Metro Goldwyn Mayer and Warner Brothers respectively, in 1978. Film versions of *Watchers* and other thrillers from the 1980s, however, eventually convinced Koontz to give up on selling movie rights to his work unless he could retain authorial control of the screenplay. His dissatisfaction with film treatments of his work and strong sense of ownership towards it explain in large part why there have been far fewer Koontz novels filmed than those of his counterpart, Stephen King. This proprietary sensibility has even been extended to the published editions of his early work. As a result, Koontz has retrieved the copyright for all of his early and out-of-print science fiction, with the avowed intent of either republishing certain works in rewritten form (as in the case of his 1973 novel *Invasion*, written as Aaron Wolfe, which appeared completely reworked in 1994 as *Winter Moon*) or keeping them out-of-print as long as copyright law permits.

Koontz’s critical reception has always been, and continues to be, positive. Reviewers recognize that his fiction is no more and no less than high-standard commercial fiction and, as a consequence, have scored him well in that regard. Few of his novels have achieved the level of artfulness of contemporaries like Stephen King and Clive Barker, or lesser-known fiction writers like Ramsey Campbell and T. E. D. Klein. Koontz does not like to experiment, barring such rarities as *The Voice of the Night* and *The Vision*. Certain patterns clearly emerge in most of his mature, later fiction: there is always a love interest; major and important minor characters generally come from dysfunctional families and broken homes (based in part on Koontz’s own); an oddball sense of humor infiltrates the occasional banter between characters; and his politics, when revealed at all, incline towards a libertarian, anti-gun control stance with a strong dose of pro-civil rights liberalism thrown in. Finally, despite his abdication of the genre, science fiction—based premises run throughout the later major fiction: *Watchers*, *Shadowfires*, and *Midnight* focus on the threat of genetic engineering; *Night Chills* offers a disturbing portrait of mind control; the story of *Lightning* is driven by time travel; and *Dragon Tears*, *The Vision*, *The Bad Place*, and *Cold Fire* depend upon the psychokinetic abilities of their protagonists and antagonists.

Because he cares about his craft in a way that few commercial writers do, Koontz has risen to the top of bestseller lists; he has demonstrated how much he cares by keeping his lesser works out of print and his major works from the corrupting influence of television and film producers. Popular fiction is meant to give readers pleasure, and Koontz does not fail in his mission. In *The Dean Koontz Companion*, horror-fiction writer Charles de Lint summed up Koontz’s contributions to fiction like this: “Dedication to his craft, an optimistic belief in the inherent goodness of humankind, a loving partner, and business acumen . . . these have all combined in Koontz to give us an author capable of bringing a reader to tears and laughter, sometimes on the same page, in a manner that no other author has been able to duplicate.”

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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David Koresh and the Branch Davidians

The 1993 stand-off between federal agents and people inside the Branch Davidian compound at Waco, Texas, resulted in the deaths of approximately 80 Branch Davidians, including leader David Koresh. The tragedy upset Americans in varying degrees. Widespread dismay over the deaths of at least 20 children contrasted with those who used the tragedy at Waco to stoke their anti-government fervor. Blame abounded, as federal decision-making came under question, and Koresh was condemned for putting children in harm’s way.

The compound, named Mount Carmel, was referred to by news accounts as “Ranch Apocalypse.” Prior to the stand-off, an investigation of the Davidians produced evidence of a large illegal weapons stockpile. Reports surfaced that Koresh was molesting children on the compound, to which a 14-year-old girl later testified at a Congressional hearing. Of greater concern was the possibility that Koresh, a self-proclaimed apocalyptic visionary, planned to lead his followers into mass suicide.

Koresh’s apocalyptic visions, reported *U.S. News and World Report*, were broadcast on the radio in exchange for the release of 37 members: “My father, my god who sits on the throne in heaven, has given me a book of seven seals . . . If America could learn these seals they would respect me. I’m the anointed one . . . It’s the fulfillment of prophecy.” Following the broadcast, Koresh turned recalcitrant, unwilling to exchange his “messianic” status in the compound for prison life. Koresh expressed fears of being raped by other inmates, conscious of the fate that child molesters faced in prison.

On February 28, 1993, an initial raid produced a gun battle that killed five Branch Davidians and four ATF (Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms) agents. It was the worst loss of life for federal law-enforcement agents in the twentieth century. The stand-off that ensued lasted 51 days. FBI plans for a tear-gas assault circulated in March and were presented to the new United States Attorney General Janet Reno. The plan was to “ease” the residents out of the compound by injecting tear gas, or CS gas, into the compound. Reno withheld approval until assurances were made that the gas would not harm the children, knowing that the gas masks on the compound would not fit their faces. According to Dick Reavis, a civilian expert from the Army research center in Maryland told Reno that “although there had been no laboratory tests performed on children relative to the effects of the gas, anecdotal evidence was convincing that there would be no permanent injury.” Reno approved the plan on April 17.

As if the situation in the barren prairie was not surreal enough, the FBI employed a bizarre tactic, using loudspeakers to blast Tibetan monk chants and the rantings of Koresh into the compound. An



Fire engulfs the Branch Davidian compound near Waco, Texas on April 19, 1993.

estimated 720 lawmen converged on Waco, including 250 FBI agents and 150 ATF agents. Many suffered the strain of the lengthy standoff. Waco had a 90 percent occupancy rate, making living quarters scarce; agents were scheduled to shifts that lasted weeks at a time. Koresh's tendency to switch gears during negotiations further exacerbated the strain on agents.

The FBI tank and tear gas assault took place on the morning of April 19. News reports placed the death toll between 75 and 95 people, including over 20 children; all were Branch Davidians. Most died from smoke inhalation, but two dozen were killed by gunshot, either by suicide or by another member in the compound.

At 6:02 a.m., CEVs—combat engineering vehicles—punched holes in the compound walls to pump CS gas into the building. The wall openings allowed much of the gas to escape, and made the FBI's assumption—that the gas would prompt an evacuation—invalid. Around 11:40 a.m., the building began to burn, fanned by 30 mile-per-hour prairie winds. Survivors from the compound said the tanks crushed a pressurized tank filled with liquid propane, starting the fire. The FBI maintained they saw flames erupt in several places, indicating the fire was set deliberately by members of the compound.

Survivor Marjorie Thomas, who suffered third-degree burns over 50 percent of her body, described the assault from the inside in Reavis' *The Ashes of Waco*: "The whole entire building felt warm all

at once, and then after the warmth, then a thick, black smoke, and the place became dark. I could hear—I couldn't see anything. I could hear people moving and screaming, and I still was sitting down while this was happening."

The incident at Waco became a self-fulfilling prophecy for the Branch Davidians. The more Koresh sized up the stand-off for its apocalyptic message, the more the FBI viewed Koresh as engaging in stalling tactics. When the FBI responded with pressure to get Koresh to comply, it only confirmed for Koresh that the end was near, and the cycle repeated itself. Congress, which questioned the wisdom of the plan, would conclude that the FBI had not acted illegally.

Anti-government factions regarded the ATF as "jack-booted thugs." A loose network of paramilitary groups sprouted throughout the country, and called themselves "citizen militias." Largely composed of white men, the militias conducted training exercises in isolated areas, acting out their own apocalyptic visions of an impending civil war. One militia member told *Time* in 1994: "The Waco thing really woke me up. They went in there and killed women and children." The militia's anti-government paranoia encouraged wild beliefs, such as foreign soldiers hiding under Detroit in salt mines, and highway signs containing secret markings to guide foreign troops. Not everything spawned by the incident could be shrugged off: the government's assault in Texas contributed to the federal hatred of

Timothy McVeigh, who bombed the Alfred Murrah building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

—Daryl Umberger

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Korman, Harvey (1927—)

Comic performer Harvey Korman is best known for his work as Carol Burnett's sidekick on *The Carol Burnett Show* from 1967-1977. Korman's talent for physical humor and knack for oddball accents made him a master sketch comic. On the show, his skills were so versatile that he could entertain audiences as a robust Yiddish mama in one skit and become a comical Rhett Butler after the commercial break. During that series, Korman garnered four Emmy Awards, and came to prominence as one of television's outstanding supporting players.

During the 1983-1984 season, Korman delighted small-screen audiences playing dual roles in *Mama's Family*, a situation comedy about a dysfunctional-but-funny small town Southern family. Korman introduced each episode as debonair Alistair Quince, and occasionally appeared as Ed Higgins, the husband of loudmouth Eunice (Burnett). He has appeared in more than 30 films, including several *Pink Panther* features and Mel Brooks farces. Korman has the ability to perform in skits without stealing scenes from stars—a gift that keeps him working in support of the top comic actors in the field.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

Kosinski, Jerzy (1933-1991)

Polish-born popular American author of two sociological studies and nine novels, survivor of the Holocaust, husband of the heiress

to the U.S. Steel fortune, avid sportsman, college lecturer, sex club connoisseur—Jerzy Kosinski lived a life as fantastic as his fiction. After winning critical acclaim for *The Painted Bird* (1965) and *Steps* (1968), Kosinski turned increasingly to popular American culture—and to himself—as the subject of his novels. The wickedly satirical *Being There* (1971) became a hit film, also scripted by Kosinski; but later novels like *Cockpit*, *Blind Date*, and *Pinball*, some of which made best-seller lists, sounded false and repetitive notes with the critics. Controversy surrounding the authorship of his books plagued Kosinski in his last years, and it became the topic of his final "auto-fictional" novel *The Hermit of 69th Street* (1988). Nevertheless, Kosinski (who committed suicide in 1991) continues to be read and regarded as a major force in contemporary American fiction.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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Kotzwinkle, William (1938—)

William Kotzwinkle published over two dozen books of fiction in the last three decades of the twentieth century, making his mark in virtually every genre, including mystery, science fiction, social satire, erotica, historical fiction, film novelization, and talking-animal fantasies for children and adults alike.

Born in Scranton, Pennsylvania in 1938, Kotzwinkle told an interviewer in the early 1990s that his original ambition had been to be an actor, but that he kept coming up with lines in his improvisation class which were much better than his acting, so he became a writer instead. Along the way, he also worked as a sign painter, a shipping clerk in a theatrical supply house, and a department store Santa Claus. As a writer, he was a late bloomer—33 years old when his first book, a collection of short stories entitled *Elephant Bangs Train*, was published by Pantheon in 1971. But from then on, the author made up for lost time with a steady output, averaging a book a year from the island home off the coast of Maine he shared with his wife, the novelist Elizabeth Gundy.

By the 1990s, Kotzwinkle had managed to attract loyal followings in multiple genres. With his long-term collaborator and fellow Penn State graduate, illustrator Joe Servello, Kotzwinkle published *Herr Nightingale and the Satin Woman* at Knopf in 1978, earning him a permanent place in the detective-fiction world. Grief-support networks in France in the 1990s were continuing to recommend his *Swimmer in the Secret Sea*, a novel about the loss of an unborn child,

two decades after its publication. *Doctor Rat*, a grim tale of laboratory vivisection as told by its subjects, earned him a World Fantasy Award in 1977, the year after its initial publication overseas.

His science-fiction credentials, combined with a willingness to try anything, led Kotzwinkle to novelize several hit films, including *E. T.: The Extra-Terrestrial*—one of whose spin-offs, *E. T. The Extra Terrestrial Storybook* (1982), won him the 1984 Buckeye Children's Book Award—and *Superman III* (1993). In turn, several of Kotzwinkle's books have been optioned for movie production, including *Jack in the Box* (1980), released as a film in 1991, and *The Bear Went Over the Mountain*, whose cinema rights were acquired by the Jim Henson organization shortly after its publication to rave reviews in 1996.

Kotzwinkle's most enduring gift is his satire, and its sharpest tool a merciless juxtaposition of the sublime and the ridiculous: Chaucerian undercutting in paragraphs that build up a character's world-view with a straight face—even a painterly lyricism at the beginning of a paragraph—only to deflate it with a sharp jab in the last sentence. *The Fan Man* (1974) displays a keen ear for dialect (its protagonist, a spaced-out, more-than-slightly-deranged New Yorker named Horse Badorties, speaks appallingly flawless Lower-East-Side hippie English). *The Midnight Examiner* (1989) hilariously spoofs daily life on a supermarket-tabloid weekly, while *The Bear Went Over the Mountain* (reminiscent of both the children's classic *The Bear that Wasn't* and the film *Being There*) is a devastating send-up of the book-publishing world at the end of the century.

Kotzwinkle has been described as one of the first American postmodern novelists, both because of his eclecticism (a fact reflected in his wide range of publishers) and also because his plots, as such, are arguably nonpermanent art, in keeping with the postmodern aesthetic, and thus less memorable in their sequence of details than are the individual scenes themselves. These, by contrast, have a way of etching themselves indelibly into readers' memory: the euphoria of Horse Badorties tunneling through the wall to his "number four pad," the embarrassment of the loose-boweled suitor at the door of his hot date in *Nightbook*, the dying hallucinations of the old mahout in "The Elephants' Graveyard," the primly sublimated sexual desire flickering at tea between the country vicar and his hostess in *Hermes 3000*, the uneasiness of the heartless pharaoh on the gangplank in "Death on the Nile."

The ease with which Kotzwinkle's books read and the jack-of-all-trades appearance of his booklist belies a concentrated research style. In order to understand Arthur, the rightful author of the book appropriated by Hal Jam, the title character of *The Bear Went Over the Mountain*, Kotzwinkle spent several months sleeping in a tent and meditating five hours a day; and for the sake of authenticity in *Trouble in Bugland*, a children's mystery tale whose detective is a praying mantis, the author claimed to have spent an entire summer on his knees watching crickets. It is an attention to craftsmanship which has assured him a place in American literary history, and if he falls short of ranking as one of the great writers of the twentieth century, it seems likely that, for their sheer pleasure, his books will be read, and re-read, for many years to come.

—Nick Humez

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Koufax, Sandy (1935—)

Sandy Koufax's dominance of the National League from 1962 to 1966 has led many baseball experts to name him the greatest pitcher of all time. Certainly the overpowering left-hander enjoyed the most impressive run at the top of his game of any hurler in the game's history. He added considerably to his mystique by retiring young and all but disappearing from public view.

Over the course of a twelve-year career, Koufax won 111 games, lost only 34, and collected 2,396 strikeouts. He threw four no-hitters, the last an unforgettable perfect game against the Chicago Cubs on September 9, 1965. Teamed in the starting rotation with the hard-throwing right-hander Don Drysdale, Koufax provided one half of a two-headed pitching colossus that led the Los Angeles Dodgers to three pennants and two world championships.

Born Sanford Braun in Brooklyn, New York, Sandy eventually assumed his stepfather's last name. He played both baseball and basketball in high school, where his strong left arm attracted the interest of scouts for the hometown Brooklyn Dodgers. In 1954, he signed with the club (which moved to Los Angeles in 1958). Koufax struggled in his early years with the team, but showed enough promise to maintain a spot on the roster every spring. Finally, in 1962, he put it all together. Only a circulation problem in his index finger—the first in a long line of arm ailments that would plague him over the course of his career—kept him from a 20-win season.

In 1963, Koufax established himself as baseball's best pitcher. He won 25 games against only five losses as the Dodgers roared into the World Series against the New York Yankees. There Koufax was dominant, winning two games as Los Angeles swept the four-game series. After the season, Koufax was voted the first of three Cy Young Awards.

Koufax battled arthritis to win 19 games in 1964. The next season he decided to give up throwing between starts to save wear and tear on his arm. The result was an overwhelming 26-8 performance in which he established a major league record of 382 strikeouts in 336 innings. He won two more games in the World Series as the Dodgers edged the Minnesota Twins. Again the Cy Young was his by acclamation.

Fresh off a world championship, Koufax and Drysdale used their considerable leverage against the notoriously stingy Dodger ownership. They held out in tandem from signing new contracts until the



Sandy Koufax (left) and Johnny Roseboro.

club agreed to meet their financial terms. The innovative negotiating ploy sent shockwaves around baseball and foreshadowed the power struggle that would eventually result in the establishment of free agency in the 1970s.

Koufax backed up his contract threats with a third Cy Young season in 1966. He posted a 27-9 record with a 1.79 ERA and 317 strikeouts. Again he led the Dodgers into the World Series, where they fell to the Baltimore Orioles. Despite this disappointing finish, Koufax seemed to be at the top of his game.

At the close of the season, Koufax stunned the sports universe by announcing his retirement from baseball. Still only 31, he explained that he did not want to risk permanent damage to his oft-injured left arm. Five years after hanging up his spikes, he became the youngest player ever to be enshrined in baseball's Hall of Fame.

Like a baseball version of J. D. Salinger, Koufax shunned the public eye after his retirement. He worked briefly as a commentator on baseball telecasts, but his shy, diffident manner was ill-suited for TV. When he did make one of his rare public appearances, his every utterance was heeded with a gravity normally reserved for retired

generals and ex-presidents. To millions of baseball fans worldwide, he remains one of the game's most enigmatic legends.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Kovacs, Ernie (1919-1962)

Ernie Kovacs was one of network television's most daring and innovative comedians. From 1950 to 1962, he used the small screen as his personal canvas, challenging all of the medium's early conventions and assumptions. A master of live television and a pioneer in the

use of videotape, Kovacs realized the potentials of television as an unique art form and paved the way for future experimentation by David Letterman, MTV (Music Television), and artist Nam June Paik.

Kovacs was one of the first stars in television without a preceding career in vaudeville and theater. His sensibility was idiosyncratically attuned to experimenting with video technology and special effects. Although his various series rarely lasted a year, all his programs were marked with a surreal playfulness and inventive use of music. Kovacs was, in the words of critic William Henry III, "probably the best mind that has yet been drawn to television."

Born in Trenton, New Jersey in 1919, Kovacs worked as a newspaper columnist and radio announcer before his transition to television in 1950. He hosted several programs simultaneously on a local NBC affiliate in Philadelphia, including a fashion and cooking show. Station executives at WPTZ noticed his flair for improvisation and asked him to create the first morning show on television. *For 3 to Get Ready* (named after channel 3 in Philadelphia) Kovacs created a zany atmosphere to wake up his audience. He ad-libbed with the camera crew and spoke directly with his viewers, even forming a special club, the Early Eyeball Fraternal and Marching Society. He set the pattern for his later comedy by using cheap, offbeat props, including a pair of novelty glasses that inspired the creation of his enduring character, the fey poet Percy Dovetonsils.

NBC executives took notice of his success in the morning and formulated the *Today Show*; in May 1951 they also gave Kovacs his first network series, *It's Time for Ernie*. The 15 minute afternoon show featured Kovacs alone in the Philadelphia studio, supported by the music of the Tony de Simone Trio. In July Kovacs made his



Ernie Kovacs

prime-time debut, serving as a summer replacement for *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie*. The new series, appropriately called *Ernie in Kovacsland* had a regular cast, featuring singer Edie Adams, who would later become Kovacs' second wife. In January 1952 Kovacs returned to daytime and hosted *Kovacs on the Corner*, a series modeled on a radio sketch of Fred Allen, "Allen's Alley," in which the comedian regularly met a series of oddball characters. Kovacs' denizens included Pete the cop, Luigi the barber, and a midget, Little Johnny Merkin. This time he asked his fans to come to the studio and wave back to the viewers at home, for a segment entitled "Yoo-Hoo Time."

In April 1952 WCBS lured Kovacs and gang to New York for a weekday afternoon show, *Kovacs Unlimited*. Most of the freewheeling gags and skits were completely unrehearsed. The response to the zany comedian led to a brief, prime-time series, opposite Mr. Television, Milton Berle. Unlike most live variety series, Kovacs decided to create his own interior, free associative world without a studio audience. He concocted more and more with visual experiments, often skewering other television shows and commercials in the process. His self-reflexive parodies on the television medium itself provided the inspiration for *Saturday Night Live* and *SCTV*, predating these revolutionary series by 20 years.

During the mid-1950s, television executives had trouble scheduling Kovacs and his electronic adventures. In 1954 the DuMont network programmed Kovacs into the late-night slot. In 1955 Kovacs returned to daytime on NBC and, later that year, to prime time as a summer replacement for *Caesar's Hour*. The latter was his most professional series, with a stable of writers and lavish production numbers, garnering the program three Emmy Award nominations. In 1956 Kovacs became a part-time host of the *Tonight Show*.

For all his series the comedian unleashed a Kovacsian universe of video magic, populated with off-the-wall characters. Most of his creations were insane parodies of familiar television types, including Matzoh Hepplewhite, the inept magician; Uncle or Auntie Gruesome, who recounted macabre fairy tales; Mr. Question Man, who made mockery of the simplest queries; and Wolfgang Sauerbraten, the Bavarian disc jockey. The most bizarre and popular of Kovacs' repertory company was the Nairobi Trio, three instrumentalists dressed in overcoats, bowler hats, and gorilla masks. The Trio acted like mechanical toys, miming to the odd tune of "Solfeggio."

Kovacs was at his most outlandish when he produced, wrote, and starred in special presentations. In 1956 he developed a silent character, Eugene, along the lines of Charlie Chaplin's little tramp. A year later, the Eugene show explored his mute world with only music and sound effects. For this first special done entirely in pantomime, Kovacs created an illusory, illogical world, with sets and objects confounding gravity.

In the late 1950s Kovacs resettled in Los Angeles. He brought his mustachioed good looks to several comic films, most notably the service hijinks of *Operation Mad Ball* (1957); *Bell, Book, and Candle* with James Stewart and Kim Novak (1958), and the spy spoof, *Our Man in Havana* (1960). While in Hollywood, Kovacs hooked up with a sponsor, Dutch Masters Cigars, which had total faith in him. Dutch Masters hired Kovacs, an inveterate cigar smoker, to dream up commercials and host the quiz show, *Take a Good Look*.

During 1961-1962, Kovacs created eight specials for Dutch Masters and ABC that culminated a decade of video exploration. He wanted to take "sound to sight" and pioneered the music video, conjuring up moody, dream-like imagery to accompany Tchaikovsky's *1812 Overture* and Bela Bartok's *Concerto for Orchestra*.

Kovacs wanted to communicate comedy in the most economical fashion and used quick blackouts to express his dark humor. He also employed all electronic effects at his disposal—superimposition, matting, reverse polarity, asynchronous sound—to sustain a world that was off-kilter and slightly perverse. The final special aired posthumously, ten days after Kovacs was killed in an automobile accident.

Ernie Kovacs's motto was "Nothing in Moderation," and this visionary lived life and created programs at a fever pitch. A true television auteur, Kovacs laid the groundwork for future video experimentation, from the mainstream (e.g., *Laugh-In*, *Monty Python*, *Pee-wee's Playhouse*) to the avant-garde (e.g. Laurie Anderson, William Wegman). He proved that one man with a singular sensibility could flourish in commercial television; his legacy was spectacular, but all too brief.

—Ron Simon

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Kraft Television Theatre

From the opening night on May 1, 1947, until its close on October 1, 1958, the *Kraft Television Theatre* produced 650 small screen dramas of remarkably high quality and consistency. Ranging from Shakespeare to original contemporary plays, and presented live on camera by some of America's best actors and directors, *Kraft Television Theatre* helped to bring the television industry out of its infancy. In May 1946, the number of television sets produced in the United States totaled a mere 225. A year later, when *Kraft Television Theatre* premiered, there were 8,690. Set production soon began to soar, as Kraft's prestigious series of live theatrical events signaled the advent of television's Golden Age.

Television drama became an important showcase for young writers such as Rod Serling, Paddy Chayefsky, Reginald Rose, and Tad Mosel. The motion picture studios owned the rights to most of the important new plays and were reluctant to permit the works to be aired by their upstart rival, thus television was forced to seek out and buy original drama. During the 1956-57 season Kraft offered a \$50,000 prize for the best original play produced during the year, to be judged by Helen Hayes, Walter Kerr, and Maxwell Anderson. The prize went to William Noble for his television play *Snapfinger Creek*.

Actors who appeared on the *Kraft Theatre*, many in the early stages of their careers, included Jack Lemmon, Art Carney, Joanne Woodward, Paul Newman, Martin Milner, Cloris Leachman, Lee Remick, James Dean, Grace Kelly, Anthony Perkins, Rod Steiger, and E.G. Marshall. Among the memorable productions were a drama about the sinking of the *Titanic* (1956), with a cast of 107; *Alice in Wonderland* (1954), starring Robin Morgan as Alice and Art Carney as the Mad Hatter; *Romeo and Juliet* (1954), starring sixteen-year-old Susan Strasberg; and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* (1955),

with Ossie Davis in the title role. In 1956 James Whitmore starred in *Profiles in Courage*, and the show was introduced by then Senator John F. Kennedy, author of the book from which the script was adapted.

In order to attract a more youthful audience, in the mid-1950s a number of plays centered on popular music were presented in the series. Popular singers who acted and sang in these shows included Gisele Mackenzie, Ferlin Husky, and Julius LaRosa. Rock and roll reared its head in 1957 with Tommy Sands playing an Elvis Presley-type role in *The Singing Idol*. A song featured in this telecast, "Teenage Crush," sold one million records. That same year, Sal Mineo introduced his biggest hit, "Start Movin'," in a *Kraft Theatre* production, *Drummer Man*.

An important footnote to the *Kraft Theatre* series was the proof it presented of television's ability to sell products. In early 1947, Kraft decided to give the new medium an acid test, promoting a new product, McLaren's Imperial Cheese—selling poorly at a then-expensive one dollar per pound—exclusively on its new dramatic series. By the third week, every package of the new cheese in New York City had been sold.

When the series ended its long run of live television drama, *TV Guide* summarized the astounding statistics: During its eleven and a half years, *Kraft Theatre* had presented 650 plays chosen from 18,845 scripts, starred or featured 3,955 actors and actresses in 6,750 roles, rehearsed 26,000 hours on 5,236 sets. Costs rose from \$3,000 for the debut production in 1947 to \$165,000 in 1958. Ed Rice, who was script editor during the show's entire run, said that the entire studio space used in 1947 was half the size needed to produce commercials alone in 1958. These statistics, however, do not begin to measure the importance the series had in elevating popular culture in America during the Golden Age of Television.

—Benjamin Griffith

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Krantz, Judith (1928—)

American author Judith Krantz achieved astounding commercial success with her debut novel in 1978, *Scruples*. Like many of her subsequent bestsellers, *Scruples* was made into a television miniseries, and set the standard for what came to be called the "money/sex/power" novel. Krantz—and her successors in the genre, Jackie Collins and Barbara Taylor Bradford—in essence recreated the Cinderella story, chronicling a sympathetic heroine's quest toward personal fulfillment and abundant material wealth. Her books have sold millions of copies worldwide, but her spectacular success has

also signified great shifts in the publishing world: she was one of the first writers of popular fiction to be marketed as a celebrity.

Krantz, born in the late 1920s, grew up in affluent surroundings on New York's Central Park West. Her father was an advertising executive who taught her how to write advertisement copy, and her mother enjoyed a career as an attorney during an era when professional working mothers were a rarity. Krantz graduated from Wellesley College and after a year in France worked in the Manhattan magazine publishing world in the early 1950s. In 1953 she married a television cartoonist who later turned film producer, Steve Krantz, and they resided in New York until the early 1970s. From both there and in their new Los Angeles home, Krantz, the mother of two, wrote freelance articles for women's magazines such as *Cosmopolitan* and *Good Housekeeping*. When she began to notice that popular fiction did not seem to offer a lot of titles aimed at women readers that were actually written by a female pen—only the late Jacqueline Susann stood out among the roster—she decided to try her hand at a novel.

Scruples was published in early 1978 and hit the top of the *New York Times* bestseller list a few months later; it remained there for one year. Its tale—ugly-duckling Boston Brahmin girl Billy Ikehorn spends a college year in Paris, comes back gorgeous, opens a ritzy designer boutique on Rodeo Drive, and becomes a rich and famous film producer with her handsome, adoring European husband—struck a chord with the reading public, especially women. Krantz's Ikehorn was blessed with beauty and some inherited money, but had gone to the “school of hard knocks” and ultimately achieved her power and abundant, minutely detailed luxuries through simple hard work. For millions of working women across all income strata, it was a modern-day Horatio Alger tale. In two years *Scruples* sold 4.6 million copies and Krantz became a household name.

Her second novel, *Princess Daisy*, set a record for reprint bidding even before the hardcover edition appeared on shelves—Bantam's purchase of the paperback rights at \$3.2 million was, at the time, the most ever paid for a work of fiction. Establishment critics derided *Princess Daisy* (1980), and many in the publishing industry saw it and Krantz as harbingers of a new style of doing business, marked by a great deal of pre-print hype, and national tours by the author—now a figure of celebrity—an integral part of the budget. *Mistral's Daughter*, like her previous two novels, featured the requisite Krantz narrative structure: the strikingly beautiful—in an idiosyncratic way—heroine who either inherits her money—after having to prove herself worthy of it—or comes into it through perseverance and hard work; she also shops a great deal and either lives in or travels to some of the world's poshest places (naturally France and Manhattan figure frequently in the plot). Racy bedroom scenes, long and detailed lists of designer labels and divine food and drink, and actual celebrities from the worlds of fashion and entertainment (always dear friends or colleagues of the heroine's) appear liberally throughout the pages. In her 1986 book *I'll Take Manhattan*, Krantz's heroine lives in Trump Tower and is a friend of the owner, the quintessential 1980s tycoon Donald Trump. Like her other novels, Maxi Amberville's mastery of the city—the ultimate symbol of capitalist success—is a key element in the narrative structure; she is the embodiment of the savvy, sophisticated New Yorker. Mainstream establishment critics usually brutally lambasted this and the author's other novels; one described Krantz's talent for characterization as on “the level of advertising copy.”

Krantz's later books never really achieved the fantastic success of her first few. *Till We Meet Again*, *Dazzle*, *Scruples Two*, *Lovers*, *Spring Collection*, and *The Jewels of Tessa Kent* failed to conquer the bestseller lists. Still, they remained a perennial summertime read or airport purchase. “Charming French designers, designing French charmers, conventionally unconventional sculptors, voracious virgins, testy tycoons, flaky fakes, talented directors and kinky knights in tarnished armor bounce about” through Krantz's novels, noted Barbara Raskin of the *New York Times*. Yet Krantz's plots and characterizations also possess a particularly American slant to them: her heroines always exhibit great personal ambition, and succeed in business at the uppermost echelons of the once male-dominated executive ranks.

Scholar Rita Felski compared the Krantz oeuvre to the classic Bildungsroman of nineteenth-century European literature featuring a young and innocent protagonist, who on his quest toward self-discovery achieves urban sophistication, maturity, fame, and material success through his willfulness, focused ambition, and high personal moral standards. Krantz made her protagonists quintessentially feminine, but with admirably “masculine” traits. Felski, in her essay “Judith Krantz, Author of ‘The Cultural Logics of Late Capitalism’” for *Women: A Cultural Review*, noted that most of the bestselling popular fiction of the 1980s came to model itself on Krantz's formulas, and “the Krantzian heroine, furthermore, was soon dispersed across a variety of media texts and genres, as similar images of striving corporate femininity began to appear in prime-time television drama, advertising, and women's magazines.”

—Carol Brennan

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Krassner, Paul (1932—)

Paul Krassner was the Alexander Pope, the Dorothy Parker, and the F. Scott Fitzgerald of the 1960s. In his satirical magazine *The Realist*, which began publication in 1958, he revealed himself as a

creature very much of his time but somehow separate from it. He was the voice of sardonic, pomposity-deflating laughter, his barbs aimed at the culture and counter-culture alike. Here's Krassner describing LSD: "Last week I took my third acid trip. This time I saw God. Otherwise, it was nothing."

Krassner was a fellow traveler in drug exploration with Timothy Leary, in political agitation with Abbie Hoffman, in comic innovation with Lenny Bruce. *The Realist* was the dark, warped conscience of the 1960s. With a staff of basically two people, Krassner and a great editor, Bob Abel, it attracted writers like Bruce, Woody Allen, Terry Southern (author of *Dr. Strangelove*), and Avery Corman (*Kramer vs. Kramer*). But its most important writing was done by Krassner himself, in such satirical pieces as "The Parts Left Out of the Manchester Book," in which Krassner purported to have discovered a missing chapter, censored from William Manchester's exhaustive study of the John F. Kennedy assassination, *Death of a President* (1967). In the most striking and scandalous part of Krassner's version, Lyndon Johnson is discovered by a secret service agent performing an unnatural sex act on JFK's neck wound, in an attempt to confuse investigators by changing the angle of the neck wound. Incredibly, this satire achieved a sort of underground echo of the Orson Welles/Howard Koch "War of the Worlds" radio broadcast. Nobody quite stormed the White House demanding that Johnson be impeached for sex crimes, but a surprising number of people believed that this story really had been censored from Manchester's book.

Krassner created one of the most amorphous political movements of the 1960s, perhaps of all time: the Youth International Party. It was amorphous in that it didn't exist; it was a political movement in that it became a huge media creation, and by the end of the 1960s, nearly everyone had heard of it. In 1968, when the Democratic national convention in Chicago turned into a free-flowing riot, the police, the media, and many others blamed the uprising on "the Yippies," Krassner's Youth International Party. Krassner, however, was passed over when the group of "Yippie instigators" who became the Chicago Seven were arrested, although if anyone deserved the publicity that Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and the rest gained from that media circus, it was Krassner. The cops probably overlooked him because they couldn't figure him out; the FBI, in one report, referred to him as "a raving, unconfined nut." Krassner later titled his memoirs *Confessions of a Raving, Unconfined Nut* (1993).

The Realist ceased publication in 1974. Krassner started it up again in 1985, but it no longer had the centrality to the countercultural nervous system that it once had. In addition to his role as a countercultural gadfly, Krassner had his fingers in a number of unlikely pies. One of his most curious jobs was a short-lived stint as editor of *Hustler* in 1978, during that period when *Hustler* publisher Larry Flynt sought to portray himself as a First Amendment defender and counterculture hero. In an unusual foray into the mainstream, Krassner was a writer for the Ron Reagan, Jr., TV series in the 1980s. Through the 1980s and 1990s, Krassner's primary vehicle for his satiric thrusts was standup comedy, which led to his releasing several comedy albums, including *We Have Ways of Making You Laugh* (1996) and *Brain Damage Control* (1997).

—Tad Richards

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Krazy Kat

The newspaper comic strip *Krazy Kat* by George Herriman (1880-1944) concerns a love triangle between Krazy Kat, Ignatz Mouse, and Officer Pupp: Krazy loves Ignatz, Ignatz hates Krazy, Pupp loves Krazy. Ignatz feels compelled to express his hatred of Krazy by tossing a brick at the unoffending cat's head. Krazy longs for the bricks as tokens of the mouse's love. Not realizing that Krazy desires to be pelted by masonry, Pupp pursues Ignatz in order to arrest the mouse before the brick is thrown. One of the strip's major themes is obsession: Ignatz is obsessed with throwing the brick, Krazy with receiving it, and Pupp with stopping it. From this simple premise, Herriman's imagination produced a unique series that many consider the greatest comic strip ever produced.

The action takes place in Coconino County, Arizona, a desert landscape of buttes and mesas. Other residents of Coconino County include Joe Stork ("purveyor of progeny to prince and proletariat"), Kolin Kelly (brick merchant), Walter Cephus Austridge, Mrs. Kwakk Wakk, Gooseberry Sprigg (the Duck Duke), Marijuana Pelona (widow with an ever-growing brood), Don Kiyoti (Mexican bandit), Mock Duck (Chinese launderer), Bum Bill Bee ("pilgrim on the road to nowhere"), Krazy's cousins Krazy Katfish and Krazy Katbird, and Ignatz's wife and three sons.

The strip began as a doodle at the bottom of an episode of *The Dingbat Family*, another Herriman strip, on July 26, 1910. Krazy and Ignatz continued to frolic along the bottom border of their parent strip until 1913, when they were granted a regular daily strip of their own. *Krazy Kat* premiered on Sunday, April 23, 1916, but not in the color supplement; instead, the *Krazy Kat* Sunday page appeared in the drama and art section. The placement of *Krazy* in a different section from the other "Sunday funnies" indicates the strip's appeal to a smaller audience. *Krazy Kat* was beloved by writers, artists, and intellectuals, but did not catch on with the average newspaper reader. Under normal market conditions, the strip might have been cancelled early in its run. *Krazy Kat*, however, had a devoted fan in its publisher, William Randolph Hearst, who kept the strip running.

In 1924, respected critic Gilbert Seldes devoted a chapter of his book *The Seven Lively Arts* to praise for *Krazy Kat*, calling it "the most amusing and fantastic and satisfactory work of art produced in America today." The 1946 collection of the strip boasted an introduction by famous poet e. e. cummings. Few comic strips received such attention from the artistic elite. One element of the strip that attracted this praise was its play with language. Krazy Kat speaks a bizarre and unique dialect, a mixture of a variety of real-life dialects, and creates bizarre puns from what Ignatz says. As Krazy says in a 1918 episode, "language is, that we may mis-unda-stend each udda." Another unique aspect of the strip was its constantly changing landscape. Even as the characters remain stationary, the background often shifts behind them, creating a surreal effect. Other elements in the strip are as indeterminate as the scenery—Krazy's gender, for one. Sometimes Krazy is a "she," sometimes a "he." When questioned about the inconsistency, Herriman explained that Krazy was "a sprite," a

magical being with no gender. A final aspect that often garnered praise was the self-reflexivity of many episodes. Because they live in a world of ink on paper, characters are allowed to redraw their environment.

Krazy Kat died with its creator in 1944. Despite the fact that it has long since passed from the funny pages, *Krazy Kat* has never been forgotten. Scholars often place Herriman in the company of the great modernists. For example, M. Thomas Inge has declared that “to the world of comic art George Herriman was its Picasso in visual style and innovation, its Joyce in stretching the limitations of language, and its Beckett in staging the absurdities of life.”

—Christian L. Pyle

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Krupa, Gene (1909-1973)

Gene Krupa was the most famous drummer of the big band era. His work, first with Benny Goodman and later with his own band,



Gene Krupa

defined jazz drumming for generations of percussionists. His flamboyant style and boundless energy made him the center of attention whenever he played. Krupa was the first legitimate superstar of the drum set, and his work on the classic Goodman tune “Sing, Sing, Sing” was the first extended drum solo in recorded music history. His solos combined controlled frenzy and musical genius.

Krupa’s battles with addiction essentially ended his career in the 1940s. Unable to control his cravings, his skills and popularity rapidly diminished. Although he enjoyed a brief revival in the 1950s when his life story was made into a film with young star Sal Mineo, Krupa never regained his previous international fame.

—Geoff Peterson

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Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan is America’s oldest and most notorious white supremacist organization. Originally formed to combat Reconstruction in the South following the Civil War, it soon became identified with virulent and violent racism, nativism, anti-Semitism, and terrorism. It has been embedded in the American cultural psyche and political consciousness virtually since its inception, evoking fear for its victims and repugnance among the educated and the liberal elements of society, while profoundly influencing the attitudes of those induced to follow its tenets, which are strongly wrapped in a skewed vision of patriotism. The Klan’s public behavior and its treatment and exposure in the media have served to keep its presence in the public eye.

The name derived from the Greek *kuklos*, meaning “circle” and a corruption of “clan,” or family, a fanciful idea created by six idle young Confederate war veterans who relieved the tedium of life in Pulaski, Tennessee, by dressing up in ghostly white sheets by night and playing pranks on their neighbors. Although its numbers gradually increased, the Klan was little more than a gang of ruffians until 1867, when Congress passed the Congressional Reconstruction Act. The new law mandated military occupation of the South, invalidated most of the region’s existing state governments, and decreed that the rights of the newly freed black slaves would be guaranteed by force, if necessary.

Confronted with this challenge to the traditional Southern power structure, the Ku Klux Klan turned to terror, dedicating itself to the continuation of white supremacy in the South, a return to black subjugation, and resistance to any attempts to change the traditional Southern way of life. Its weapons were arson, beatings, torture, mutilation, and murder. No one knows how many people were lynched, shot, burned alive, or beaten to death during the Klan’s initial reign of terror, but these outrages finally spurred Congress to pass anti-Klan legislation in 1871 and 1872. The Federal troops sent

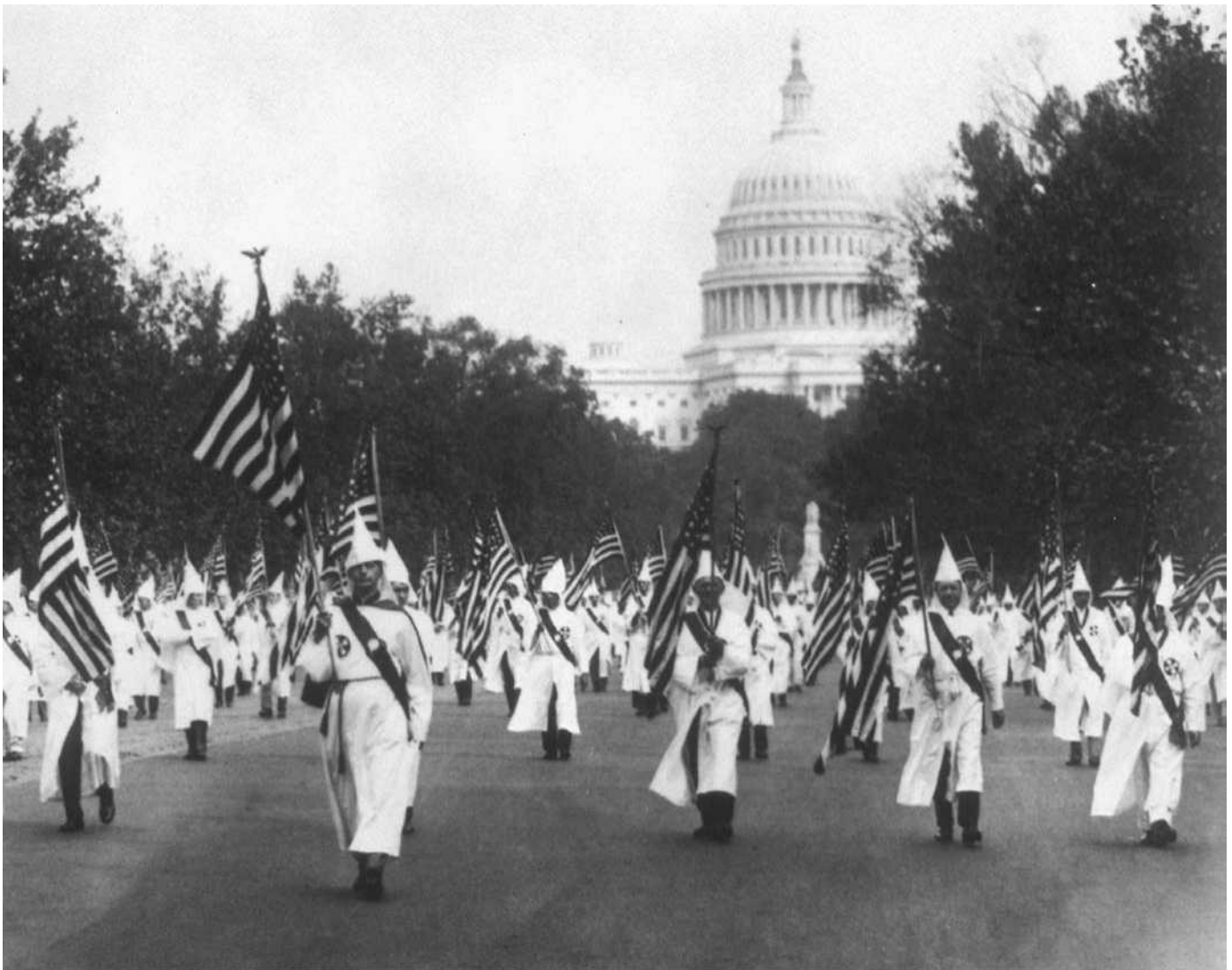
to enforce the law failed to wipe out the Klan, but succeeded in driving it into a period of dormancy. The Klan legend, however, was only beginning.

The first major appearance of the Ku Klux Klan to penetrate the nation’s consciousness occurred shortly after the turn of the century. In 1905, a racist former minister from North Carolina named Thomas Dixon published *The Clansman*, a novel depicting the supposed evils of Reconstruction and the alleged heroism of the Klan in resisting it. A year later Dixon produced a sequel, *The Leopard’s Spots*, which developed the same themes. Both novels sold well, especially in the South, but their real importance comes from the influence they exercised on director D.W. Griffith, who used much of the material in his 1915 epic film, *The Birth of a Nation*. Given the viewpoint of Dixon’s novels, it is unsurprising that Griffith’s classic of the cinema is exceedingly racist. The scenes set during Reconstruction depict blacks as moronic dupes of northern carpetbaggers, and lust-crazed despoilers of white women. The film’s main characters, the Stoneman family, are saved from a savage black mob only by the timely intervention of the Ku Klux Klan.

The film was both hugely popular and immensely inflammatory. It was seen by many whites, protested by many blacks, and frequently caused race riots at theaters where it played; it was also very popular with the Klan, which used it as a propaganda device for recruitment. Klan chapters advertised for new members in newspaper ads, and would insist that their ads run next to those for local screenings of *The Birth of a Nation*. Robed Klansmen attended showings of the film in several cities and towns, handing out literature to the exiting audiences.

Another positive depiction of the Klan could be seen in the 1918 film *The Prussian Cur*. Directed by Raoul Walsh (who had worked with Griffith on *The Birth of a Nation*), this production was one of the last of the “hate films” that flourished in America during World War I, designed to support the war effort by inflaming hostility toward the German enemy. Walsh’s film concerns a German agent in America who, while on a mission of sabotage, is caught and jailed. A group of disloyal German-Americans try to free him, but are thwarted by the arrival of robed Klansmen who return the spy to prison and force his would-be rescuers to kiss the American flag.

The original Klan, which had faded away in the 1870s, had been revived in 1915 by William Joseph Simmons, who commemorated the organization’s rebirth with a cross-burning ceremony atop Stone Mountain in Georgia. The following year Simmons hired a public relations firm to spearhead recruitment for his new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The Southern Publicity Association, formed in 1917 by Bessie Tyler and Edward Clarke to help sell war bonds, was phenomenally successful in attracting members. The new Klan, which opposed the aspirations of blacks, Jews, immigrants, Catholics, labor unions, and Suffragettes, had much to offer those concerned about the social changes taking place in the United States, and Tyler and Clarke used all the methods of modern public relations to gain favorable publicity for their client. They arranged for journalists to interview Simmons, who charmed them; they secured Klan cooperation in the filming of newsreels designed to show the Klan in a favorable light to the nation’s moviegoers; and they set up impressive public initiation ceremonies for new Klansmen. These also served as rallies designed to attract even more members while garnering publicity for the organization. Tyler and Clarke even hired a Chicago advertising agency to design newspaper ads and billboards, both of which were soon seen all over the country.



A Ku Klux Klan march in Washington, D.C.

The Klan continued to grow during the 1920s, but in the course of the decade it became the subject of controversy in an unlikely place: the pages of *Black Mask*, a popular pulp magazine which was the first publication to introduce “hard boiled” detective stories into American culture. Beginning in 1923, the magazine began an ongoing feature called “Klan Forum,” in which readers were invited to debate the merits of the Klan. At the same time, *Black Mask* began running a series of detective stories with plot lines critical of the Klan. Many of these were written by Carroll John Daly, whose hero, the aptly named Race Williams, opposed the Klan and fought to frustrate its racist activities.

The Klan appeared in popular culture only sporadically during the next several decades. *The Burning Cross* (1948), a film starring Hank Daniels and Virginia Patton, concerned a returned World War II veteran who confronts the Klan in his hometown. In *Storm Warning* (1951), Ronald Reagan played a crusading District Attorney out to convict a group of Klansmen who have committed murder. *The Cardinal* (1963) contained a segment in which Klansmen of the 1930s try to intimidate a Catholic priest, played by Tom Tryon. A 1975

episode of the made-for-TV film series, *The FBI Story*, was “Attack on Terror: The FBI versus the Ku Klux Klan.”

The 1980s, however, saw a revival of media interest in the Klan. The 1981 documentary film *Resurgence: The Movement for Equality vs. the Ku Klux Klan* concerns a two-year strike against a chicken processing plant in Laurel, Mississippi. The strikers, mostly black women, eventually triumph over a hostile management, extended unemployment, and threats of violence by the local Klan who oppose the women because of both their labor activity and their race. Two years later saw the premiere of *Twilight Zone: The Movie* (1983). A homage to Rod Serling’s classic television series, the film contains three stories of the fantastic and the supernatural. In the first, Vic Morrow plays a vicious bigot who is magically transformed into a victim of oppression in several scenarios, one of which has him as the victim a Ku Klux Klan lynching. Perhaps the most prominent of the decade’s Klan depictions was Alan Parker’s powerful *Mississippi Burning* (1988). Partially based on actual events, the film follows an FBI investigation into the murders of three civil rights workers by the Klan in 1964. Gene Hackman, Willem Dafoe, and Frances McDormand

brought star power and intensity to an unrelentingly grim story of murder, hatred, and betrayal.

The next year, television took its turn at transforming the Klan's history into drama. *Cross of Fire*, a two-part made-for-TV movie directed by Paul Wendkos, was broadcast in November 1989. Set in the 1920s, the film focuses on the rise and fall of Klan leader D.C. Stephenson, an actual Klan Grand Dragon in the decade after World War I. The film is concerned less with the activities of the Klan during this period than it is with Stephenson's personal villainy and eventual comeuppance.

However, the media of the 1980s was not solely the province of the Klan's enemies. Klansmen themselves launched vigorous efforts to spread their message and attract new recruits. Beginning in 1984, a former California Klan leader named Tom Metzger began to use public-access cable television to his cause's advantage, and his cause was white racism. Public access channels are, by law, open to anyone who submits a videocassette in the proper format, and Metzger's cassettes contained episodes of his talk show, "Race and Reason." The number of cities in which the show appeared during its six-year run is not precisely known—Metzger claimed 55, his foes said about 20. But it was clear that the Klan had entered the 1990s alive and active, at least insofar as broadcasting was concerned.

Meanwhile, David Duke was busy in Louisiana. Duke, a former Klan leader, tried to put his racist past behind him by claiming that he was not anti-black but rather pro-white. Dubbed "the blow-dried Klansman," he proved adept at modern campaign techniques and learned how to exploit the press for his political purposes. He was elected to the Louisiana State legislature in 1989, but failed in later bids for Governor, U.S. Senator, and the Republican presidential nomination.

The 1990s offered even more exposure, both positive and negative, of the Klan and its message. Daytime talk shows, especially those hosted by Geraldo Rivera, Jerry Springer, and Sally Jesse Raphael, often invited Klan members as guests—usually to face the scorn of both the host and much of the studio audience. The 1990 documentary *Blood in the Face* presented white supremacists, including Klan members, using their own words. Through interviews, video from Metzger's "Race and Reason" program, and video footage of a white supremacist gathering (including a Klan wedding performed in front of a burning cross), the film provides an unflinching portrait of a side of America that many never see.

Other depictions of the Klan were produced for network television and cable. *Murder in Mississippi* (1990) deals with the same crimes as did *Mississippi Burning*, but from the black citizens' point of view. Another made-for-TV film, *Sophie and the Moonhanger* (1995), involves a woman's discovery of her husband's Klan affiliations and his plans for violence against her black friends. In 1998, HBO premiered Spike Lee's film, *4 Little Girls*, focusing on the 1963 Klan bombing of a Birmingham, Alabama, church that left four children dead.

But the most sinister aspect of the Klan in the 1990s involved the World Wide Web. Klan organizations around the country (there are over 80 of them) have learned that they can reach greater numbers of people with a web page than they ever could with leaflets or newspapers—and, unlike an appearance on a talk show such as *Oprah*, there are no jeering crowds; the Klan controls the message, and that message has not substantially changed in over 130 years.

—Justin Gustainis

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Kubrick, Stanley (1928-1999)

American filmmaker Stanley Kubrick's ambitious and evocative works include widely acknowledged masterpieces like *Dr. Strangelove* (1963), *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), and *A Clockwork Orange* (1971). Kubrick began making films in 1951, borrowing money from family and friends to produce a short documentary called *Day of the Fight*. Nine years later, he was brought in by Kirk Douglas to replace director Anthony Mann on the set of the Hollywood blockbuster *Spartacus*. But this experience frustrated Kubrick, and it would be the last time that he worked on a film without total creative control. In 1960 he moved from New York to London and began tackling topics of exceptional breadth and cultural concern. Over the next ten years he effectively stamped subjects like the Cold War, the ambiguities of violence, and the limits of human consciousness with his uniquely powerful screen images. Although critics unanimously praise his technical mastery, many remain baffled and outraged by his disturbing narratives.

—John Tomasic

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Kudzu

Created in 1981 by political cartoonist Doug Marlette (1949—), who was inspired by the fast-growing plant with the same name, the comic strip *Kudzu* reveals the universal aspects of life as depicted in a

small town. Marlette used his experiences growing up in the South to develop his characters and situations. "I located it in North Carolina because I was born there," Marlette said, "but it could be anywhere." His main character, Kudzu Dubose, is an awkward teenager in limbo between childhood and adulthood. Kudzu chronically suffers and good naturedly copes with heartbreak, agony, and failure. He is surrounded by characters who depict common human traits such as narcissism, self-indulgence, and greed.

Marlette selected the name Kudzu for his comic strip and protagonist because his character resembled the kudzu vine. Imported to the United States from Japan in 1876, kudzu flourished in the Deep South's warm climate. "Kudzu is a fast-growing oriental creeper. It was introduced years ago in the South to control soil erosion and is now a menace that covers millions of acres," Marlette explained. "My Kudzu is something of a menace, too, or at least his blunderings are." Marlette noted that both the kudzu vine and his character were pests and defined by their ability to grow despite deterrents. "Like Scarlett O'Hara or Dilsey in Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*," Marlette stated, "the kudzu plant—and, I hope, the comic strip—endures and prevails."

The cartoon town of Bypass, North Carolina, population 3,401, is a stereotypical small, southern town full of eccentrics. The protagonist, Kudzu Dubose, is a naive adolescent whose innocence causes him problems. Poetic and vulnerable, Kudzu is artistic. The theme of dreams versus reality prevails in his life. Kudzu lives with his overbearing mother, whom he obeys, but he longs to leave home, escaping the boredom of Bypass to discover the world and acquire personal power in his life. Kudzu wants to be a "great writer" and thinks he needs to move to New York City to achieve his dreams. He keeps a journal and has a short story rejected by *The New Yorker* magazine. Kudzu is constantly discouraged, misunderstood, and feels despair, but he determinedly seeks happiness. He also desires romantic love and wears a chest wig in an effort to be more masculine.

Kudzu is oppressed by his mother, who is unwilling to allow her son freedom. Mrs. Dubose is a manipulative woman whose bossy behavior resulted in her husband abandoning her and Kudzu. She is an emotional burden to Kudzu, faking illnesses to control her son by making him feel guilty for not taking adequate care of her. She insists that he wear a beeper so that she can always contact him. She does not appreciate her son's talents, dismissing him when he wins writing contests. Kudzu's closest companion at home is his bird Doris, who does impressions when she is alone, and craves chocolate. Kudzu's Uncle Dub owns a filling station and cafe where he works part time. Dub is crude, anti-intellectual, and insensitive, exactly Kudzu's opposite. A "good ol' boy" who prefers his hunting dogs to humans, Dub is simple while Kudzu is complex.

Kudzu's best friend, Maurice Stonewall Jackson, is an African American who is Kudzu's touchstone with reality. Maurice is cool and self-assured, and his goal is to leave the suburban middle-class lifestyle for an urban ghetto. His mother works as a maid for the Tadsworths, the richest family in town. She dreams of Maurice attending Harvard and knows exactly how many biscuits she has cooked to earn his tuition. Maurice and Kudzu explore black and white identities and relationships in the New South. Kudzu's love interest, Veranda Tadsworth, is the daughter of Bubba Tadsworth, who owns the local mill, has a huge estate, and is the most powerful man in the county. Marlette describes Veranda as being the "Southern Belle from Hell." Materialistic, confident, and self-absorbed,

Veranda callously rejects Kudzu's romantic overtures. His unrequited love for her inspires his creativity. Veranda, who takes shop class thinking it means shopping, ridicules Kudzu's moonlight serenades and love poems.

Preacher Will B. Dunn is a major character in Bypass. Claiming "Human relations is my life," Dunn provides humorous insights about his congregation at Bypass Baptist Church and admits "Let's face it—the sheep are startin' to get on the shepherd's nerves!" His sermons deal with such topics as the Solid Gold Dancers. Dunn sometimes burps while presiding at wedding ceremonies and falls asleep during his own sermons. He sells videos of his sermons and delivers interesting wedding and funeral services with personal comments. Dunn is always looking for heavenly signs that he should continue his ministry. He counsels Kudzu about the meaning of life and writes an advice column, "Tell It to the Preacher," for the *Bypass Bugle*, penning pithy and unhelpful replies. He also hosts the televised *The Reverend Will B. Dunn Show*, providing a toll free number for love offerings. He gossips about his congregants and attends aerobic dance classes. Dunn's goal is to specialize in ministering to the wealthy, and Bubba Tadsworth secures his services. Dunn has a kinder, more reverential side, bringing Christmas gifts to five-year-old Tad Tadsworth when his father makes him work the night shift as a security guard at the mill. American clergy embraced the character of Will B. Dunn as being cathartic for them because he shows that ministers are not perfect. Marlette received the Wilbur Award from the Religious Public Relations Council, and his character's adventures are printed in church bulletins and religious periodicals.

During the 1990s, new characters were introduced such as Nasal T. Lardbottom, Kudzu's classmate and the "whitest white boy"; Mr. Goodvibes, a secular humanist and the school's guidance counselor; and Ida Mae Wombat, an aspiring dental hygienist who desires Kudzu. During the 1990 campaign, Marlette drew Senator Jesse Helms as a character in *Kudzu*. Cartoon Helms waged the Cold War Separation Anxiety campaign against an international artistic conspiracy in response to Helms' real crusade against the National Endowment for the Arts. The strip featured Helms on the reelection campaign trail, nostalgically recalling that when he was younger "art was sad-faced clowns, big-eyed children and black velvet Elvises" and culture was "what the veterinarian scraped off the cow's tongue to check for hoof-and-mouth disease." These *Kudzu* strips were controversial. Many North Carolina newspapers moved *Kudzu* to the opinion pages, and the *Raleigh News and Observer* canceled it. Readers demanded that the strip be resumed, and after election day, the newspaper printed all of the strips. *Kudzu* comic strips have also been published in numerous book collections.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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Kuhn, Bowie (1926—)

A former lawyer, Bowie Kuhn served as baseball commissioner from 1969 to 1984. His achievements included raising baseball's attendance level, procuring lucrative television contracts, and sponsoring night baseball in the World Series. Despite baseball's increasing affluence during this time, Kuhn often claimed that rising player salaries would bankrupt the sport. Kuhn was reluctant to become involved in the several player strikes that plagued his reign, though he did force owners to scrap plans for a 1976 pre-season lockout. While widely perceived as an "owner's commissioner," he suspended owners Ted Turner and George Steinbrenner for various infractions and feuded with Oakland owner Charles Finley. When Finley attempted to unload superstars Joe Rudi, Vida Blue, and others for \$3.5 million in cash, Kuhn nixed the sale, declaring that it was not in baseball's best interests. The owners did not renew Kuhn's contract and he was succeeded by Peter Ueberroth.

—Matt Kerr

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Kukla, Fran, and Ollie

Outside of Howdy Doody and the Muppets, Kukla and Ollie were probably the most popular and successful puppets ever to appear on television. Unlike Jim Henson's characters, however, they haven't endured or survived beyond the death of their creator. Burr Tillstrom (1917-1985) first brought his quietly funny and eccentric hand puppets to TV in the autumn of 1947. Accompanied by a personable lady named Fran Allison, the mild-mannered, yet egocentric dragon named Oliver and the enthusiastically nice bald little fellow named Kukla (Russian for *doll*) made their debut on a show originally titled *Junior Jamboree* on a Chicago station. The title became *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* early in 1949. As the coaxial cable spread across the country, so did the half-hour show. By 1951 the popular program was seen nationally at 7 PM weeknights. Initially intended for kids, the Kuklapolitans eventually attracted a large and enthusiastic audience of teenagers and adults as well.

For most of its run from 1949 onward, the show was done live and unscripted from the Merchandise Mart studios of NBC's Chicago station WNBQ. The set was simple, consisting of a sort of portable Punch & Judy theater. Allison stood in front of it, her head on a level with the tiny proscenium, and chatted with Ollie, the falsetto-voiced Kukla, and the other regulars in the puppet cast. These included Fletcher Rabbit, Cecil Bill, Beulah Witch (named after Beulah Zachary, the show's producer) and Madame Ooglepuss. Music was provided by pianist Jack Fascianato. Tillstrom did all the voices and manipulated all the puppets. *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* was casual and informal, the humor quiet and personal. It fit in with the aims and attitudes of some of the other early shows of what's been called the Chicago School—such as *Garroway At Large* and *Stud's Place*—in the days when television was very much a unique medium and quite a bit more relaxed than it later became. Now and then, Tillstrom and company would attempt something more ambitious, staging miniature musicals and the like, but for the most part the show concentrated on the conversations between Fran Allison and the various facets of Burr Tillstrom. Watching the show regularly had the effect of leading viewers to believe that the puppets were real. Even Allison was said to have operated under that illusion while she was on stage with them.

Tillstrom became interested in puppetry while still in his early teens. Kukla was one of his earliest puppets; Oliver J. Dragon and the others came later. After performing everywhere from nightclubs to department stores, he moved early into television. When the *Junior Jamboree* got underway, he added Allison to the mix. She had been active in Chicago radio for several years, singing in a trio, doing comedy with the offbeat Ransom Sherman, and playing the popular Aunt Fanny on the *Breakfast Club* show every weekday morning.

Kukla, Fran, and Ollie remained successful for roughly a decade. It was reported in 1950 that Tillstrom had signed a million-dollar, five-year contract. Despite the broadcast success, the show never managed to inspire much in the way of merchandising. In later years new episodes were done for syndication and Tillstrom produced an occasional special. Kukla, Ollie and the rest died with him in 1985; Fran Allison died in 1989.

—Ron Goulart

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Kung Fu

Described as an "Eastern Western," *Kung Fu* was one of the seminal television programs of the 1970s. Starring David Carradine as the character Kwai Chang Caine, a Shaolin priest who wandered about the American West during the mid-1800s, the show dealt directly with issues of racism, chronicling the experiences of Chinese immigrants in the West and often aligning them with other marginalized communities, such as African Americans and the working class.

During the early 1970s, the economic dominance of Hollywood was failing, allowing room for experimentation and the development

of new genres. Inspired by the success of the independently produced *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971), directed by Melvin Van Peebles, the mainstream industry co-opted the film's revolutionary aesthetic and politics to create Blaxploitation films—urban action movies featuring African-American casts. Also influencing the industry were films by the world's third largest producer, Hong Kong. Imported martial arts films such as *Five Fingers of Death* (1972) and *Fist of Fury* (1972) shared the top spots with *Superfly* (1972) and *Coffy* (1973). Emerging on the heels of the Civil Rights movement and the struggle for gender equality, these two genres found their biggest audiences with people of color in urban areas, for they featured non-White heroes fighting against oppression. In Blaxploitation films, the stars struggled against White domination and racism; in the Hong Kong martial arts films, the protagonists challenged colonialism and the Japanese. The popularity of these films was not lost on the television industry, for on February 22, 1972, a ninety-minute pilot for a new series was aired on the ABC network—*Kung Fu*, created by Ed Spielman and Howard Friedlander. The success of the pilot, which earned a 33 percent share of the primetime audience, resulted in a one-hour drama series that was to last three seasons.

Kung Fu was an odd show for television for, as producer/writer John Furia, Jr. states, it “lacked frantic, frenetic motion. Our characters moved and spoke slowly, and tersely. They used fewer words

rather than more.” The show also brought to mainstream America precepts of Confucianism, Taoism, and Zen. Stylistically it also differed from other programs, for it made frequent use of flashbacks and used slow motion during its action sequences.

Kung Fu was frequently criticized because of its contradictory nature. Though the character of Caine was depicted as a non-violent man, every episode featured his use of martial arts in a physical altercation. Another problem was the casting. Martial arts star Bruce Lee, master of *jeet kune do*, was considered for the role, but it was given to White actor Carradine. Asian Americans protested the decision, but the show got around the issue by making Caine a person of mixed heritage. He was the son of a White American man and a Chinese woman.

Despite these issues, *Kung Fu* was a favorite among television viewers. It was commercialized through products such as lunch boxes and caused an increase in interest of martial arts and Asian cultures.

—Frances Gateward

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A typical moment from the *Kukla, Fran, and Ollie* show.

Kwan, Michelle (1980—)

Michelle Kwan is often called the best all-around figure skater of her generation, with a particular emphasis on artistry. Extremely popular, she most resembles ice queens Peggy Fleming and Kristi Yamaguchi, successfully combining grace and athletic ability as well as achieving artistic and financial success. Her consistent excellence and precocity made her a star; in 1994, a thirteen year-old Kwan stepped easily into the vacuum left by Nancy Kerrigan's turning professional. Initially, Kwan was presented as an "exotic" but found her stride as an interpreter of classical pieces. Kwan remained optimistic about her Olympic prospects for a gold medal after narrowly losing to Tara Lipinski in 1998 at Nagano. A frequent performer in ice shows and pro-am competitions, Kwan is remarkable for her professionalism and unaffected manner.

—Mary Hess

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L

L. A. Law

A ground-breaking prime-time television series, *L. A. Law* emerged in 1986 from the stable that had brought a new veracity to ensemble series drama with *Hill Street Blues*. Setting his new show in a high-powered law office, trend-setting producer Steven Bochco (and co-writer Terry Louise Fisher), while expanding on the concept of multiple storylines, rooted these firmly in character-driven scripts of intelligence, authenticity, and wit. Gone were the idealized television attorneys of yesteryear such as Perry Mason. This team, played by a large A-grade cast, presented a realistic cross-section of the likable, the insecure, the authoritative, and the downright smarmy. Many of the situations straddled several episodes, and involved a seamless blend of office politics, love affairs, or sexual misadventure, played out parallel with the firm's legal concerns, ethical dilemmas, and courtroom appearances. The fundamentally serious approach was leavened with doses of witty dialogue and occasionally outrageous absurdities.

Because the law firm dealt in multiple areas of the law, the cases were able to legitimately range from divorce to murder, and to engage a variety of complex contemporary issues from date rape and child abuse to capital punishment, outing of homosexuals, and voluntary euthanasia. *L. A. Law* ran between 1986 and 1994. It collected 20 Emmy Award nominations in its first season, and won four Best Drama Emmys, as well as Golden Globes, Television Critics Association Awards, and a Peabody Award. Most significantly, its approach and narrative style paved the way for the even more compelling relationships and finely honed characterizations of *E.R.* in the 1990s.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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L. L. Cool J. (1968—)

Calling himself the “mic” dominator, best of all time,” L. L. (Ladies Love) Cool J. strutted onto the hip-hop scene with his debut album *Radio* in 1985. He was the first artist released under Def Jam’s landmark six-figure distribution deal with Columbia Records and rose to prominence when his track “I Can’t Live Without My Radio” featured in the movie *Krush Groove* (1985). L. L. Cool J. (born James Todd Smith) is credited with creating rap’s first ballad, “I Need Love,” a slow, sexy love song to that one special girl. Since then he has released further albums that continued his lyrical braggadocio and

rap egotism: *Bigger and Deffer* (1987), *Walking With a Panther* (1989), *Mama Said Knock You Out* (1990), *14 Shots to the Dome* (1993), *Mr. Smith* (1995), and *Phenomenon* (1997).

—Nathan Abrams

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“La Bamba”

Ritchie Valens helped merge traditional Mexican music with American rock ‘n’ roll when he recorded “La Bamba” in 1958. Since his version, “La Bamba” has been recorded over 150 times in the United States. The lasting influence of Valens’s music after his tragic death in 1959 made *La Bamba* a fitting title to the 1987 movie that chronicled the brief life and rise to fame of the Chicano singer. The sound tract of the film, recorded by Los Lobos, regenerated interest in the song in the mainstream media. The song has a long history, recorded by Trini Lopez in 1966, by the Plugz in 1979, and also by the Rice University Marching Band and the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

The rhythmic history of “La Bamba” places it as a “*son jarocho*,” meaning a musical form of the *jarocho*, the mixed race people of the eastern coastal region of Mexico. La Bamba was also the name of a dance from the Mexican colonial period, a very old musical tradition that merged African, Caribbean, and indigenous cultures from the southern part of the state of Veracruz. The *sones jarochos* are performed on stringed instruments like a small harp, a small eight-string guitar, and a small four-string guitar. La Bamba was performed in the famous Coliseo Theatre in Mexico City in 1790. Despite its long history and varying versions, “La Bamba” is inextricably linked to the emergence of Chicano Rock in America.

—Rafaela Castro

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Labor Unions

Throughout much of the twentieth century, the American labor movement has been a dynamic force for social change. The struggle for workplace representation and social equality has reshaped much of the American political landscape. Yet, the cultural impact and significance of labor unions goes far beyond the political action of shop floor organization. Unions, both through their actions and union imagery, have deeply influenced American popular culture. At different times and in different ways, workers have used their unions to define their own sense of individual and collective identity. Unions have been at the forefront in defining American working-class masculinity. They have struggled with the issues of gender relations both within their organizations and with their imagery and rhetoric. Labor organizations have served as both standard bearers of racial separation and forces for racial integration. While the labor movement has helped to create a forum for social action and some union members have been at the forefront of other social movements, unions have also been a force of conservatism, moderation, and a continuing identity of whiteness. Thus, the cultural impact of unions on twentieth century American popular culture is multi-faceted and conflicted. Through their own actions and the representations of unions in American film, music, television, and literature, labor organizations have served as a focal point for the construction of a sense of community. While this community provided some with a collective identity and a sense of belonging, it also defined whom the community accepted and who remained outside of it.

Racial and ethnic divisions played a significant role in labor organizing during the nineteenth century. In many ways, ethnic communities and similarities fostered organization within that ethnicity; for instance, Irish-American workers were likely to join Irish

labor unions. Yet, such actions opened the door for company managers to play one ethnicity, or race, off another. Capital broke the post war strikes of 1919 with such actions. Because of their insulated ethnic and racial communities, workers were not able to transcend the divisions that separated them. Following 1919, both capital and labor leaders tried to learn from their mistakes. Seeing the strength of ethnic-based organizations, businesses tried to diversify their workforce and combine different ethnicities and races. Such work place interaction, however, only assisted the development of trans-ethnic and trans-racial organizing. With the collapse of the economy in 1929, ethnic banks, stores, and other pillars of ethnic cohesion collapsed. As the last vestiges of the ethnic community went bankrupt, workers turned to each other and to their unions to reestablish a sense of community.

Such trans-ethnic and trans-racial organizations proved to be the backbone of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The new labor congress based itself on the concept of clear class-consciousness. Workers would have standing in the industrial union regardless of skill, trade, ethnicity, race, or gender. Although later developments would prove racism and sexism a persistent problem for the labor movement, the CIO's commitment to trans-racial organization remains significant. Many CIO members truly believed in the late 1930s that they had overcome racial and ethnic divisions. However, the career of A. Philip Randolph and the struggle of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters show that the internal conflict over racial identity remained an important part of the American labor movement.

By the first couple of decades of the twentieth century, Pullman sleeping cars had become the epitome of luxury in railroad travel. An essential part of the Pullman experience was the service of the Pullman porter. Always an African-American male, the porter's job was to see to every need of the passenger. When these porters tried to organize into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP)



Samuel Gompers (second from left), leader of the American Federation of Labor, with other union officials in 1918.

beginning in the mid-1920s, they encountered resistance not only from the Pullman Company but also from the predominately white CIO as well. The Pullman workers appointed as their leader A. Philip Randolph, a veteran civil rights advocate. As president of the BSCP, Randolph took on much of the leadership of the CIO, pointing out to them the hypocrisy of denying admission to a black union. White unionists' backlash against Randolph and the BSCP suggests the persistence of racism within the labor movement. For many white workers, their union jobs helped to define them not only as workers but as whites as well. A white organization that held black workers aside reinforced racial identities and hierarchies.

The porters' selection of Randolph to lead their organizing drive demonstrates the important connections that existed between labor and other social movements. Before he joined the BSCP, Randolph worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Even after becoming the union president, Randolph remained closely tied to the campaign for civil rights. Randolph and other black trade unionists were an important part of the 1941 March on Washington Movement. By threatening a mass demonstration in Washington, Randolph forced President Franklin Roosevelt to open wartime production jobs to black workers. A. Philip Randolph remained a major figure in the Civil Rights movement and was a prominent figure on the march on Washington in 1963 led by Martin Luther King, Jr. Trade union activity not only helped to define a conservative white identity; rather racial minorities also used labor organizations to foster racial pride as well. Thus, when African-American garbage men struck in Memphis during 1968, they walked their picket lines with the simple slogan "I am a man."

Likewise Chicano farm laborers looked to labor organizations to claim their sense of self worth and racial identity. In the mid-1960s, the United Farm Workers (UFW), led by Cesar Chavez, organized in the fields of California where large producers hired mostly migratory farm laborers to harvest their crops. The farm workers organized mostly to protect themselves from poor wages, dangerous work, and hazardous chemicals, yet UFW demonstrations were full of references to Chicano culture and racial pride. Much like the Irish or Polish labor unions of the late nineteenth century, Mexican-American ethnic cohesiveness fostered labor organization and vice versa. Yet, the response within the AFL-CIO and other trade unions was mixed. Like the campaign of the BSCP, the rise of the UFW threatened the racial identity of many white trade unionists. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, for example, launched a campaign to both unionize delivery drivers in the California fields and to break the strength of the UFW. In this way, racial divisions and the use of unions to promote racial identity remained a contested aspect of the American labor movement.

In addition to race, the labor movement has a conflicted past on gender relations and gendered identity. For most male workers, union membership defined the nature of working-class masculinity. The campaign for a "family wage" demonstrates how deep this masculinity lies in labor organizations. For most of the twentieth century, a principle demand of labor organizations has been the family wage. This denotes that the company should pay workers enough to support a family, but it also suggests that a man should make enough money to prevent his wife from working. The family wage ideal suggests that work is a masculine space where women should not be present. Likewise, the imagery of labor and labor organizations revolved around the masculine nature of work. Artists often depicted industrial labor as a muscular man engaged in physical labor. When the AFL and the CIO joined in 1955, their official logo became two very

muscular arms shaking hands. The images of "Rosie the Riveter" and other women working in wartime plants during World War II reinforced the masculine ideal of labor. Propaganda posters show these women as muscular, tough, and man enough to do the job. Such masculine imagery conflicted heavily with the reality of female labor. Despite female participation in union activity, however, labor identity remained centered upon an ideal of masculinity.

With the rise of industrial unionism and the decline of ethnically based communities in the 1930s, labor unions came to represent more than just a source of racial and gender identity. In many ways, union membership and union activities became the focal point of communities and provided members with a sense of belonging and camaraderie. Organizations such as union bowling teams and softball leagues, along with activities like dances at union halls and union picnics, brought union members together outside of the shop floor. Through such actions, the members of the union became a sort of extended family and promoted what historian Liz Cohen calls a "culture of solidarity." Such an extension of union activity enhanced labor's impact on American popular culture. Unions began to take part in civic activities that were outside the scope of their particular point of production. From such civic activities emerged the concept of the "union town." Some cities became known not only for the strength of their unions but the influence that unions and union members held in that town. Likewise, the culture of solidarity enhanced the impact of the union on family structures. As children attended union picnics or participated in parades, they became deeply aware of being a part of a union family. The prospect of growing up and joining the union became, for working-class males, a rite of passage into American masculinity. The songs of Bruce Springsteen perhaps portray this transition best. Springsteen suggests that the moment of entrance into working-class manhood was the day a young man received his first union card. Once a part of the union, he could then enjoy the communal identity that unions provided.

Bruce Springsteen is not the only example of union imagery in American popular culture. On the contrary, the images of labor, workers, and unions have been consistent in American culture. Much like unions themselves, popular culture has been conflicted over the presentation of union themes and union imagery. Many of the representations have focused on unions as organizations devoted to fighting social inequalities and striving for workplace equality. Yet there exists within American popular culture a common depiction of unions and union members as backward looking conservatives or exploitative, corrupt manipulators. Both images occur with frequency in American popular culture, often present within the same film or other cultural representation.

The first real presence of labor imagery in twentieth century popular culture was probably the proletarian novel. Extremely popular for the first few decades of the century, proletarian novels emerged from the traditions of muckraking journalism. Often these novelists used their work to expose the exploitative nature and conditions of the American working class. Because of this purpose, unions commonly held a revered position within the novels as organizations formed by the workers to tackle the problems of large-scale industrial capitalism. Upton Sinclair presents an excellent example of the proletarian novelist. Arriving in Chicago at the turn of the century, Sinclair announced that he intended to write the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of the labor movement. Sinclair's book *The Jungle* (1906) details the working environment and living conditions in the packinghouses of Chicago. Many attribute his descriptions of meat packing to the creation of governmental regulations and food safety laws. Sinclair

continued his descriptions of working-class life and union organization in later works like *Oil!* (1927) and *King Coal* (1917).

In a similar fashion, John Steinbeck details the movement of migratory workers from Oklahoma to the fields of California in *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Though his description of the Joad family, Steinbeck presents a family struggling to stay together despite the hardships of the Depression and the exploitation of the California farmers. Steinbeck also creates the character of Tom Joad, who quickly becomes a symbol of the idealistic union organizer. Like Sinclair, Steinbeck offers—in works like *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Cannery Row* (1945)—descriptions of working-class life and the struggle for workers to gain, through unionization, a measure of respect. In his *USA* trilogy (1930, 1932, 1936), John Dos Passos takes a slightly different approach. Several characters within his works are members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). However, Dos Passos does not offer detailed descriptions of workers' lives. Rather he uses union members as a foil to the rest of his characters. Dos Passos, Steinbeck, and Sinclair have important similarities. Each of them was an advocate and supporter of the labor movement and their representations of unions in their work portray their politics.

The proletarian novelist aimed his work mostly toward a middle class audience. Yet in the first several decades of the century, a nationalized consumer economy emerged that was capable of creating mass cultural images through film and music. For the first time, the working class became the audience for much of American mass culture. Thus, as the working class began to receive the images of unions and union activities, labor and labor-related themes came to dominate American culture. In the genre of film, Hollywood started to create movies about working people and their organizations. These included the film version of Steinbeck's novel *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), starring Henry Fonda as Tom Joad. However, Hollywood did not always follow the direction of the proletarian novelists. Instead, Hollywood presents conflicted imagery of unions and union organizations. Unions and union members come to represent both social possibility and conservative regression. In addition to the characterization of Tom Joad, there is the story of corrupt unionism in *On the Waterfront* (1954). In the film, Marlon Brando portrays worker Terry Malloy's fight against a corrupt union boss who rules the organization through violence and fear. Yet the imagery within *On the Waterfront* is conflicted as well. On one hand, the film presents unions and union leadership as a corrupt and dictatorial organization, yet underlying Brando's fight is the notion that a worker's union is something worth fighting for.

For the most part, Hollywood films during the early Cold War were rooted in anti-communism and anti-radicalism. The Hollywood black list prevented many filmmakers from making sympathetic labor films. The exception is the production of *Salt of the Earth* (1954). Made by a blacklisted crew and starring many amateur actors, *Salt of the Earth* tells the story of Chicano miners in their struggle to maintain their solidarity and bring some measure of safety to their labor. Such a depiction of a successful strike and class-based solidarity was uncommon for its time.

Hollywood soon returned to stories celebrating workers and their desire for union organization. *Norma Rae* (1979), starring Sally Field, is one such movie. In the film, Field plays a textile worker who struggles, against seemingly insurmountable odds, to establish a union in her plant. Likewise, *Matewan* (1979) offers a story of a union organizer and the miners who organize trans-racially to battle the mining company. Even Sylvester Stallone took a spin as a tough but

idealistic Teamster organizer in *F.I.S.T.* (1978). Yet for every sympathetic representation, there are also films like *Hoffa* (1992) which offer a darker picture of union activity. As Jimmy Hoffa, Jack Nicholson presents a labor leader who rules the Teamsters through violence, corruption, and absolute power. In *Hoffa*, workers only protest when the leadership tells them to do so. Hoffa, however, does remain a semi-sympathetic character because he suggests that everything he does is in the interest of the membership. Ultimately, though, Nicholson's Hoffa is closer to the representation of the working class in television. From Jackie Gleason in *The Honeymooners* (1955-1956) to Archie Bunker in *All in the Family* (1971-1979), television has represented working-class males as self-centered conservatives who are lovable yet ignorantly out of touch with the rest of society.

Beyond movies and literature, the labor movement's greatest cultural legacy is probably the labor troubadour. Many labor organizations have used folk songs and folk music as a way of promoting their cause. From this has emerged the tradition of socially conscious folk and rock music. The first well-known labor troubadour of the twentieth century was Joe Hill (1879?-1915). As an organizer for the IWW, Hill wrote songs relating the desire for union representation. Convicted for murder on questionable charges, Hill was executed in Utah in 1915. Since then, his name and his songs have become an important part of union mythology. Taking up where Hill left off, Woody Guthrie (1912-1967) became the voice of the labor movement in the 1930s. Through songs such as "This land is your land," Guthrie expressed not only the struggles of Southern migrant labor but suggests to his listeners the importance of joining a union and claiming the rights of an American citizen. Similarly, Pete Seeger's (1919—) roots lie in the traditions of the labor union folk singer. Like Guthrie, Seeger sings of the pride of working and the desire for equality and union representation. Yet, Seeger and his style of folk music achieved an influential popularity within American culture, eventually leading to socially conscious folk singers like Bob Dylan (1941—).

Labor's influence on music does not end with folk music. Rather, several rock and roll artists explore in their music the impact of working-class origins. Perhaps the best example of this is the music of Bruce Springsteen (1949—). Through stories about the acquisition of a union card or the closing down of the local textile mill, labor unions and working-class culture represent a major part of Springsteen's music. In songs such as "My Hometown" (on *Born in the USA* [1984]) or "Youngstown" (on *The Ghost of Tom Joad* [1995]), Springsteen confronts the meaning of union membership and working-class culture in a de-industrializing society. Springsteen even evoked the memory of past labor imagery by entitling one of his albums *The Ghost of Tom Joad* after the Steinbeck character. Because of such imagery in music, films, and other cultural mediums, unions and the American working class remain an important aspect of American popular culture. The industrial worker is never far from the American cultural mind and, in the twentieth century, industrial labor is closely tied to union membership and the forms of communal organizations and identities unions create.

—S. Paul O'Hara

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Lacoste Shirts

The Lacoste sports shirt, made of cotton pique and bearing a logo of an alligator, was named for its creator, tennis pro Rene “The Crocodile” Lacoste. The shirt was worn as a fashion statement in the early 1980s by those sporting the “Preppy” look, which sought to duplicate the style favored by those attending the Ivy-league schools of the East Coast. In the early 1990s, Lacoste shirts enjoyed a brief resurgence of popularity among those who wished to satirize the fashion.

—S. Naomi Finkelstein

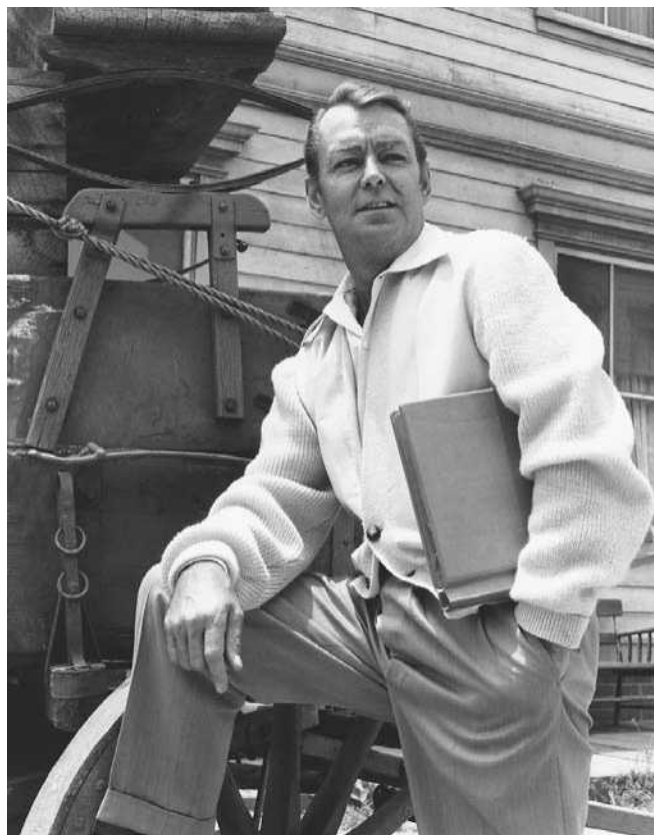
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Ladd, Alan (1913-1964)

A compact tough guy actor, Alan Ladd arrived at stardom by way of a pair of film noir movies in the early 1940s. After nearly a decade of small parts, he was given the role of Raven in Paramount Pictures' 1942 *This Gun For Hire*, a somewhat toned down adaptation of the Graham Greene thriller. Although he didn't get star billing—that went to Robert Preston and Veronica Lake—Ladd stole the picture playing a sort of existentialist hired assassin. He managed to make the cold, doomed character unsettling and yet appealing. The scenes between him and Lake suggested to the studio that they would make a bankable romantic team, and before his first major film was released Alan Ladd and Veronica Lake were working together again in *The Glass Key*, a dark, violent version of Dashiell Hammett's novel. Brian Donlevy was the ostensible star, but Ladd was again the one who got most of the attention, as well as thousands of fan letters. Both films, which hit theaters fairly close together, got good reviews and did well at the box office. *This Gun For Hire* grossed \$12,000,000.



Alan Ladd

From 1942 to 1964 Alan Ladd appeared in nearly fifty more movies. Many were run of the mill action pictures, but included on the list were *The Blue Dahlia*, *The Great Gatsby*, and *Shane*.

Born in Arkansas, Ladd grew up in Southern California where he attended North Hollywood High. He was interested in acting early on and also excelled at track and swimming. His mother committed suicide before his career took off, a fact he kept hidden throughout his lifetime. In 1939, agent Sue Carol, a moderately successful movie actress in the late 1920s and early 1930s and ten years Ladd's senior, became his agent. She began to get him movie work at various studios. Ladd played small parts in *Rulers of the Sea* at Paramount, the first *Green Hornet* serial at Universal, and somewhat larger parts in a string of Poverty Row productions. He also can be heard, though only dimly seen, in the early scenes of *Citizen Kane*, where a group of news people is viewing the “News on the March” short about the life of Kane; and in Disney's *The Reluctant Dragon* he is in a live-action sequence explaining the *Baby Weems* storyboard to the touring Robert Benchley. He got a featured role in RKO's *Joan of Paris*, which starred Michele Morgan and Paul Henreid. In 1942, having divorced his first wife, Ladd married his agent.

Ladd also had a career at the microphone. A self-trained radio actor, he started getting parts on local Los Angeles broadcasts in 1936, and within two years was playing small roles on national programs like *Lux Radio Theater*. After he became famous, he frequently starred on the Lux show and it was Ladd, not Bogart, who appeared as Rick on their 1944 dramatization of *Casablanca*. In 1948 Ladd produced, syndicated and starred in a successful radio mystery series called *Box 13*.

During the 1940s, with some time out for service in the armed forces, Ladd was on the screen in fifteen more films. In two of them—*The Blue Dahlia* and *Saigon*—he again played opposite Veronica Lake. His height has been variously reported, but he was apparently about five foot five. That made Lake, at approximately five feet, an ideal romantic movie partner for him. Among the other actresses he worked with in the 1940s were Loretta Young, Gail Russell, Dorothy Lamour, and Donna Reed. William Bendix, who became a close friend offscreen, was in several of Ladd's movies, playing his loyal sidekick in *China*, *The Blue Dahlia*, and *Calcutta*. During the 1950s Ladd starred in twenty-three more movies, the majority of them not especially memorable. He did, however, star in George Stevens' *Shane* in 1953, a Western that has earned the status of a classic and which some critics feel contains Ladd's best performance.

Somewhere along the way, however, Ladd had picked up a drinking habit and his excesses started to show on his face from the middle 1950s onward. In his last picture, *The Carpetbaggers* made in 1963, he played a supporting role. He died in January of 1964 of an overdose of sedatives taken while drinking.

—Ron Goulart

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Laetrile

Laetrile, alternatively referred to as amygdalin or vitamin B17, has been in use as a healing agent for thousands of years. Claimed by many to be an almost miraculous cure for cancer, Laetrile has been the subject of court battles and controversy for decades. While proponents point to ancient Egyptian and Chinese documents that refer to its therapeutic properties, the medical and pharmaceutical establishment denies that it has any healing properties and is, on the contrary, a toxic compound that can be dangerous to health.

In the 1920s, an immigrant German doctor in San Francisco, Ernst Krebs, created a curative liquid called amygdalin from the extract of apricot kernels. Authorities stopped him from selling his medicine, stating that the cyanide content made it too toxic. Thirty years later Krebs' son, Dr. Ernst Krebs, Jr., formulated a less toxic form of the compound which he named Laetrile. He continued to work on the substance, and by 1970 he had created a derivative compound which he called vitamin B17.

The theory that Laetrile can cure cancer revolves around this new vitamin. Laetrile supporters claim that B17 is a legitimate vitamin, rediscovered by Krebs. Past societies, and many present ones that have a low incidence of cancer, have regularly consumed foods containing B17 as part of their diet. These foods are the kernels found inside the pit of many fruits, including apricots, and many grains and vegetables such as millet, buckwheat, and cassava, which are uncommon in modern urban diets. Cancer, supporters of Laetrile claim, is a vitamin-deficiency disease, caused by a lack of B17. Supplementing B17 in the diet can prevent cancer and shrink existing tumors.

Supporters cite a variety of studies, including several at New York's respected Sloane-Kettering Institute, which prove the efficacy of Laetrile in shrinking tumors and prolonging life in animals with cancer.

Opponents of the use of Laetrile, among them the American Cancer Society, challenge the accuracy of the advocates' experiments, calling their research anecdotal and flawed. They have performed their own studies, which show that Laetrile has virtually no success in treating cancer. Though they admit the danger of toxicity is small, they also point to several cases of sickness and even death in small children who have accidentally ingested Laetrile. Opponents insist that B17 is not a necessary vitamin but merely Krebs' concoction, at best useless, at worst harmful. While Laetrile's supporters point to a "propaganda attack" by multinational pharmaceutical companies to quash their natural and holistic cure, the medical establishment calls Laetrile "quackery."

Laetrile has been the focus of extensive litigation for decades. Since its inception, the U.S. government has fought to keep it out of the country, forcing patients in search of Laetrile therapy to seek it at clinics in Mexico and other countries. In 1977, a U.S. District Court ruled that the Food and Drug Administration had illegally seized shipments of Laetrile. That decision was overturned in 1979, but from 1977 to 1987 terminally ill patients could legally obtain Laetrile if they had an affidavit from a doctor allowing it. In 1987, that too was overturned, and, as of the late 1990s, it is illegal to import Laetrile, or to transport it across state lines.

As one of the major causes of death in industrialized countries, cancer is greatly feared in modern society. Many environmentalists and health food advocates blame modern industry with its petrochemical pollutants for causing the upsurge in cancer deaths. Though billions of dollars are spent on research, medical science is still far from prevention or cure of many types of cancer. Because it is used in conjunction with other vitamin therapy and a natural, whole foods diet, Laetrile has great appeal to advocates of holistic health, who have lost faith in the "legitimate" medical establishment. They cite the low cure rates from FDA-approved chemotherapy and radiation cancer treatments, and demand the right to seek their own solutions.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Lahr, Bert (1895-1967)

Vaudeville comedian Bert Lahr devoted most of his six decade career to portraying hapless, reckless, and uproariously funny characters who came to life through the contortions of his "India rubber face" and his exaggerated pantomime. The undisputed "King of



Bert Lahr

Burlesque” transformed quizzical mimicry to an art form; he preferred the vaudeville stage to both the cinema and serious theater. It is therefore one of the great ironies of American entertainment that Lahr is best remembered for two roles outside his preferred medium. As The Cowardly Lion in the musical film *The Wizard of Oz* (1939), he has captivated generations with his humble search to become the courageous “King of the Forest.” In Samuel Beckett’s enigmatic drama *Waiting for Godot* (1956), Lahr, as the tatterdemalion Estragon—in the words of theater critic Brooks Atkinson—seemed “to stand for all the stumbling, bewildered people of the earth who go on living without knowing why.” While these two roles helped make Lahr a household name, his greatest contributions were on the comic stage as a contemporary of Ed Wynn, Bobby Clark, Louis Mann, and the irascible W.C. Fields.

Lahr’s origins were modest. He was born Irving Lahrheim on August 13, 1895, in the Yorkville section of Manhattan. At the age of fourteen, he began to appear in bit roles in vaudeville. He debuted on Broadway in Delmar’s *Revels* in 1927 and went on to star in dramatic productions of *Flying High*, *Hot-Cha*, *Life Begins at 8:40*, and *Hold Everything*. A hard worker with a fastidious eye for detail, Lahr capitalized on his bulbous nose and clown mouth to carve out a distinctive niche in a crowded comic market. His on-stage trademark was an overstated humility. “Laughter is never too far away from tears,” he explained in an interview. “You will cry at a peddler much easier than you would cry at a woman dressed in ermine who had just lost her whole family.”

Lahr gained widespread acclaim in *Du Barry Was a Lady* (1940) for his depiction of a washroom attendant who is drugged and while

unconscious dreams he is King Louis XV of France. The *New York Times* hailed Lahr as “the most versatile comedian in the business” and argued that he was “not only likeable and funny, which are the primary essentials of a comic, but [also] skillful and accomplished, with extraordinary range.” Brooks Atkinson compared him favorably to blockbuster stars Eddie Wynn, Victor Moore, and Jimmy Durante. Lahr drew similar praise for reinventing the role of M. Boniface in Georges Feydeau’s *Hotel Paradiso* (1957) and as the title character in Ben Jonson’s *Volpone* (1964). Critic Walter Kerr, writing in *Life* magazine in 1964, noted “something religious” in Lahr’s humor and attributed his sympathetic humor to a face that had taken on “the contours of a Byzantine cathedral.” This “sacred” element became increasingly apparent in Lahr’s later roles in *The Fantastiks* (1966), *Thomson’s Ghost* (1968), and *The Night They Raided Minsky’s* (1968).

Yet *The Wizard of Oz* and *Waiting for Godot* proved to be Lahr’s lasting legacy to American entertainment. In *Oz*, he played a double role: in the opening and closing segments of the film, he portrays a Kansas farmhand who urges Dorothy Gale (Judy Garland) to have courage. During the main sequence of the movie, he plays The Cowardly Lion who accompanies Dorothy, the brainless Scarecrow (Ray Bolger), and the heartless Tin Man (Jack Hailey) on their eventful pilgrimage to the Emerald City of Oz. As the Lion, he dreams of becoming “King of the Forest” and earning the respect of rabbits and chipmunks. Eventually, the Wizard presents him with a testimonial—but not before Lahr delivers one of the most celebrated comic soliloquies in cinematic history:

Courage! What makes a King out of a slave? Courage!
What makes the flag on the mast to wave? Courage!
What makes the elephant charge his tusk in the misty
mist, or the dusky dusk? What makes the muskrat guard
his musk? Courage! What makes the Sphinx the Sev-
enth Wonder? Courage! What makes the dawn come up
like thunder? Courage! What makes the Hottentot so
hot? What puts the ape in apricot? What have they got
that I ain’t got? Courage.

Beckett’s *Godot* offered Lahr another opportunity to test his range. The play itself was a mystery wrapped in an enigma, an absurdist blend of Joyce and Proust which Brooks Atkinson panned as “uneventful, maundering [and] loquacious.” The one bright light, according to Atkinson, was Lahr’s most glorious performance. Atkinson wrote that “Lahr is an actor in the pantomime tradition who has a thousand ways to move and a hundred ways to grimace in order to make the story interesting and theatrical, and touching, too.” Lahr himself believed it was his greatest performance.

For the man who often said “there are very few good parts around,” Lahr chose two of the greatest. When he died on December 4, 1967, he left behind a reputation for painstaking labor and unflinching determination. His efforts helped transform popular comedy from a mode of light entertainment into a widely respected art form. He reminded us all that “Comedy is serious business.”

—Jacob M. Appel

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Lake, Ricki (1968—)

Billed as an “Oprah Winfrey for Generation X,” Ricki Lake has a career and well-publicized personal life that have run parallel to those of rival Winfrey. However, whereas Winfrey has acted in movie adaptations of Toni Morrison and Alice Walker novels, Lake has appeared most memorably in John Waters’s “gross-outs,” and while Winfrey’s talk show is perceived as up-market, Lake’s is arguably more lightweight, possibly even trashy. Nonetheless, much like Winfrey, Ricki Lake’s story remains the very stuff of American popular mythology—a narrative that could easily be the subject of one of her talk shows. Her well-documented battle against obesity, her struggle to escape an abusive relationship, and her fluctuating professional fortunes all lend her credibility as a television “agony aunt,” as her personal history brings her closer to both her audience and her guests.

Trained at stage school, Lake’s big break came at the age of 19, when she was cast as the lead in cult director John Waters’ 1988



Ricki Lake

movie *Hairspray*, a campy take on pre-Beatles American youth culture in which Lake played a bouffanted, overweight teenager who improbably wins both a televised dance competition and the heart of the local heartthrob. Subsequently, Lake appeared in other Waters movies and demonstrated her range in an adaptation of Hubert Selby Jr.’s grim expose of urban living *Last Exit to Brooklyn* (1990). She also found small-screen fame as nurse Holly Pelagrino in the Vietnam war drama *China Beach* (1988-91).

Her eponymous talk show debuted in 1993 and rapidly became a ratings success, pushing *The Oprah Winfrey Show* hard for the coveted top spot. In a seemingly ever-expanding generic field, the show aimed to capture a more youthful audience by tackling topics deemed attractive to this demographic. Boston-based journalist Traci Grant christened it “the *Melrose Place* of talk shows.” Under the banner of “Talk for Today’s Generation,” individual show titles in the 1997 season clearly reflected this unashamedly youthful bias—“Ricki’s Dating Bootcamp,” “Hidden Secret Pregnancies,” “Controlling Parents,” “Teen Alcoholism,” “School Bullies,” and “Growing Up Gay.” As Lake herself has observed, “This show is geared towards a totally different audience, which could not relate to talk shows before we came along. So in that sense I guess we are a voice for younger people.”

In the 1998 season Lake revamped the show to include music, more celebrity appearances, and games. Although the show continued with discussion at its core, it also introduced features such as “Fun Fridays,” in which the host took a look at news and gossip from the world of TV, movies, and music. Such alterations indicated that the formula needs constant refreshing to appeal to a notoriously volatile niche market.

With show titles that typically read, as Andy Pietrasik has noted, like “the diary of a nation immersed in self-help lessons,” some commentators have argued that talk shows provide a healthful arena for the airing of previously taboo topics. Ricki Lake has noted that “people do sometimes talk about intimate things which I wouldn’t necessarily talk about for the first time on TV, but it’s better to get this stuff out than slip it under the rug.” Gail Sternberg, executive producer of *Ricki Lake*, has claimed that “talk shows are the community of the Nineties,” providing a cathartic outlet for millions of ordinary Americans who cannot afford either expensive therapy or access to professional advice. To their supporters, talk shows are the televised equivalent of the town meeting, enabling ordinary members of the great American public to exercise their constitutional right to free speech and to establish their own agenda (within the parameters demarcated by the show’s makers and backers, of course).

However, while all of the above might be true of earlier talk show incarnations—like *Donahue* (nationally syndicated from 1977) or even *The Oprah Winfrey Show* (nation-wide from 1986), which tackled issues such as atheism, racism, and political corruption—talk shows of the 1990s have sparked controversy for their perceived abandonment of any semblance of constructive debate. As Jane Shattuc has pointed out, in this respect *Ricki Lake* is typical of talk shows that shifted from a public dimension to “interpersonal conflicts that emphasized the visceral nature of confrontation, emotion and sexual titillation.” Here then, Lake’s own showbiz background might be taken as symbolic of this movement away from any “serious” journalistic intentions the genre might have previously harbored. Former Secretary of Education William Bennett famously singled out the *Ricki Lake* show as “cheap, demeaning and immoral,” likening it to “the moral equivalent of watching a train wreck.”

The American Psychotherapy Association called for its members to boycott guesting as “experts” on talk shows, ostensibly because they indulged in potentially harmful pop psychology and meaningless psycho-babble. Talk of the “healing process” and calls to “forgive and get on with your life,” it argued, simply encouraged a victim culture in which people take no responsibility for their own actions. Detractors claim that talk shows offer studio and TV audiences the dubious and vicarious pleasure of watching others being ritually humiliated, conducting trial-by-television in which hosts like Lake draw more out of their guest/victims in order to whip audiences into a frenzy. For many critics, *Ricki Lake* is responsible for dragging the whole genre down-market, spearheading a new wave of talk shows, such as *The Jerry Springer Show*, which, in their relentless drive for ratings success, have unearthed increasingly outrageous guest/victims and sensationalistic topics.

Combating charges of titillation, Lake is reported to have said, “There’s a line we don’t cross. We won’t put someone on a stage to laugh at them, belittle them, make fun of them, and basically destroy their life.” Yet while this sensitivity is sometimes difficult to discern, the show’s ironic, camp aesthetic is more visible. Perhaps, then, we are not supposed to take it too seriously. After all, Lake’s show is less reverential, more self-consciously driven by the primary desire to entertain rather than to educate, and so ultimately closer to the movies of John Waters than many—including perhaps Lake herself—have been prepared to admit.

—Simon Philo

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Lake, Veronica (1919-1973)

Remembered for her peekaboo hairstyle in Paramount’s 1941 *I Wanted Wings* and a reputation for being difficult to work with, actress Veronica Lake managed in her relatively short period of stardom to appear in several movies that went on to become classics: more than half a century later, her performances in *Sullivan’s Travels*, *This Gun for Hire*, and *The Blue Dahlia* still hold up.

Born in Brooklyn as Constance Ockleman, she was an attractive child, and she began to win beauty contests during her teenage years, while her family was living in Florida. When they resettled in Southern California, her mother urged her to try acting. By 1939, using her stepfather’s last name, she was playing small parts as Constance Keane in such films as *All Women Have Secrets* and *Sorority House*. She also appeared opposite veteran tipsy comedian Leon Errol in a 1939 RKO comedy short titled *The Wrong Room*. A bedroom farce set in a resort hotel, it casts her as a newlywed who



Veronica Lake

keeps fainting in Errol’s vicinity, causing him to have to hide her unconscious body from his wife and other interested parties. In her largest part thus far, the young actress spent most of her screen time pretending to be out cold.

According to Lake, it was as Constance Keane that she introduced “the hair style of the century.” The hair fell over one eye while she was playing a small part in *Forty Little Mothers*, a 1940 Eddie Cantor comedy. Director Busby Berkeley advised, “Let it fall. It distinguishes her from the others.” The hair didn’t attract attention, however, until producer Arthur Hornblow, Jr., who rechristened her Veronica Lake, cast her as the femme fatale in *I Wanted Wings*, a movie about three air corps cadets. In her first major movie role, the hair was long and blonde, and it kept falling over her right eye. The media referred to her as the girl with the peekaboo hair style, and the tag stuck with her throughout the World War II years, even after she cut her hair. Although she didn’t have many scenes in her maiden voyage under her new name, she made a very strong impression. Paramount executives were the first to realize her potential impact, and many of the ads for the film were dominated by a large head-and-shoulders glamour shot of her and her peekaboo hair style. “Blonde Bomber,” read a typical headline, “She flew them into the Ground!”

Despite the gimmickry attached to her debut and the negative responses of some movie critics, Lake was a competent actress, although, from the start, Lake had a knack for antagonizing many of the people she worked with. Mitchell Leisen, who directed her in *Wings*, developed a strong dislike for her, commenting that “she was impossible. Every suggestion you made, she fought; you fought with her all day long.”

Her next film was *Sullivan's Travels*, written and directed by the formidable Preston Sturges, released at the end of 1941. Her character has no name in this satire-melodrama about Hollywood and the place of comedy in a troubled world, and she is simply called the Girl in the script. Sturges, who'd already turned out three box-office hits for Paramount, was determined to have Lake in the role. The studio was opposed, suggesting everyone from Ida Lupino to Lucille Ball to Claire Trevor, but Sturges got his way, saying of Lake, "She's nothing much in real life—a quiet, timid little thing. But the screen transforms her, electrifies her—I think she's the biggest bet in the business." Lake was several months pregnant during the filming, which added to her usual difficulties. Sturges later complained that she was difficult to handle and often caused production delays. Joel McCrea, who costarred as Sullivan, vowed he'd never work with her again. Although the film was not initially as successful as Sturges's earlier ones, it has since come to be considered one of his masterpieces.

Lake next helped launch Alan Ladd's career as a star, appearing opposite him in the film noir *This Gun for Hire* early in 1942. The film starred Ladd as a hired killer mixed up with Nazi spies and Lake as a nightclub singer who accidentally gets tangled up with him and befriends him. A diminutive actor, Ladd didn't seem short when playing opposite Lake, who was just over five feet tall, and there was a strong screen rapport between them that audiences sensed. "We were a good match for each other," Lake recalled. A hit as a team, they were immediately put into another hard-boiled thriller, *The Glass Key*. That same year Lake also starred in *I Married a Witch*, a fantasy-comedy directed by expatriate Frenchman Rene Clair. After Joel McCrea turned down the role of the politician who weds a reincarnated seventeenth century witch, Fredric March played it. On the screen they seem compatible, but in her autobiography the actress admitted, "He gave me a terrible time! I hated Fredric March."

In 1943 she played a combat nurse in the serious war film *So Proudly We Hail*. She was back opposite Ladd in 1946 in *The Blue Dahlia*, scripted by Raymond Chandler, and she made her final film with him, *Saigon*, in 1948. Between 1943 and 1948, Lake was cast mostly in a series of weak comedies and dramas, playing opposite such actors as Franchot Tone and Eddie Bracken: her reputation for being difficult to work with and her assorted domestic troubles didn't help her career. With her second husband, director Andre De Toth, Lake made a Western, *Ramrod*, in 1947. McCrea, who'd apparently overcome his aversion by then, costarred. After being let go by Paramount, Lake appeared opposite Richard Widmark in Twentieth Century-Fox's 1949 *Slattery's Hurricane*.

Lake's life went into a decline after that. It was filled with a few low-budget films, tours in summer stock, a hostess job on a local television station, bouts of heavy drinking, a stint as a barmaid in New York, and unsuccessful attempts at a comeback. She died of hepatitis in 1973.

—Ron Goulart

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LaLanne, Jack (1914—)

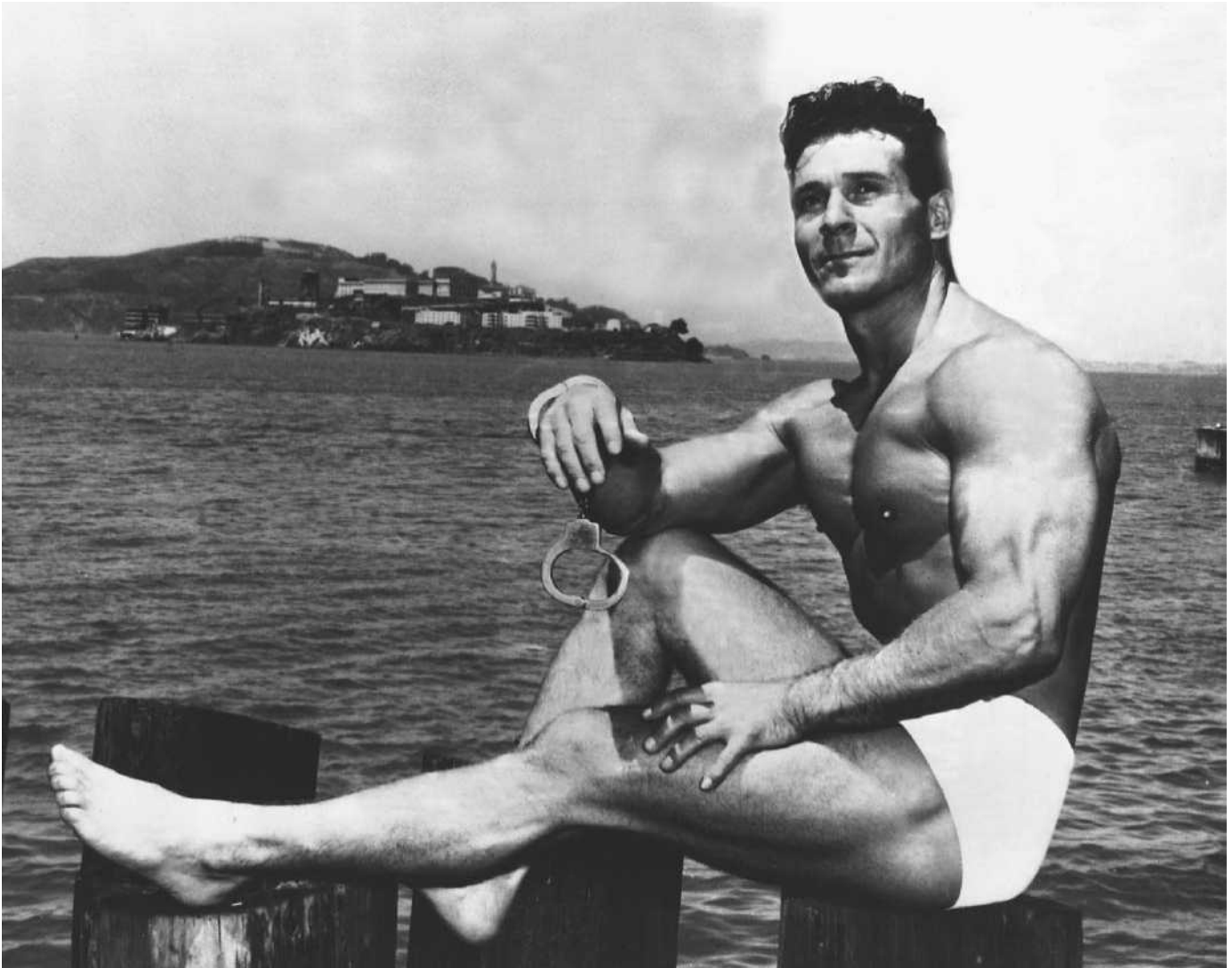
"Stop! Look! Listen! It's time for *The Jack LaLanne Show*."

So began Jack LaLanne's daily exercise program, syndicated on television stations nationwide from 1959 to 1985. The muscular man in the jumpsuit led simple exercises, often of his own invention, and urged his audience along with the enthusiasm of an evangelist: "If your back porch is draggin' and your shoulders are saggin' and you have no pep in your step, it's time for a change!" In this age of fitness gurus, personal trainers, and exercise videos devoted specifically to achieving "buns of steel," it seems impossible to imagine a time without health clubs, when weight training and aerobic exercise were viewed by doctors as extreme and potentially dangerous activities. However, in 1936, when Jack LaLanne opened the first fitness club in the United States, many considered him a kook and a fanatic. Though he is arguably a fanatic on the subject of health, LaLanne's exercise show foreshadowed a national obsession with fitness, and LaLanne himself set many of the current trends by inventing the first weight machines and producing the first exercise video. LaLanne's simple and accessible approach to exercise continued to gain wide popularity into the late 1990s, and LaLanne, still active in his 80s, continued to practice what he preached.

Jack LaLanne grew up in California, first in the desert town of Bakersfield, then moving to Berkeley while he was still a child. His father's early death was caused in part by poor nutrition, and young Jack was addicted to sweets. Plagued by headaches, bulimia, and a nasty temper, LaLanne was labeled a troublemaker and had dropped out of school by age 14. That year he attended a lecture at the Oakland Women's City Club that changed his life. The subject of the lecture was health, nutrition, and the evils of meat and sugar, and LaLanne was, in his own evangelical words, "born again." He changed his diet and began to work out daily. He went back to school, made the high school football team, and went on to college where he studied to become a chiropractor.

Instead, in 1936, LaLanne opened the Jack LaLanne Physical Culture Studio in Oakland, the first fitness club of its kind. He offered clients nutritional advice and supervised exercise programs, including weight training, which was almost unheard of at the time. Doctors advised their patients to stay away from the new health club, warning that LaLanne was an exercise "nut" whose programs would make them muscle-bound and give them hemorrhoids or heart attacks. LaLanne persisted, however, and with the assertive marketing that would become the hallmark of his career, he went out and approached prospective clients, promising that he would help them make the desired changes in their bodies or refund their money.

In 1951, a local health food manufacturer sought someone to host their television fitness show, and Jack LaLanne seemed the natural choice. Often aired in the early morning hours, LaLanne's exercise program was simple and unaffected. Using no more complicated equipment than a chair, LaLanne, with his broad shoulders and narrow hips encased in a one-piece jumpsuit, led a series of calisthenics, encouraging his audience to jump and pump along with him. Though his set was minimalist, and his message simple, LaLanne was not above using tricks to attract his audience. One of these tricks was Happy, the white German shepherd who appeared on the show. Knowing that the most avid early morning television viewers were



Jack LaLanne

children, LaLanne introduced the dog to attract children to the show. Then, he told the children to go find their mothers, fathers, and grandparents and bring them to exercise with him. It was as clever a ploy to boost ratings as any concocted by network executives.

Another maneuver LaLanne used to attract both viewers to his television show and converts to his cause of fitness, was the amazing physical feat. Beginning in 1955, when he swam the length of the Golden Gate Bridge underwater while pulling 140 pound weights, LaLanne has performed increasingly astonishing acts of strength and nerve. In 1956, at age 41, he swam from Alcatraz to Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco wearing handcuffs. At 45, he did one thousand push-ups and one thousand chin-ups in an hour and 22 minutes. In 1975, when he was 60 years old, he repeated his swim from Alcatraz to Fisherman's Wharf, this time handcuffed, shackled, and towing one thousand pounds. In 1985, he swam handcuffed and shackled for a mile and a half across Long Beach Harbor, celebrating his 70th year by towing 70 boats holding 70 people. When asked to explain these Houdini-like performances, he replied, "Now, I'm not comparing myself to Jesus, but why do you think Jesus was such a

success? Because he performed miracles. This drew attention to his philosophy, which is why he had this terrific impact on civilization. I just want to help as many people as I can."

The Jack LaLanne Show ran Monday through Friday mornings for 34 years in syndication, and even after the end of his program LaLanne maintained his status as fitness expert by writing books, producing videos, and speaking on his favorite subjects. He continued to appear on television in various commercial spots highlighting his longevity, and there was talk of a new incarnation of his television show at the end of the century. Determined to maintain his "superman" image as long as possible, LaLanne quips, "I can't die. It would ruin my image."

—Tina Gianoulis

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Lamarr, Hedy (1913—)

Austrian actress of the 1930s and 1940s, Hedy Lamarr was frequently called the most beautiful woman in motion pictures. While her acting ability was never more than adequate, for a brief period in Hollywood she was a superstar. She first created a sensation when she appeared nude in the Czechoslovakian film, *Extase (Ecstasy)* in 1933. It was as a leading lady with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, however, that she became world famous.

The daughter of a director of the Bank of Vienna, Hedwig Kiesler had a privileged childhood. Even as a teenager, she was extraordinarily beautiful, and at least one man committed suicide when she would not marry him. After becoming enamored of acting,

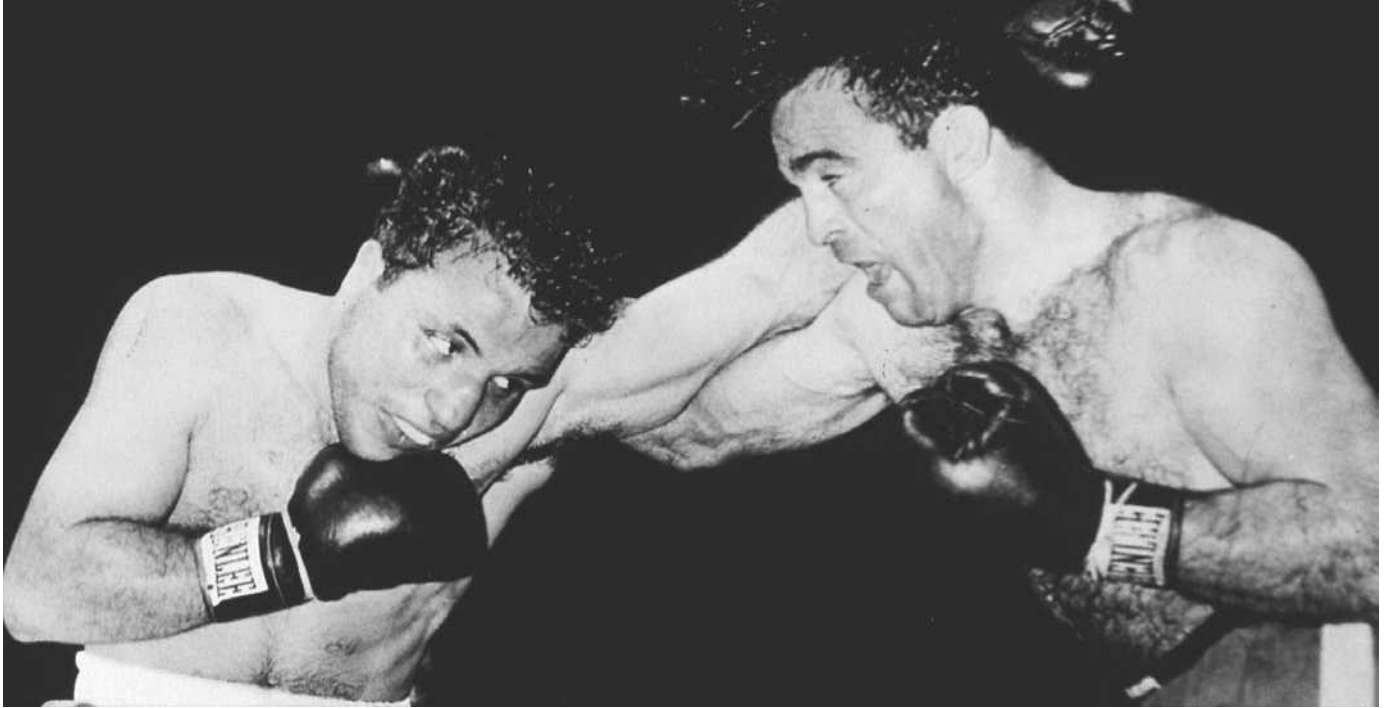
Kiesler was mildly successful as a stage and film actress. When she appeared as the unfaithful wife in *Ecstasy*, she and the film caused a sensation. Religious and governmental leaders denounced the picture, but the critics and the public made it a hit. When she married munitions millionaire Fritz Mandl in 1933, he was so insanely jealous that he tried to buy up every copy of *Ecstasy* so that it could be destroyed. Despite the fact that Mandl was a Jew, he was still accepted into the closed world of the Nazi Party of the 1930s. Kiesler was disgusted by this, and by the fact that he kept her a virtual prisoner in their castle. Eventually she was able to escape to Paris, where she obtained a divorce from Mandl in 1937.

Kiesler then moved to London, where she met agent Bob Ritchie, who introduced her to Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer mogul Louis B. Mayer. Mayer brought her to Hollywood and renamed her Hedy Lamarr after a silent screen star he had admired—Barbara La Marr. Lamarr's first picture in America, *Algiers* (1938) quickly elevated her to international stardom.

Hedy Lamarr followed up her debut with appearances in several more successful films, including *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941) and *White Cargo* (1942). The latter sparked a turban fashion craze when Lamarr wore one in the film. She was also a popular World War II pinup, and participated in war bond and United Service Organization(USO) tours. During the war she was also granted a patent as co-inventor of a



Heddy Lamarr and Victor Mature in a scene from the film *Samson and Delilah*.



Jake LaMotta (left) swaps punches with Marcel Cerdan.

complex communication system designed to direct torpedoes at moving ship targets.

After the war ended, Lamarr's popularity quickly began to slip, although she did star with Victor Mature in the 1949 hit, *Samson and Delilah*. After her first marriage ended, she married five more times. Among her husbands were actor John Loder (1943-1947) and screenwriter Gene Markey (1939).

Lamarr appeared in her last feature film, *The Female Animal*, in 1957. She quickly faded from view, except for an occasional television appearance. In 1966 she was charged with shoplifting from May's Department Store, but was acquitted. A supposed autobiography, *Ecstasy and Me*, also appeared in the 1960s, although Lamarr later sued her ghostwriters, claiming the story was fiction. She again disappeared from the public eye, although she had some success as a songwriter and artist in Greenwich Village.

Although she was not a movie star for long, Hedy Lamarr was an important star at an important time in history. She will forever be remembered as one of the most beautiful women ever to grace a motion picture screen.

—Jill A. Gregg

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LaMotta, Jake (1922—)

In the boxing community, Jake LaMotta (born Giacobe LaMotta) is best known for his six-fight series with the man widely recognized as

the greatest fighter in the history of boxing, Sugar Ray Robinson. LaMotta handed Robinson his first professional loss on February 26, 1943, and although Robinson won their other five fights, several were closely contested. Outside the boxing community, LaMotta is best known for the Academy Award-winning film about his life, *Raging Bull* (1980). The film focused on LaMotta's stormy personal life, especially his abusive relationship with his second wife, Vicky.

LaMotta fought against mob control of his career throughout the 1940s and early 1950s. A middleweight contender by the early 1940s, LaMotta refused to "fix," that is, to purposely lose a fight so that organized crime elements in boxing could make money betting on the fight's outcome. As a result of his refusal to cooperate with the mob which controlled boxing, LaMotta was denied an opportunity to fight for the middleweight title for the better part of his career. By 1947, frustrated with his failure to secure a title shot, LaMotta finally agreed to lose intentionally to contender Billy Fox in exchange for an opportunity to become middleweight champion of the world. LaMotta made good on the opportunity with a 10th round technical knockout of world champion Marcel Cerdan.

—Max Kellerman

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Lamour, Dorothy (1914-1996)

Born Mary Kaumeyer in New Orleans, the curvaceous brunette Dorothy Lamour was treasured for her trademark sarong (which she first wore in her debut film, *The Jungle Princess* (1936) and her

combination of sultriness and breezy good humor. She enjoyed a long career under contract (with the usual loanouts) to Paramount, draped in that sarong in numerous South Sea romances, including John Ford's *The Hurricane* (1937) and *Aloma of the South Seas* (1941), but is forever remembered as the bone of contention between Bing Crosby and Bob Hope in six "Road" films, beginning with *Road to Singapore* in 1940 and ending with *Road to Bali* in 1952. (She was replaced by Joan Collins in *Road to Hong Kong* [1962], but briefly appeared as herself). Before beginning her movie career, Lamour worked as an elevator operator and was Miss New Orleans (1931) before becoming a band vocalist (for her first husband, bandleader Herbie Kaye) and radio performer. Much loved by audiences and her peers, she made over 50 movies, including Rouben Mamoulian's *High, Wide and Handsome* (1937), in which she played a saloon singer; a role as Tyrone Power's girlfriend in *Johnny Apollo* (1940); she danced the Can-Can in *Slightly French* (1949); and donned star-spangled tights for *The Greatest Show on Earth* (1952). Thereafter she made a handful of cameo screen appearances, but took to the stage in 1951 and made her Broadway debut in 1958 in *Oh! Captain*. In 1961, Lamour toured with her own nightclub act and later with the musicals *DuBarry Was a Lady* (1963) and *Hello, Dolly!* (1967). During the 1950s, she made several guest appearances on television shows such as *The Colgate Comedy Hour* and *Damon Runyon Theatre*. She published her autobiography in 1980.

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

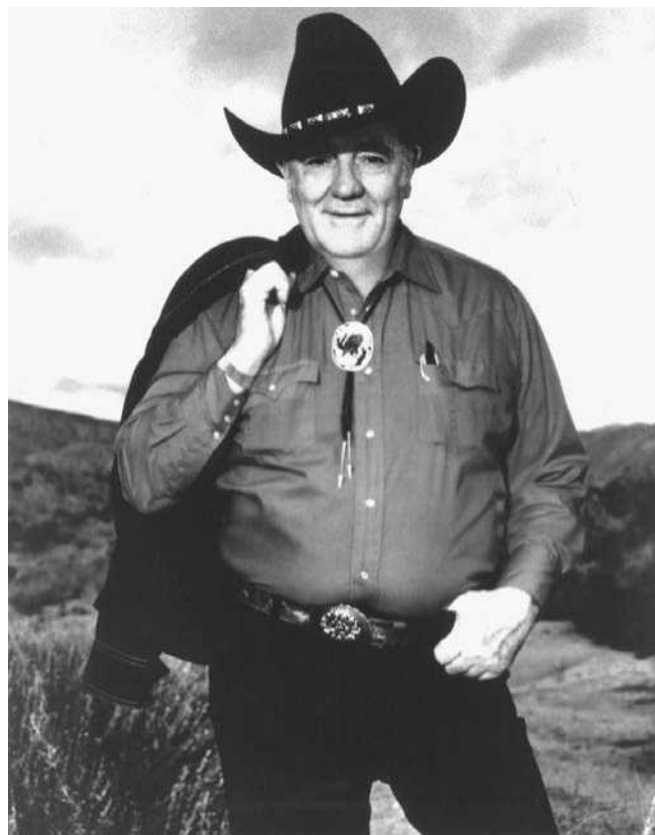
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L'Amour, Louis (1908-1988)

One of the best-selling authors of all time, Western and adventure writer Louis L'Amour penned more than 100 books that have sold 200 million copies worldwide since they began appearing in the early 1950s. Decidedly outside of the genteel traditions of the Eastern publishing establishment, L'Amour's works are noted for their spare prose, rugged situations, unambiguous morality, and colorful casts of straight-shooting characters who tamed the American frontier West with grit and determination. Himself a North Dakota native and an adventurous soul, L'Amour dominated Western popular fiction for four decades, from the post-World War II years through the Reagan era of the 1980s. Some of his novels have gone into more than 20 printings, and 30 of them have been adapted for the movies, including *Hondo* (1953), the book that first made him famous. He is especially noted for his series of novels in the Sackett family saga, begun with *The Daybreakers* in 1960, and including *Sackett* (1961), *The Sackett Brand* (1965), *Mustang Man* (1966), *Ride the Dark Trail* (1972), *Sackett's Land* (1974), and *Jubal Sackett* (1985). In 1977, the appearance of a novella and group of stories that had been previously unpublished caused an evaluator in the *Kirkus Review* to comment:



Louis L'Amour

"That's a big, gritty voice at work, lifting melodrama to the heavens of storytelling. . . . As ever, L'Amour's characters distinguish themselves from run-of-the-mill westerners by the hard thud of their boots on soil and the worn leather ease of their dialogue. Awesome immediacy, biting as creosote slapped on a fencepost."

Louis Dearborn LaMoore—he changed the spelling of his name in hopes of enhancing the marketability of his fiction—was born in Jamestown, North Dakota, on March 22, 1908, the youngest of seven children of Louis Charles and Emily Dearborn LaMoore. His father was a veterinarian and farm-machinery salesman who also served for a time as the Jamestown police chief; his mother was an amateur writer who had ambitions to be a schoolteacher. His great-grandfather had been a pioneer on the nineteenth-century American frontier. L'Amour credited his success to his facility for absorbing family lore and other experiences from real life, and to his avid reading of such classic writers as Dickens, Shakespeare, and Zane Grey, among others. Wanderlust overtook him, and for several years after leaving school at 15, he worked as a lumberjack, a longshoreman, and a circus hand before going to sea. After freewheeling adventures in China and Africa, he returned to the United States and enjoyed a brief career as a semiprofessional boxer before studying creative writing at the University of Oklahoma, though he dropped out before taking a degree. In 1939, Lusk Publishing in Oklahoma City issued *Smoke from This Altar*, L'Amour's first and only book of poetry.

Although his writing career was interrupted during World War II, first lieutenant L'Amour began to gain some notoriety as a storyteller-in-arms, regaling his buddies in the U.S. Army Tank Corps

with stories of his exploits. After his discharge in 1945, he moved to Los Angeles and began submitting some of his stories to Western and adventure magazines using the pen name of Tex Burns, convinced that they would not be published under his real name (the spelling of which he had already long since changed to L'Amour). Editors quickly accepted many of his stories and before long he had been published in mainstream periodicals such as the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Collier's*. The first novel that appeared under his own name, *Westward the Tide*, was published in England in 1950. In 1951, Doubleday published his *Hopalong Cassidy and the Riders of High Rock*, written as Tex Burns and continuing the series originated by Clarence E. Mulford. Over the next three years, he published two more books, *Yellow Butte* and *Utah Blaine*.

L'Amour soon achieved his greatest fame with the 1953 publication of his novel, *Hondo*, set in Arizona in the 1870s and narrating the tale of an Indian scout and his relationship with a young wife deserted by her husband and her son. It sold millions of copies and was made into a 3-D film with Geraldine Page playing the wife, and with a cast of "Western" male actors led by John Wayne. Among the 30 of L'Amour's books that were turned into films over the years were *Heller with a Gun*, which became the 1960 film *Heller in Pink Tights*, starring Sophia Loren and Anthony Quinn; *Shalako*, starring Sean Connery in 1963, and *Catlow* (1963), with Yul Brynner. L'Amour reversed this procedure to produce one of his most successful books, *How the West Was Won* (1962), a novel that he adapted from James R. Webb's screenplay for the film (also 1962).

The success of *Hondo* led to a long-standing contract with Bantam Books, which remained L'Amour's publisher for the rest of his career. *The Daybreakers* appeared in 1960, marking the first in his series of 18 novels tracing the saga of the Sackett family from their roots in sixteenth-century England to the Jamestown colony in the New World and, eventually, to the Western frontier. The series also unfolds the saga of two other pioneer families encountered by the Sacketts, the Irish-born Chantry and the French Canadian Talons, thus painting a sweeping portrait of the settling of America over the centuries. L'Amour had hoped to write at least 50 books in the series, using Honoré de Balzac's *La Comédie Humaine* as his model. *The Sackett Companion: A Personal Guide to the Sackett Novels*, published in 1988, the year of its author's death, offers an extensive glossary of characters and locales, genealogies, maps, and a key to references and literary allusions in all of the Sackett novels.

Although disdained by many highbrow readers, L'Amour's work is representative of an important slice of traditional American popular culture whose wide-under-the-starry-sky frontier is a larger-than-life stage on which good and evil struggle for predominance. Robert L. Gale, who published a monograph on the author in 1985, summarizes L'Amour's appeal for generations of readers, describing him as "an anachronism [who] succeeds just the way Mother's Day, apple pie, baseball, Chevys, and Ronald Reagan do in these otherwise dyspeptic times: he extols the old-fashioned American virtues of patriotism, loyalty, unflinching courage, love of family, and a vision of the Old West both as the arena of the famous American second chance and also as mankind's last, best hope."

Louis L'Amour was the first writer to be honored with both the National Gold Medal of the U.S. Congress (1983) and the Presidential Medal of Freedom, bestowed by former *Death Valley Days* host Ronald Reagan in 1984. He died on June 10, 1988 in Los Angeles.

—Edward Moran

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Lancaster, Burt (1913-1994)

Burt Lancaster was the first, and the biggest, of the new crop of post-World War II stars and the last great survivor of Hollywood's golden era. In a career that began late and lasted some 40 years, the former circus acrobat matured from handsome and famously smiling athletic hunk to dignified elder statesman, bowing neither to time nor changing fashion. In his early films there was an almost disturbing disjunction between the tough, grim, often doomed characters he



Burt Lancaster

played and his own extraordinary beauty, but over the years his screen image—uniquely for a major box-office star of the time—constantly shifted. Lancaster's formidable determination enabled him to outlast the studio system to whose demise, as the first major producer-star of the modern era, he contributed. He was also a complex and contradictory character who gave many indifferent performances in poor films, amidst his fine work.

Born on November 2, 1913, in New York's East Harlem district, he was the fourth child of a postal clerk. Undersized until his teens, Burton Stephen Lancaster quickly learned to use his fists and developed a love of sports. A more serious and solitary side of his nature responded avidly to books and music, but he dropped out of New York University, where he won an athletics scholarship, to work up an acrobatic act with his friend Nick Cravat.

The pair went on the road as low-paid circus performers during the Depression years, and in 1935 Lancaster married a circus aerialist, a relationship that lasted barely a year. Needful of a break, he joined the Federal Theater Project in New York before returning to circus life with Cravat. In 1939 injury forced him off the high wire and a succession of stopgap jobs followed, the first as a salesman at Marshall Fields.

In 1942 Lancaster worked as a singing waiter before shipping out overseas with the Fifth Army's Entertainment unit. During this time he met Norma Anderson, a war widow who became his second wife in December 1946, and the mother of his four children; they divorced in 1969. By then he was launched on an acting career which had begun with a role as a soldier in a Broadway play called *The Sound of Hunting*. This brought him an agent, Harold Hecht, and a Hollywood contract with producer Hal Wallis.

While waiting to start work for Wallis, Lancaster, a self-proclaimed Hemingway aficionado, talked his way into the part of Swede in *The Killers* (1946). He was already 32 years old, unknown and inexperienced but, co-starred with another newcomer, Ava Gardner, and directed by a master of film noir, Robert Siodmak, he enjoyed instant success and rapidly became bankable, particularly in noir material. Among the best were Jules Dassin's powerful prison drama *Brute Force* (1947), in which the actor showed himself a leader of men and demonstrated his unique ability to convey suppressed rage simmering beneath a silent and stoical surface.

Having been forced into some poor films by Wallis, and in danger of being typecast in noir, Lancaster was seeking new directions. Thus, in 1950, he and Hecht, now business partners, sold a property to Warner Brothers, resulting in *The Flame and the Arrow*, a high-spirited swashbuckler in which Lancaster, with Nick Cravat as his pint-sized sidekick, unveiled his athletic skills with breathtaking zest and vigor. He did so again in *The Crimson Pirate* (1952), the year he tackled the role of Shirley Booth's alcoholic husband in *Come Back, Little Sheba*. From then on, across 77 films in 44 years, Lancaster alternated between safety and experimentation, failures both honorable and dishonorable, and high-level successes that have stood the test of time.

He gained new distinction and his first Oscar nomination for *From Here to Eternity* (1953) in which he notoriously cavorted on the beach with Deborah Kerr, and made an only partially successful foray into directing with *The Kentuckian* (1955). He took to the high wire again in *Trapeze* (1956) and, in 1957, expanded his Westerns filmography with *Gunfight at the OK Corral*. In *Sweet Smell of Success* (1957), he scored a notable acting success as the pathologically venomous newspaper columnist J.J. Hunsecker. It was his first

performance for Hecht-Hill-Lancaster, his own production partnership which allowed him to dive into the deep waters of his often troubled ambition and come up with winners in which he did not always appear, such as the now classic *Marty* (1955).

The 1960s began with *Elmer Gantry*, which won Lancaster the Best Actor Oscar for his devilish, barnstorming performance. In 1962 he was the *Birdman of Alcatraz* (another Academy nomination), and 1963 brought *The Leopard* for Luchino Visconti, which took him to Italy and elevated acclaim throughout Europe. These were the highlights of his middle age. He worked for Visconti again in *Conversation Piece* (1975), and for Bertolucci in *1900* (1976), but other than the now cult experiment *The Swimmer* (1968) and a handful of first-class performances in more predictable films, quality gave way to quantity.

Then, in 1981, aged 68, white-haired, mustachioed and dignified, he put the seal on his extraordinary career with Louis Malle's *Atlantic City*, playing a former petty crook, living on dreams and memories and wistfully pursuing a hopeless involvement with a young waitress. He earned several awards and a fourth Oscar nomination for a finely judged performance that is widely considered his most fully realized achievement.

Lancaster continued to work throughout the 1980s, concluding his career with a saintly cameo in *Field of Dreams* (1989). Although something of a loner in private life, he spoke publicly for liberal democratic values and worked for many causes, including AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) awareness, until his last years. Having recovered from a quadruple bypass operation in 1983, he suffered a stroke in December 1990. Permanently paralyzed on his right side, he remained confined to his apartment, a caged lion raging against his enforced inactivity, and cared for by his young third wife until his death on October 21, 1994.

Burt Lancaster transcended the limitations of his talent by the sheer weight and magnetism of his screen presence. As David Thomson wrote, "Brave, vigorous, handsome, and an actor of great range, Lancaster [has] never yielded in his immaculate splendor, proud to be a movie actor. And he has crept up on us, surviving, persisting, often in poor health. He [is] one of the great stars. Perhaps the last."

—Robyn Karney

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Landon, Michael (1936-1991)

A talented and popular television actor, writer, director, and producer, Michael Landon exploited his versatility over nearly 40 years, mostly in series and made-for-TV dramas that reflected old-fashioned, small-town sentiment and traditional family values. He

aimed his productions at those segments of viewers who were “hungry for shows in which people say something meaningful,” he explained. “I want people to laugh and cry, not just stare at the TV.”

Michael Landon was born Eugene Orowitz on October 31, 1936 in Queens, New York. He grew up in Collingswood, New Jersey, where he excelled in high school sports, and he attended the University of Southern California on an athletic scholarship. After an injury, he turned his attention toward acting. He played a number of TV roles and starred in the campy 1957 film *I Was a Teenage Werewolf* and a handful of B-grade films aimed at the teenage market.

In 1959 he began his 14-year run as Little Joe on the popular TV Western *Bonanza*. From 1974 through 1982 Landon produced the sentimental, family program *Little House on the Prairie*. In addition to performing in the lead role, he assumed the writing and directing of many of the episodes. In 1984 he created *Highway to Heaven*, an episodic series of stories about the value of love and kindness in overcoming life’s adversity, and again acted in, wrote, directed, and produced the series. The Academy of Television Arts and Science presented him with his only Emmy, the Academy Founders Award, in 1982. In 1991 he was diagnosed with pancreatic cancer. He died on July 1, leaving a wife and nine children from his three marriages. He was 54.

—James R. Belpedio

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Landry, Tom (1924—)

Tom Landry has become an icon of American football largely due to his tremendous success as the coach of the Dallas Cowboys. Landry’s calm demeanor and his trademark hat also serve to distinguish his legend from that of other football coaches.

Landry compiled an overall record of 270-178-6 as the head coach of the Dallas Cowboys from 1960 to 1988, the third most wins of any coach in the history of the National Football League. Landry was the Cowboys’ first and only coach during that time period and helped build the Cowboys into “America’s Team.” During his 29 years as coach of the Cowboys, Landry led the team to two Super Bowl titles and five National Football Conference championships. Under his leadership the Cowboys were famous for last-minute comebacks and miracle wins. He was elected to the Professional

Football Hall of Fame in 1990. In spite of Landry’s tremendous success, he was unceremoniously dismissed when Jerry Jones bought the Dallas Cowboys in 1989. An unspoken feud between the two men may have resulted in Landry not being inducted into the Dallas Cowboy Ring of Honor at Texas Stadium until 1993.

Landry was born September 11, 1924, in Mission, Texas. He played quarterback for the Mission High School Eagles and led the team to the regional championship in 1941. In 1942, he enrolled at the University of Texas on a football scholarship. However, World War II interrupted his education and collegiate football career. Landry was inducted into the Army Air Corps and began flight training in 1943. He served as a fighter pilot during the war; and in 1945, he was discharged from the Army Air Corps after flying 30 bombing missions over Europe.

In 1946, he reenrolled at the University of Texas. Landry started at fullback for the 1947 Texas team that won the Sugar Bowl and was named second-team All-Southwest Conference. He ended his senior season at Texas in 1949 by rushing for 117 yards in a Texas Orange Bowl victory. He went on to sign a professional football contract with the New York Yankees of the All-American Football Conference, where he played as a backup fullback, defensive back, and punter. In 1950, he joined the New York Giants of the National Football League. He was named a Giants assistant defensive coach in 1954, and as a player coach won All-Pro honors as a defensive back. His last active season as a player was 1955.

In 1959, Landry was named as head coach of the NFL expansion franchise in Dallas. The Cowboys were 0-11-1 in their inaugural season. Despite having a losing record, Landry signed a 10-year contract with the Cowboys in 1964. The contract extension paid off for the organization, as Landry went on to turn the team into perennial winners. When Jerry Jones bought the Cowboys, he shocked the city of Dallas, the state of Texas, and Cowboy fans everywhere by firing Landry on February 25, 1989. However, Landry’s legacy in professional football and to the city of Dallas was immediately recognized. He was honored when the city of Dallas celebrated Tom Landry Day on April 22, 1989 and when he was elected to the Pro Football Hall of Fame in 1990.

—Kerry Owens

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Lang, Fritz (1890-1976)

Widely influential filmmaker Fritz Lang fled Nazi Germany in 1932, eventually settling in Hollywood where he made over 20 films.



Tom Landry and the Dallas Cowboys.

His crime dramas, including thrillers like *The Big Heat* (1953), spawned generations of imitators, giving rise to the category of movies known as film noir. Lang crafted his distinct visual style in Berlin during the 1920s, translating onto film the exaggerated emotions and vivid imagery of German Expressionist painting. He set crucial scenes in cramped stairways and corridors and employed varying camera angles and starkly contrasting light and shadow for effect. In the silent film *Metropolis* (1926) he created an archetype for the city of the future, complete with a slave class of machine-like workers and a cyborg temptress. *M* (1931), which features Peter Lorre as a child murderer hounded by society, effectively foreshadowed the threatening environment fostered in Germany in the years leading up to the Second World War.

—John Tomasic

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lang, k.d. (1961—)

When discussing k.d. lang, it is first of all her voice that is mentioned. Even lang herself talks about her voice and its demands as if it doesn't quite live inside her. The voice itself, rich and powerful with an effortless broad range, dictates what kind of music she will sing. And the voice has gained her entry into some arenas that seem unlikely for a lanky, country-bred, lesbian performance artist.

Born Kathryn Dawn Lang on November 2, 1961, in Edmonton, Alberta, lang grew up in the tiny town of Consort, four hours away in the Canadian countryside. Growing up in a farming and ranching town with a population of 650 gave lang her country roots, and a certain self-acceptance that comes from living where “everybody

knows you.” Her parents were both musical and, determined to nurture her children’s cultural development, lang’s mother drove them for hours over country roads to piano lessons.

Two events, which took place in her early teens, changed lang’s life forever. When she was twelve, her father deserted the family, and when she was 13 she began her first lesbian affair, with the wife of one of her teachers. By the time she was 15, she was identifying as a lesbian and soon she moved to Edmonton in search of broader horizons. There she joined a group of young artists who called themselves GOYA (Group of Young Artists), and she began to do performance art influenced by the punk movement. When she started singing country music, that too became a sort of performance art. Wearing a skirt made from curtains in her mother’s house and a pair of men’s cowboy boots, sawed off above the ankle, with her hair in spikes and a rakish grin, k.d. lang pranced onto the stage and began to sing in a voice that filled up the theater.

American country music is a little like a small town, somewhat narrow-minded and limited in scope, yet at the same time accepting of the fact that each family contains its share of eccentricity. Lang’s soulful voice and exuberantly emotional renditions made a place for her within the country family, but her unconventional persona ensured it would never be a comfortable place. Though she earned her first Grammy award for her country music, she was never able to get radio play for her songs and so was denied popular acceptance.

Following the dictates of her voice and her own reluctance to be bound by genre, lang soon branched out. She followed her country albums, *A Truly Western Experience* (1984), *Angel With a Lariat* (1987), and *Absolute Torch and Twang* (1989), with a departure, *Ingenue*, an album of mostly original songs with a torchy, old-fashioned feel. One of the singles, “Constant Craving,” became lang’s first major radio hit. “Constant Craving” also articulated a recurrent theme in lang’s work—persistent unfulfilled need as the human condition. She reiterates this theme in other songs, notably on the album *Drag* (1997). On *Drag*, every song involves smoking cigarettes, symbols, lang says, of “rebellion or sexiness,” and of “love . . . an elusive thing all of us crave . . . even though it kills us.”

This desperate, unfulfillable longing that throbs so effectively in lang’s voice is perhaps one of the most powerful connections she makes with her young, late twentieth-century audience, who are familiar with the roots of addiction. Often still leading emotionally unsatisfying lives in spite of fairy-tale technology, and with the threat of AIDS adding a terrifying aspect to explorations of intimacy, modern listeners can resonate with lang, no matter which genre she uses as her vehicle.

Along with transcending genres, lang has made a specialty of transcending gender. Wearing suits and ties with close-cropped hair as often as skirts and make up, lang brought acceptance of androgyny to a broad audience. In 1993, she posed for the cover of *Vanity Fair*, sitting in barber’s chair wearing a pinstriped suit and a face full of shaving lather, as super-femme model Cindy Crawford prepares to shave her. Though the titillating cover drew criticism from many quarters, it was the third biggest-selling issue in *Vanity Fair*’s history. An out lesbian early in her public career, lang’s most loyal and consistent fans have been lesbians, though she has sometimes been dismayed by expectations that she represent a certain lesbian image. She has been politically active in gay issues such as the fight against AIDS, and has paved the way for other lesbian entertainers, such as Melissa Etheridge and Ellen DeGeneres, to be publicly honest about their sexuality.



k.d. lang

A vegetarian since 1981, lang has also campaigned for animal rights. One of the most controversial moments in her career came when she appeared in an advertisement sponsored by People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, saying “Meat stinks.” Country audiences who had managed to overlook her butch appearance and irreverent attitude would not tolerate a blow to their livelihood. Even in her hometown in Alberta’s beef country, the proud plaque saying “Home of k.d. lang” was angrily removed.

Challenging traditions has been the cornerstone of lang’s career, whether they be the expectations of a disenfranchised lesbian community or the demands of the celebrity system. She has refused to pick a look or a music genre and stick with it, and because of this has carved out a broad niche for her sophisticated voice and the rawboned country performance artist that goes with it.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Lansky, Meyer (1902?-1983)

Meyer Lansky loomed large in the American imagination both in his lifetime and afterward. Upon his death he was hailed as "the Mob's treasurer," "the Mafia's banker," and "the most influential Godfather in the history of American organized crime." Obituaries across the country reported how, under Lansky's supervision, organized crime penetrated legitimate businesses and moved "from back alleys to executive boardrooms," according to the *New York Daily News*. Lansky was the inspiration for the Hyman Roth character (played by famed acting teacher Lee Strasberg) in Francis Ford Coppola's *The Godfather Part II* (1974) and was portrayed in other mafia films, including *Bugsy* (1991) and *Mobsters* (1991). His life was detailed in the Michael Lasker character in the television miniseries *The Gangster Chronicles* (1981). In *Lansky*, a 1999 HBO cable feature written by acclaimed playwright David Mamet, Richard Dreyfuss played the famed Jewish gangster. But the stories that nurtured the Lansky legend—those that boasted about his leadership of Murder, Inc., a group of killers for hire, and his position as "Chairman of the Board" of the mob's National Syndicate—could not be corroborated by his biographer Robert Lacey. In fact, much of Lansky's life has not been verified; sources differ about his birth name, his birth year, his nationality, how he met his two "best" friends Salvatore "Lucky" Luciano and Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, whether or not he ordered Siegel's assassination, and whether he died with a fortune of nearly \$300 million or very little money.

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Lardner, Ring (1885-1933)

Ring Lardner's cynical humor made him one of the most popular writers of the 1920s. Throughout his career, first as a sports writer and columnist and then as the author of short stories, light verse and plays, Lardner's works received both popular and critical acclaim. He was recognized as one of the foremost humorists and satirists of the early twentieth century and was noted especially for his memorable use of slang vernacular to characterize and often ridicule his subjects.

Lardner was born in an affluent Michigan family and educated at home during his early childhood. As a youth, he played baseball and enjoyed music. He attended Niles High School where he played football, sang in a quartet, and wrote the class poem. He then worked

in minor capacities in Chicago offices and for the Michigan Railroad before a year of college at the Armour Institute in Chicago to study engineering. He dropped out of college and began his career in 1905 writing for various Chicago newspapers.

Within five years, by 1910, his perceptive and entertaining style made him nationally known as a sports journalist and columnist. His sense of humor allowed him to report on even dull games in an engaging manner by including personal anecdotes about the players and winning the favor of fans and the athletes themselves. At the height of his career as a sports writer, his columns were syndicated to approximately 120 newspapers. His enthusiastic and informal style of reporting became a standard for sports journalists and commentators that still exists at the end of the twentieth century.

In 1914, *The Saturday Evening Post* published the first of the baseball stories for which Lardner was to become famous as a fiction writer. These first-person epistolary stories were an instant success. The critics and the public loved Lardner's use of slang vernacular and keen wit. The stories take the form of letters written to a friend back home by a belligerent, young pitcher for the Chicago White Sox. They tell of his raucous adventures while traveling and playing with the team. What started out as a humorous serial enjoyed by thousands of newspaper readers became, in 1916, the collection, *You Know Me Al: A Busher's Letters*. The narrator, Jack Keefe, came to be known as an irrepressibly asinine character whose life, because of his dimwitted pugnacity, bordered on grotesque and tragic. These stories and Lardner's subsequent publications became a standard for later sports fiction in their use of the vernacular and their humorous characterizations of the athlete.

Lardner's tales progressed from stories about baseball to satirical observations of American life overall. He pointed out the stupidity, vapidity, and cruelty of common people including salesmen, stenographers, stockbrokers, songwriters, athletes, barbers, and actresses—the gamut of middle-class America. When he published *How to Write Short Stories* in 1924, and his subsequent collections mocking the commonplace, he received praise from such noteworthy critics as Edmund Wilson, H. L. Mencken, and Virginia Woolf. The nation came to regard him as the new Mark Twain.

In 1933, Lardner died of a heart attack. He had published several plays, light verse, 14 full-length collections of his essays and stories, and over 4,500 newspaper articles. His career kept him in the literary spotlight through the Roaring 1920s when Americans were generally looking for excitement and were ready to find fault with humdrum life. His timing as a satirist of the commonplace put him in the forefront of American fiction during the first half of the twentieth century. By the latter half of the century, Lardner dropped out of the canon of American literature. A few of his stories ("Haircut," "Some Like Them Cold," and "Golden Honeymoon") occasionally appeared in anthologies, but as Jonathan Yardley suggested in *Ring: A Biography of Ring Lardner* (1976), "Lardner's literary reputation remains uncertain and his influence is often misunderstood. It is time to give him his due."

—Sharon Brown

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The Larry Sanders Show

The Larry Sanders Show was a dark, hilarious, caustic satire of the behind-the-scenes world of late night television. Conceived by comedian Garry Shandling, it ran on HBO for six seasons, from 1992 to 1998. With a brilliant premise—the show chronicled the goings-on of a fictional late night talk show—*The Larry Sanders Show* starred Shandling as Sanders, the self-obsessed host, and the onstage/backstage structure of the thirty-minute weekly comedy provided for very provocative, innovative television. The show-within-a-show construct revealed the talk show world as the characters really wanted it seen, while simultaneously showing the backstabbing, ugly showbiz world in which they actually lived. None of the characters on the show ever seemed to learn anything from their mistakes, and there were no happy or moralistic endings anywhere in sight.

The show was groundbreaking on a number of fronts (though it certainly owed a debt to Norman Lear's syndicated 1977-78 talk show satire *Fernwood 2-Night*). Unlike the major network half-hour sitcoms,



Garry Shandling from *The Larry Sanders Show*.

Larry Sanders had no laugh track. The network powers-that-be had said that the lack of a laugh track was disconcerting to viewers, but HBO apparently had no problem with this, and it served to pull the audience in more, making them a part of the backstage world by letting them in on the joke instead of pointing the joke out to them. Because the show broadcast on HBO, it could utilize mature subject matter and language, without which the satire would not have been nearly as biting. HBO also allowed it less ratings pressure than the networks would have been able to, giving it time to build a loyal following while earning numerous Cable Ace awards and Emmy nominations. There were no sponsors to enrage, which can make for very edgy television.

As the show's chief plotline, Larry's self-loathing and egomania was alternately fed and assuaged by show staffers, girlfriends, and guests. Throughout the series, a number of characters came and went, but there wasn't a sympathetic one in the bunch. Larry's ex-wives and girlfriends paraded through, each one less likeable than the one before. Emmy award winner Rip Torn played Artie, the foul-mouthed, ego-soothing, Machiavellian producer who was perfectly suited to deal with Larry's raging insecurities and paranoid delusions. Jeffrey Tambor played his incredibly mean, stupid, obsequious sidekick Hank ("Hey now") Kingsley. Janeane Garofolo spent a few seasons as Paula, the smart-ass talent booker. Wallace Langham played Phil, the insensitive pig head writer. Scott Thompson played Hank's terribly efficient gay assistant Brian. All of them were preoccupied with losing the place in the showbiz food chain that they had scratched out for themselves, and they spent lots of energy trying to reinforce their positions by eliminating any obstacles, real or perceived. Larry and Artie occupied much of their time worrying about the ratings and the network bosses. It sometimes got very ugly. The characters seemed to be human shells, with no morals or consciences.

The show's guests were celebrities played by themselves, though they seemingly played exaggerated, distorted versions of themselves. Dozens of major stars, including Roseanne, Warren Beatty, Jim Carrey, Ellen DeGeneres, Dana Carvey, Sharon Stone, Robin Williams, Barry Levinson, and Carol Burnett, appeared on the program. David Duchovny had a very funny recurring role as a guest. Larry believes that David has a crush on him, and Larry's homophobic discomfort makes it nearly impossible to maintain his composure around an A-list star that he can't afford to lose as a guest.

In 1997, after the fifth season, Shandling announced that the 1998 season would be the last. In the first episode of the 1998 season, Larry performed the only brave act of the entire show. After getting pressure from the network bosses to make uncomfortable changes to the show in order to attract more and younger viewers, Larry tells the bosses off, and announces that he is quitting. The rest of the final season dealt with Larry's unraveling at the realization that the show is ending, and thus, he is losing his entire identity.

In a brilliant bit of real life irony, Shandling announced in early 1998 that he was suing his former manager, Brad Grey, a partner in Brillstein-Grey, the production company for *The Larry Sanders Show*. Shandling claimed that Grey made millions of dollars using his association with Shandling as leverage for attracting other clients, and that he should be entitled to money as a result. Shandling also claimed that Grey steered writers away from *The Larry Sanders Show* and toward other shows he produced. Grey countersued. The case continued, even as *The Larry Sanders Show* ended, taking its place in popular culture history.

—Joyce Linehan

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LaRussa, Tony (1944—)

Regarded by his peers as one of baseball's best managers, Tony LaRussa has enjoyed an enviable record of success, earning three Manager of the Year awards, six division titles, three league championships, and one World Series title. A former infielder, LaRussa played professionally for sixteen seasons but never once spent an entire year in the majors. He began his professional managing career in 1978 and accepted his first major league commission the next year with the Chicago White Sox. A highly controlling manager, LaRussa developed a reputation as one of the game's most innovative strategists. His promiscuous use of relief pitchers ushered in a new era of specialization in baseball and was widely blamed for lengthening games to almost interminable levels. After leaving Chicago, LaRussa won a world championship with the Oakland Athletics in 1989. He guided the St. Louis Cardinals to a division title in 1996.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Las Vegas

The evolution of Las Vegas, Nevada, is one of the most intriguing of any city in the United States. Desert oasis and water and electricity supplier for most of the Southwest, and a legendary gambler's paradise that is one of the world's most tantalizing and popular vacation spots, the city is most famously cast in the spuriously glamorous image of the Mafia. As such, it has come to color the vocabulary of popular culture through countless novels, movies, and television dramas. Surrounded by the Mojave Desert and flanked by mountain ranges, Las Vegas came of age in the shadow of the post-World War II American Dream, a shining example of excess as success, whose neon-lit casino strip glows on the horizon—a beacon attracting thousands of folk eager to try their luck. An adult Disneyland in southwestern Nevada, this dusty tinsel town effuses Old West history while raking in the house winnings, and is reviled as often as it is romanticized for the glorious vice hidden in its stark desert landscape. Yet, while the popularity of its glitz and show biz glamour waxes and wanes, the bright lights and obvious façade of Vegas are lodged as a permanent and familiar backdrop in the American consciousness.

In 1829, Antonio Armijo, traveling to Los Angeles, attempted to shorten the route by going through the desert instead of around it. While traversing the Old Spanish Trail, he discovered water and named the site Las Vegas—"The Meadows." Here, Spanish traders eased the rigors of desert travel, but it was not until 1844 that the area



Outside the Stardust casino, Las Vegas.

was actually charted by John C. Fremont, an explorer after whom much of downtown Las Vegas came to be named. Ten years later, Brigham Young sent Mormon missionaries from Salt Lake City to colonize the Las Vegas Valley. They built an adobe fort and began converting the local Paiute Indians, but desert life soon proved too harsh for them and they abandoned their outpost in 1857.

Nevada became a state in 1864, but it was not until 1904, as America expanded its borders from "sea to shining sea," that Las Vegas saw significant activity. That was the year when the San Pedro-Los Angeles-Salt Lake Railroad began laying track through the valley. The company bought up prime land and water rights from the remaining homesteaders and operated a dusty watering stop that soon attracted the development of hotels, saloons, a few thousand residents, and the inevitable red-light district. Any further expansion, such as it was, remained slow until 1928 when the Boulder Dam Project Act, an attempt to tame and harness the raging Colorado River, was signed into law. President Herbert Hoover appropriated \$165 million dollars for the project: the largest anti-gravity dam in the world, to be built 40 miles outside of Las Vegas on the Nevada-Arizona state line.

When construction of the dam began in 1931, however, Governor Fred Balzar also approved a "wide open" gambling bill proposed by rancher and Assemblyman Phil Tobia. Though gambling had long

been around in Las Vegas, it had been outlawed several times, and Tobia maintained that regulation of the pastime would increase tourism and boost the state's economy. Thus, gambling was made permanently legal in all of Nevada except for one place—Boulder City. It was the height of the Great Depression and Hoover, anxious to ensure a return on his investment, feared that such distractions as gambling and prostitution would undermine the progress of the thousands of workers flooding the valley to work on the dam. The Federal government, therefore, founded the casino and brothel-free Boulder City, specifically to cater for this influx of residents.

By the time the Hoover Dam was completed in 1935 the economy in southern Nevada was booming. Many of the workers put down roots in the area, and the dam now provided a seemingly endless supply of water and electricity for Nevada and its surrounding four states. The onset of World War II brought further prosperity to the region when pilots and gunners came to train at the Las Vegas Aerial Gunnery School, which would later become Nellis Air Force Base and the Nevada Test Site.

In 1941, Las Vegas boasted only a handful of luxury hotels and small but successful casinos. That year, however, Thomas Hull opened El Rancho, just off Highway 91 on the road to Los Angeles. With a Western motif, a hundred rooms, a large swimming pool, and massive parking lots, El Rancho was the model for the modern casino and it opened to almost immediate success. Later that year, the Last Frontier Hotel opened just up the road and the famous Las Vegas Strip was born.

In 1946, Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel, a New York City mob boss protecting interests on the West Coast, recognized the vast potential for organized crime in Las Vegas. Taking advantage of cheap land, legalized gambling, and—initially, at least—friendly police relations, Bugsy Siegel began spending vast amounts of money on building the lavish Fabulous Flamingo casino, which ushered in the neon era that came to characterize Vegas night life. Though there were always celebrities in attendance and every night was like New Years’ Eve, not even the Flamingo’s glittering façade could hide the fact that it was paying out more in winnings than it kept in profits. The situation led to mob dissension, and Siegel was killed six months later in a gangland hit. Ironically, business at the casino boomed thereafter, especially as tourists flocked to see the Fabulous Flamingo, the house that Bugsy built.

Many other gangsters followed Siegel’s lead, and several grand casinos sprang up on the strip, well known among them the Horseshoe, Sands, Sahara, Riviera, and Tropicana. Each was bigger and brighter than the last, sporting gigantic pools, thousands of rooms, and garish neon signs. Nobody in America would (or could) lift a finger to halt the millions of dollars in laundered money that poured into the desert town in the 1950s, while ever-increasing numbers of celebrities, big spenders, and high rollers enjoyed rubbing elbows in this Mecca of gambling and organized crime.

Eventually, the Federal government began weeding out the more visible troublemakers and kingpins, and by the 1960s there was a balance of East Coast payola skimmers and wealthy influential ranchers wielding power in Las Vegas. In 1967, Howard Hughes, aviation pioneer and Hollywood mogul, had just sold Trans-World Airlines for nearly \$600 million dollars and was informed by the IRS that he had to spend half the money soon or risk paying taxes on all of it. Though neither a gambler nor connected to the mob, the eccentric Hughes was holed up in a Vegas casino at the time, enjoying the creature comforts. When asked to leave by the gangster who owned the place and who wanted to rent the suite out to real gamblers,

Hughes found the solution to his financial dilemma: he bought the casino, then went on a spree, snapping up several other hotels, the airport, and much prime real estate.

Overnight, Las Vegas became largely the property of a reputable businessman and began to take on a more positive, corporate image, attracting serious jet-setting gamblers and corporate financial investors. In 1971, Hilton became the first hotel chain to establish a branch in Las Vegas, and later Ramada, Holiday Inns, Hyatt, and, notably, MGM—with its monumental MGM Grand—followed suit. The 1970s brought a lull in tourism due to the legalization of gambling in Atlantic City, New Jersey. That city’s own burgeoning, mob-supported casino strip, plus the effects of recession in the early 1980s, discouraged middle class Americans from journeying to the extravagance of a glitzy weekend at the gaming tables in the desert. But the city recovered, establishing itself as an international vacation spot for honeymooners (after a quick marriage in one of hundreds of theme chapels), a winter getaway, or a family destination providing scenic Southwest landscapes along with star-studded entertainment and safe, low-stakes gaming.

By the 1990s there were over 35,000 hotel rooms in Las Vegas, and over 300,000 permanent residents. Rooms cost between 50 and 90 percent less than in any other major city and restaurants were cheap and plentiful, thus encouraging visitors to spend more time in the casinos where the house makes its most money—profits that are ultimately plowed back into the ever-growing community. The Nevada Gaming Commission and the FBI keep close tabs on this new breed of casino, and, supposedly, little mob involvement remains in Las Vegas. Ironically, acquiring “comps”—perks such as free drinks or limousine rides for heavy gambling—has become a status symbol among the nouveau-riche at which they are aimed, rather than a show of respect from the house, yet the city takes in billions of dollars annually, supported by the many needs of its visitors, residents, and the surrounding states.

—Tony Brewer

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Lasorda, Tommy (1927—)

In an era when the life expectancy for managerial careers in baseball was short, Los Angeles Dodgers’ skipper Tommy Lasorda outlasted them all. From his debut in September 1976 until his retirement two decades later, the popular Lasorda was his team’s



Los Angeles Dodgers manager Tommy Lasorda (right).

motivational leader as well as its greatest fan. Displaying a youthful exuberance on the field, in the dugout, at press conferences, and in his television commercials, Lasorda's eternal optimism was contagious. His knack for bringing out the best in his players contributed both to his team's success and Lasorda's well-earned reputation as a "player's manager."

The left-handed pitcher Tommy Lasorda began his major league baseball career with the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1954. As a twenty-six year-old rookie with poor control on a pitching staff that boasted the likes of Don Newcombe, Carl Erskine, and Johnny Podres—and soon Sandy Koufax and Don Drysdale—Lasorda quickly found himself exiled to the hapless Kansas City Athletics, where his major league career ended in 1956 with a record of zero wins versus four losses. After returning to the Dodgers' minor league system, where he toiled for a few more seasons, Lasorda hung up his spikes in 1960 and became a scout and then a minor league manager for the newly relocated Los Angeles Dodgers. It wasn't until 1973 that Lasorda finally made it back to the major leagues, this time as a coach under long-time Dodgers manager Walter Alston. If Dodgers owner Walter O'Malley was never forgiven for moving his team out of Brooklyn, he was nevertheless credited for his loyalty to his field managers. Alston,

who had made his managerial debut the same year Lasorda threw his first pitch for the Brooklyn team, finally retired in September 1976 after having honored 20 consecutive one-year contracts, giving Tommy Lasorda the opportunity for which he had been preparing for almost two decades.

With four games left in the 1976 season, Lasorda took over as manager of the Los Angeles Dodgers, a job he, like his predecessor, would keep for 20 years. Enjoying instant success, Lasorda guided his team to back-to-back pennants in 1977 and 1978, capped by a come-from-behind World Series victory in 1981, along the way making himself popular with both the fans and with his team. Inspiring his team as much by bumping bellies with umpires in disputes over blown calls as by back-slapping, hand-clapping, and butt-patting his way through game-winning rallies, the animated Dodgers manager enjoyed a rapport with players shared by few of his peers. At the same time, despite the O'Malley family's tradition of one-year contracts for its managers, no major league skipper was more secure than Tommy Lasorda. And Lasorda affirmed his reciprocal devotion to the Dodgers by proclaiming that if cut he would "bleed Dodger blue."

Lasorda's lessons in self-confidence parlayed into a side-career as a pitchman for Ultra Slim-Fast, a product which he used to shed

some excess poundage in the late 1980s. (Lasorda apparently saw little contradiction when he simultaneously marketed his own brand of spaghetti sauce.) Through his commercials and, in the early 1980s, appearances on such kids' shows as the "Baseball Genie," Lasorda became familiar as a television personality to a broader public. However, his colorful verbal exchanges with umpires on the field would hardly have passed the networks' censors and were decidedly inappropriate for Lasorda's younger admirers.

On the diamond, Lasorda reached the pinnacle of his managerial career during the storybook 1988 season, when the weak-hitting Dodgers unexpectedly triumphed over the powerful Oakland Athletics in the World Series. Although the Dodgers experienced some success in the years that followed, the team failed to win another pennant during the balance of Lasorda's tenure, which ended in the middle of the 1996 season when he experienced health problems. Retiring with a record of 1599 wins (versus 1439 losses) and six pennants, Lasorda moved to the Dodgers' front office and in 1998 became the team's interim general manager; shortly thereafter he was persuaded to give up the position and was named a senior Vice President in the organization. In 1997 Lasorda achieved the distinction of being inducted into baseball's Hall of Fame as a manager, following his predecessor Walter Alston (inducted in 1983).

Always careful to defend his players publicly—though rarely hesitant to blast a malcontent in private—Tommy Lasorda earned a degree of loyalty enjoyed by few managers. In an era characterized by escalating salaries and labor disputes, Lasorda's spirited approach to baseball was a breath of fresh air for a sport that was increasingly being recognized as a business.

—Kevin O'Connor

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Lassie

One of the most popular "dog stars" of midcentury America, Lassie, an intelligent, brave collie, demonstrated loyalty, compassion, and love toward humans and fellow animals in films for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer from 1943 to 1951, in a television series from 1954 to 1974, in an animated Saturday-morning program from 1973 to 1975, and in a 1978 feature film update. Lassie's heroics included finding and rescuing lost people, caring for the sick and injured, and warning individuals about impending natural and human catastrophes. Through the Lassie stories, viewers gained an appreciation of the strong bond that can be forged between humans and canines and provided a role model for human interpersonal relationships.

The character of Lassie originated in a short story called "Lassie Come Home" by Eric Knight that appeared in a 1938 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*. Knight had used his own devoted dog Toots as the model for Lassie, and the collie's story touched the emotions of



June Lockhart and Lassie

the magazine's readership. Knight expanded the plot, published the story as a novella in 1939, and realized sales of more than one million copies. That attracted the attention of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), which offered Knight \$8,000 for the theatrical rights to the work.

The dog that would eventually become Lassie was an eight-month old collie named Pal who, in 1940, was driving its owner to distraction. The dog chased cars, chewed furniture, barked incessantly, and rejected the idea of being housebroken. In desperation, the owner took Pal to the recently opened kennel and dog-training school operated by Rudd Weatherwax. Weatherwax accepted the challenge of training the rambunctious puppy, and within a week Pal had mastered basic obedience training. However, when notified that he could claim the dog, the owner hesitated. After enjoying a collie-free household, the owner was reluctant to disturb his family's peace and quiet with the return of the puppy. He struck a deal with Weatherwax by which the trainer would keep the collie in lieu of the training fee. Having trained dogs for Hollywood films, Weatherwax was impressed with Pal's intelligence and recognized that the dog could be groomed for a movie career. Within six months of receiving additional training, Pal's abilities far surpassed those of any other beginner with whom Weatherwax had worked.

Pal demonstrated those abilities during an audition for the lead in the MGM film *Lassie Come Home*, but he was initially not chosen for the featured role, which went to a pedigreed female collie. A non-pedigreed male, Pal was selected to be a double dog or stunt dog for the female lead. However, once filming began, Pal's performance in a pivotal scene—Lassie's struggle to swim the swollen Tweed River between Scotland and England—convinced the director, Fred M. Wilcox, to give the lead-dog role to Pal.

Lassie Come Home relates the story of an impoverished Yorkshire family. To sustain his family, Sam Carraclough (Donald Crisp) sells his son's beautiful collie, Lassie, to the Duke of Rudling (Nigel Bruce), who brings the animal to his Scotland home and to his daughter Priscilla (Elizabeth Taylor). Still devoted to young Joe Carraclough (Roddy McDowall), Lassie escapes and begins the long journey home to Yorkshire, enduring dangers and hardships as well as the kindness of strangers. Dog and master are reunited finally, and Joe is able to keep his dog.

The scene of high drama in the film is Lassie's struggle to swim the Tweed River. Director Wilcox selected the flooded San Joaquin River in northern California as the site for this scene. At a signal from Weatherwax, Pal jumped into the swirling water and swam toward the designated spot on shore. When the collie climbed out of the water, Weatherwax signaled him. Pal put his tail between his legs, his head down, and crawled up the bank looking exhausted. The director was astounded. According to David Rothel in *Great Show Business Animals*, Wilcox later told Weatherwax: "Pal jumped into that river, but it was Lassie who climbed out."

The overwhelming success of *Lassie Come Home* led to other Lassie film adventures: *Son of Lassie* (1945), *Courage of Lassie* (1946), *Hills of Home* (1948), *The Sun Comes Up* (1949), *Challenge to Lassie* (1949), and *The Painted Hills* (1951). Although Pal had earned millions for MGM, the studio dropped its option on Lassie after the last film and returned to Weatherwax all rights to Pal. This allowed Weatherwax to consider a Lassie television series. In 1953, Pal's son, named Lassie, shot a pilot for the series, set in the American rural community of Calverton. The Campbell Soup Company agreed to sponsor the half-hour weekly program, and *Lassie* debuted on CBS on Sunday, September 12, 1954. The human cast included Tommy Rettig as Jeff Miller, Jan Clayton as his widowed mother Ellen, George Cleveland as Jeff's grandfather George "Gramps" Miller, and Donald Keller as Jeff's friend Sylvester "Porky" Brockway. *Lassie* became an instant hit with viewers as well as with critics. In 1954, *Lassie* won an Emmy Award for Best Children's Program. The following year, the show captured another Emmy Award and the prestigious Peabody Award.

Cast and location changes occurred during the nearly two decades of the *Lassie* television series. In September 1957, the Millers sold the farm to a childless couple, Paul and Ruth Martin, played by Jon Shepodd and Cloris Leachman. Jeff Miller gave Lassie to seven-year-old orphan Timmy (Jon Provost) who joined the Martin household. In September 1958, Timmy's parents were being played by June Lockhart and Hugh Reilly. By 1964, the Martins left the farm to take advantage of free land in Australia. Timmy went with them, but Lassie remained behind because of animal quarantine regulations, so Lassie acquired a new master, U.S. Forest Ranger Corey Stuart, played by Robert Bray. In 1968, after Ranger Stuart was injured in a forest fire, Lassie was given to two young rangers, Scott Turner (Jed Allan) and Bob Erickson (Jack De Mave). However, Lassie roamed independently through many of the episodes.

Lassie remained in production for three more seasons, from 1971 through 1974, but the program was syndicated to television stations across the country. In the first season, Lassie wandered the countryside without human companionship. The last two seasons found a new home for Lassie with the Holdens on a ranch in California. Throughout the various series, the role of Lassie was always played by Pal's descendant. From 1973 to 1975, Lassie returned to television in an animated, Saturday-morning adventure, *Lassie's Rescue Rangers*.

In 1978, the story of *Lassie Come Home* was updated and Americanized in the film *The Magic of Lassie*, featuring James Stewart, Mickey Rooney, Alice Faye, Mike Mazurki, Stephanie Zimbalist, Pernell Roberts, and a sixth-generation descendant of the original Pal as Lassie.

Lassie was honored with nine PATSY Awards from 1958 to 1971. Given by the American Humane Association, the PATSY (Performing Animal Top Stars of the Year) is the animal equivalent of the Academy Award. In 1973, Lassie was the first inductee to the American Humane Association's Hall of Fame. In December 1975, *Esquire* magazine included Lassie among its collection of "Great American Things," putting the collie in the good company of, among others, Fred Astaire, Walter Cronkite, Marilyn Monroe, Jackie Robinson, and John Wayne. Lassie remains a familiar icon in the pantheon of animal actors in American popular culture, especially to the Boomer generation who grew up with the television series in the 1950s.

—Pauline Bartel

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The Late Great Planet Earth

Originally published in 1970, Hal Lindsey's *The Late Great Planet Earth* offered readers a guide to finding the future in the text of the Bible. With 15 million copies in print, this bestseller obviously struck a nerve in the modern world. Specifically, Lindsey offers order

to the chaotic close of the twentieth century by arguing that many of the predictions of the Old and New Testament have come true. Such a connection offered hope to many Judeo-Christians that the Bible, and the morality that it imposes, had resonance in contemporary life. It also made many readers turn to the Bible in order to prophecy future events. In this fashion, Lindsey spurred contemporary readers to study the Bible with care and helped to re-energize Christianity. Many critics, however, suggest that few of his predictions for the 1980s came true and that he preyed on readers' hopes and fears. Regardless, the prophetic rhetoric of *The Late Great Planet Earth* made it the most popular book of the 1970s.

—Brian Black

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Latin Jazz

The blending of Latin music and jazz has occurred in countless forms, under many guises, over much of the twentieth century. Cuba, New York City, and Puerto Rico all played key roles in the initial fusion, but the unfolding of this complex musical genre has had worldwide implications.

In early 1920s Cuba, descendants of African slaves brought a song form known as *son* to Havana from the sugar-plantation-filled province of Oriente. Settling in segregated barrios, their passionate music thrived, despite its rejection by the white Cuban elite, who preferred the *danzon*, music derived from eighteenth-century French court *contradanse*, performed by string-and-flute bands called *charangas*. *Son* had its bands as well, called *conjuntos*, which instead featured trumpets and timbales (stand-mounted drums and cowbells). Both types of music were powered by the conga and bongos, which had found their origins in religious drum rituals, but by the mid-1920s were also being used as backing for dancers at a growing number of American-owned tourist nightclubs.

In 1930, after Moises Simon's composition, "The Peanut Vendor," sparked rumba mania in the United States, Cuban and Puerto Rican musicians arrived in New York in growing numbers, frustrated with limited work opportunities back home and attracted by the artistic renaissance taking place in Harlem. Immediately their presence was felt in jazz circles, with Cuban flautist Alberto Socarras appearing in *Blackbirds of 1929* and other Broadway shows, and Duke Ellington incorporating Latin compositions into his set. However, rumba was still considered a novelty, and the majority of Latin music remained segregated in the Harlem barrio. White audiences received a watered-down trickle from bands such as the orchestra led by popular Mexican bandleader, Xavier Cugat, who, with his niece, actress Margo, was said to have "introduced the rumba to New York City." Even African-American musicians initially blanched at participating in what appeared to be a more primitive (the conga and bongos were hand-beaten) and less respectable form of music.

In 1940, multi-instrumentalist Mario Bauza and singer Frank Grillo (a.k.a. "Machito") formed the Afro-Cuban Orchestra, a mixed group of Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Americans, in New York City.

The band tackled head-on the rhythmic, cultural and financial challenges facing the combining of Latin music and jazz as the decade progressed. Simultaneously, the mambo, another African rhythm refined with jazz inflections by Havana big bands such as the *conjunto* of Arsenio Rodriguez and *charanga* of La Maravilla de Siglo Orchestra, began to gain popularity on American shores in the excitement-stirred wake of World War II.

Trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie took fast action. Gillespie had been molding his own revolutionary form of jazz, called "bebop," through the 1940s. In 1946, he invited recent Cuban émigré percussionist Chano Pozo into his newly formed big band. The flamboyant Pozo electrified and entranced audiences throughout America and Europe, and together the pair made landmark recordings such as "Manteca" before Pozo's tragic drug-related murder in late 1948. Their work, along with the continued pioneering by the Afro-Cubans, came to be known as Cubop.

By the 1950s the mambo had become an international sensation through the efforts of populist bands such as Perez Prado's and the Lecuona Cuban Boys. Desi Arnaz performed groundbreaking singer Miguelito Valdes' "Babalu" on the *I Love Lucy* television series. The Afro-Cubans themselves received widespread critical recognition after jazz legend Charlie Parker recorded with them and, under Machito's guidance, the Palladium, a new club devoted to the Latin sound, opened on Manhattan's 53rd Street, down the block from Birdland. Soon the club was packed nightly with multi-racial crowds and celebrities dancing up a storm and be-boppers such as Gillespie sitting in. In addition to the Afro-Cubans, two other orchestras made famous at the Palladium were battling bands led by suave Puerto Rican tenor vocalist Tito Rodriguez and Nuyorican (New York-born Puerto Rican) timbalist Tito Puenterespectively. Musicians from these groups formed a core of performers who would carry on into the 1990s.

As the 1950s progressed, the term Cubop was supplanted by Latin jazz, as Latin rhythms from other countries (the Puerto Rican bomba, the Colombian *cumbia*, the Dominican *meringue*) had made their way into repertoires. However, Cuba was the source of the last stateside big band rhythm craze, the cha-cha. A simpler, shuffling form of mambo, the cha-cha swept the nation the late 1950s. *Charanga* bandleader, José Fajardo, is credited with bringing the rhythm to the United States, later performing in 1959 for John F. Kennedy during his presidential campaign. Shortly afterward, Cuba's Communist revolution dramatically curtailed its participation in musical development, although expatriates continued to influence matters.

Meanwhile, hard times were leading many top jazz musicians to form smaller, more economical combos. It became common for many of these combos to include Latin percussion. Successors to Chano Pozo's legacy such as Mongo Santamaria, "Patato" Valdes, Willie Bobo, and Ray Barreto, found themselves being lured from the Palladium scene to a succession of jazz combos, many led by white musicians, such as George Shearing, Cal Tjader, and Herbie Mann. Cries of exploitation aside, the wider exposure benefited the percussionists, many of whom went on to start their own groups.

Rock music assumed commercial dominance in the early 1960s, spelling an end to the heyday of the Latin big band era. A transitional period for Latin jazz musicians followed with the "boogaloo" (Latin-spiced R&B—of which Barreto's "El Watusi" was a popular highlight) and "Latin soul" trends. Growing inner-city decay left many musicians scrambling for gigs by the end of the decade, but in the 1970s Tito Puente and other veterans found themselves at the fore of

the flourishing “salsa” movement. After maintaining steady popularity in New York, Miami, and Los Angeles through the 1980s (which featured Willie Bobo appearances on *The Cosby Show*), Latin jazz again rose in the national consciousness in the 1990s, through streams as diverse as “bachelor pad” and “exotica” nostalgia, European-imported “acid jazz,” and the efforts of celebrity devotees such as David Byrne and Andy Garcia.

—C. Kenyon Silvey

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Laugh-In

“Sock it to me!” “Here come de Judge!” “You bet your sweet bippy!” “Look that up in your Funk and Wagnalls!” For a few years, these and other *Laugh-In* catch phrases circulated promiscuously in the everyday speech of North Americans. In the late 1960s, NBC’s



Dan Rowan (left) and Dick Martin on *Laugh In*.

Monday night comedy series was more than just another television program, it was a cultural event. Holding top spot in the Nielsen ratings for two seasons, from 1968/1969 to 1969/1970, the show revolutionized the comedy-variety genre and, more than any other prime-time program of the period, signaled the massive social, moral, and generational changes the nation was undergoing. *Laugh-In* was the quintessential television show of the swinging 1960s.

Considering the show’s emphasis on youth, left-liberal politics, the sexual liberation, and “New Wave” video techniques, the guiding lights behind *Laugh-In* formed an unlikely team. Dan Rowan (1922–1987) and Dick Martin (1922—) were aging forty-ish veterans of the nightclub and lounge circuit, having polished their act as a tuxedoed comedy duo since 1953. In 1966 they filled in for Dean Martin in his summer variety show. NBC then gave the pair a summer special the following year which proved to be the genesis of *Laugh-In*. Rowan and Martin brought in the veteran television producer George Schlatter, whose credits in the industry dated back to the 1950s and Dinah Shore’s variety series. If the show’s hosts and its executive producer seemed to have little connection to the burgeoning youth culture of the 1960s, the show’s producer and head writer, Paul Keyes, was even further removed. Keyes’ comedy credits dated back to penning jokes for Jack Paar. He was also a close friend of Richard Nixon and a major campaign advisor to the 1968 presidential candidate. Yet despite their Establishment backgrounds, these men produced a show designed to appeal to the sensibilities, tastes, politics, and lifestyles of 1960s youth—as well as those elders who increasingly wanted to be “with it.”

Laugh-In (which is also known by its full name, *Rowan and Martin’s Laugh-In*) largely dispensed with the conventions of the comedy-variety genre. Rather than showcasing guest stars with extended musical segments, the show featured short cameo appearances of celebrity guests delivering one liners. Rather than present sketches that developed over five to ten minutes, *Laugh-In* reveled in ten second black-outs, non-sequitur jokes, and endless, rapid-fire one liners delivered either by performers, or in printed form on the screen, or on a dancing, bikini-clad body. Much of *Laugh-In*’s content harkened back to vaudeville, from its jokes to its penchant for broad slapstick. For instance, every time series regular, Cockney-accented Judy Carne, happened to utter the famous phrase “sock it to me!” she would invariably get soaked with water, bonked on the head, or dropped through a trap door. What made the show revolutionary was not its approach to comedy, but rather its visual style. With flashes, zooms, breathtakingly quick cuts, and psychedelic colors, *Laugh-In* displayed a kinetic, frantic pace that was unprecedented in television. Not since Ernie Kovacs’ self-reflexive use of the television medium for his visual brand of comedy in the 1950s had a television show so overtly drawn attention to the televisual form. *Laugh-In* used hundreds of separate shots per show requiring the services of four to five full time video editors to assemble all the myriad, tiny segments together. Some shots would be on screen for less than half a second, as when the bikini-clad dancer would stop momentarily as the camera zoomed in on a joke written somewhere on her bare anatomy. Frequently, viewers would not have enough time to speed read through the one-liner (such as, “forest fires prevent bears”) before the camera zoomed back into a full shot of the merry dancer.

Reflecting the “sexual revolution” of the period in which the easier availability of birth control and the social experimentation of the young were freeing up sexual expression, *Laugh-In* engaged in heavy doses of scatological and risqué humor. Dick Martin played the

unrepentant bachelor wholly preoccupied with bedding down young women. Ruth Buzzi's beleaguered hair-netted old lady found herself constantly sexually accosted by Arte Johnson's dirty old man on a park bench. Muttering salacious invitations as he slid closer to her on the bench, Buzzi's old lady would eventually retaliate using her purse as an effective weapon.

Laugh-In also engaged in highly topical political humor, influenced by other politically-tinged television comedies such as *That Was The Week That Was* (1964-1965) and *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* (1967-1969). With one-liners like "George Wallace, your sheets are ready" and "William Buckley, call your ventriloquist" the series emphatically took a left-liberal stance. This did not, however, prevent personalities associated with the political right—such as John Wayne—from agreeing to appear in cameos. Most famously, presidential candidate Richard Nixon appeared in 1968 and delivered the line: "Sock it to me?" But by 1969, with Nixon ensconced in the White House, Paul Keyes, who was closely associated with the Nixon Administration as advisor and speech writer, began lashing out at what he (and the White House) perceived to be the show's penchant for anti-Nixon and anti-Pentagon attacks. Keyes left the series in a huff. While *Laugh-In* engaged in many of the same kinds of political critiques that were getting the Smothers Brothers censored and eventually thrown off the air over at CBS, Rowan and Martin's show never suffered the same heavy handed censorship; the NBC Standards and Practices department tended to worry more about jokes having to do with sex and religion. Also, the black-out, rapid-fire manner of delivery tended to blunt the political implications of much of the humor. By the time the viewer got the message behind the joke, two or three other non-political jokes or black-outs had already whizzed by.

Laugh-In launched the careers of a number of its regular cast members, most notably Goldie Hawn who played a giggly dumb blonde and Lily Tomlin who created a number of famous characters from cheeky little girl Edith Ann to Ernestine the sarcastic and all powerful telephone operator ("one ringy-dingy, two ringy-dingy. . ."). Other cast members became famous for particular shticks. Arte Johnson played a German soldier, forever peering through bushes and pronouncing something to be "verrrrry interesting. . . but shtupid!" Earnest-faced Henry Gibson would appear with flower in hand and recite a pathetic poem.

Episodes ended with all the cast members and cameo guests behind a joke wall painted in swirly, psychedelic colors. They would pop their heads through small doors and deliver yet more one-liners. This joking would continue through the credits, with yet more black-out sketches, until finally things would end with the disembodied sound of one set of hands clapping.

By 1973, with most of its original cast gone, *Laugh-In* ran out of steam. The show's visual style, so cutting edge in the 1960s, quickly became dated. *Laugh-In* remains very much a show of its era (though it was revisited briefly in an unsuccessful 1979 sequel to the series). While it did not go on to serve as a direct inspiration for subsequent brands of television comedy, the show's frenetic editing pace, so revolutionary in 1968, is now, with the influence of music videos and commercials, quite unremarkable.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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Lauper, Cyndi (1953—)

The mid-1980s heralded the coming of age of the music video as a mainstay of the rock music industry. Cyndi Lauper erupted into the music scene in 1984, bringing a color, vitality, and sassiness that seemed made for the new video medium. She made her dynamic songs into vibrant videos, full of kitschy, campy energy. Lauper's own appearance was a sort of camp, with asymmetrical hair dyed in bright fuchsias and magentas and flamboyant thrift-shop-chic outfits. That, along with her nasally New York voice, caused some critics to call her "Betty Boop" or "kewpie doll" and to dismiss her as a novelty act. However, behind the day-glo hair and the bohemian clothing, Lauper is a serious artist with a social conscience and a pragmatic approach to changing the world.

Lauper's first big hit, "Girls Just Want to Have Fun," is a riotous anthem to personal freedom for women that appealed to everyone from middle-aged feminists to girls just entering adolescence. It was not only for her irrepressible pro-woman lyrics that she was named *Ms. Magazine's* Woman of the Year in 1985. It was also for the issues she tackled in her songs and her actions to change the role of women in rock. Los Angeles-based Women in Film honored Lauper in the mid-1980s as well, for hiring women in all aspects of her music videos, staging, costumes, design, and editing, as well as casting. "I tried to give women a different face," Lauper said, "a stronger, more independent one, and that's what 'Girls Just Want to Have Fun' was all about."



Cyndi Lauper

Lauper grew up with a strong, supportive female role model. Born in Queens, New York, to working-class parents who divorced when she was five, Lauper, her brother, and sister were raised by their mother, Catrine Dominique. Though life was hard raising three children while working as a waitress, Lauper's mother actively encouraged creativity and independent thinking in her children. Struggling through parochial school, Lauper was a lonely child who always felt like a misfit. She escaped into music, feeling a "drive to sing" first along with her mother's records, then, around age 12, her own folkly compositions, accompanying herself on the guitar. Around the same time, she began the wild color experiments on her hair, making the most of her misfit status by becoming an eccentric. She attended four separate high schools, dropping or flunking out of each, until she earned her high school equivalency. After an unhappy year at a Vermont college, she came back to New York to try for a singing career.

In 1977, she released an album with the band Blue Angel. The album was well received by critics but sold poorly and the band broke up, sending Lauper back to singing in bars and picking up odd jobs. She had just declared bankruptcy in 1983 when she got her own recording contract with Portrait Records.

Her first album, *She's So Unusual*, released in 1983, sold almost five million copies. It was the first debut album in history to have four top-five hit songs. Lauper's quirky personal style and her high-pitched, yet tough singing voice immediately clicked in the bubbly world of 1980s pop. She rocketed to instant popularity, receiving a Grammy, an MTV Music Award, and an American Music Award. *Rolling Stone* named her Best New Artist in 1984.

Though some pundits speculated Lauper would be a "one-hit wonder," more discerning critics heard the quality and flexibility of style and voice in her multi-octave range. She released other albums with less dramatic success: *True Colors* in 1987 sold a million copies, *A Night to Remember* in 1989, half a million. Lauper, however, does not measure her success by sales alone, and she continued to produce albums, taking more and more control of her own career. Because as many as four years can go by between albums, she was constantly said to be making a "comeback" during the 1990s. Well respected in the rock music world, Lauper has been credited grudgingly by the most sneering of critics in her range of sound, be it squeaky, earthy, soulful, or sweet. By the end of the 1990s, she continued to write "social issue" songs about such topics as incest, domestic violence, abortion, and racism, managing to be passionate without becoming preachy. In "She Bop," she even pulled off a feisty and funny reclamation of female masturbation.

Lauper has also branched out into movies, proving to be an accomplished actor who has been often pointed out by critics as the bright spot in an otherwise negligible film. She has also made guest appearances on television, most notably on the popular 1990s sitcom *Mad about You*, for which she received an Emmy nomination.

Lauper remains down to earth and gutsy, continuing to identify with her working-class roots and with other women. Even in the early days of her career, she resisted media attempts to pit her against another rising star, singer Madonna, explaining "I don't want to compete with a sister." Married since 1991 to actor David Thornton, Lauper had her first child, son Declyn, at age 44. She lives with her family in rural Connecticut and continues to make music while trying to avoid the pitfalls of the superstar lifestyle. "I'm an entertainer,"

she reflected, "trying to express the fact that you can liberate yourself and say, hell, yes, I can do it. Life is not a prison sentence."

—Tina Gianoulis

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Laura

Laura (1944) is a classic film noir that critic Pauline Kael calls "Everybody's favorite murder mystery." Featuring a superb ensemble cast—Gene Tierney as the mysteriously disappeared Laura; Dana Andrews as investigating detective Mark McPherson who falls in love with Laura's portrait; Clifton Webb as the cynical radio personality Waldo Lydecker, who regards the beautiful Laura as both his creation and his property; Vincent Price as Laura's shallow, Southern playboy suitor Shelby Carpenter, and Judith Anderson as Laura's rich spinster aunt and Shelby's would-be lover—*Laura* is stylishly and superbly directed by Otto Preminger. Nominated for five Academy Awards, *Laura* won for Best Cinematography. The haunting score by David Raskins would become one of the most famous movie themes ever written. Moderately successful when it was released in 1944, *Laura* has become a cult favorite and a staple of the classic movie cable channels.

—Victoria Price

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Laurel and Hardy

The first and, arguably, the best of filmdom's famous two-man comedy teams, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy were also, along with Charlie Chaplin, the only great silent-era clowns to survive and thrive well into the talkie era. The two thrilled audiences with their carefully crafted style of comedy. Their short films, ranging from the pie-throwing apotheosis, *The Battle of the Century* to the Oscar-winning *The Music Box*, in which the boys strain to lug a piano up a steep hill, established their endearing characterizations as loyal friends—often hen-pecked husbands—who keep going from one "swell predicament" to "another fine mess."



Stan Laurel (left) and Oliver Hardy (right)

Stan Laurel (real name: Stan Jefferson) was born in 1890 in Ulverston, England; Oliver Norvell Hardy in 1892 in Harlem, Georgia. The fates and their respective theatrical abilities brought them to Hal Roach's comedy factory in Hollywood during the Roaring Twenties. There, ace comedy director Leo McCarey had the inspiration to pair them as a team. Unlike such latter-day comedy partners as Abbott and Costello or Martin and Lewis, who would hone their comedy personae onstage before live audiences before making it big in the movies, Laurel and Hardy grew into a team from film to film. During their series of short films in the 1920s, the derby-wearing duo quickly established their now famous identities as the skinny one and the fat one: "Two minds," as Laurel described them, "without a single thought."

In the 1930s, Laurel and Hardy graduated to feature-length films which continued to spread their worldwide popularity. Although the films eventually suffered a decline in quality when comic genius Laurel was no longer allowed by studios to carefully plan and develop their vehicles, the stars themselves never wore out their welcome. Long after their deaths, the characters created by Laurel and Hardy

are continually being recreated by actors and animators. The original Laurel and Hardy films still have the power to get an audience laughing at the pitfalls and pratfalls of twentieth-century urban living.

Stan Laurel began his show business career when he was only sixteen. By 1910, he was touring America with Fred Karno's London Comedians, not only performing but understudying another young up-and-comer named Charles Chaplin. When Chaplin "went Hollywood," the troupe disbanded. Stan continued to kick around vaudeville until the early 1920s, although he started making films under the Stan Laurel name in 1917 with *Nuts in May*. In all, he made some 60 movies before being partnered with Hardy. In a business in which a young stand-up can rise from obscurity to sitcom stardom in a couple of years, (and return to anonymity just as quickly), Stan Laurel took two decades searching for his most apt comedy persona.

Oliver Hardy grew up with a love of music, and as a young man found employment singing accompaniment to slides in a theater. By 1910, the eighteen-year-old was running a movie theater, and thinking to himself that he could probably act as well as the professionals he was watching onscreen. A few years later, he had a chance to prove

his abilities by working for the Lubin and Vim companies in Jacksonville, Florida. Although he made a hundred short films, Hardy's weight typecast him as "the heavy," giving support to the comedians but never taking the lead himself.

Hollywood pioneer Hal Roach ran a studio where the specialty was comedy, the budgets were small, and the talent was big. Stan Laurel signed on with Roach in 1923; three years later, the studio hired Hardy. One year after that, in 1927, the men made their first movie together, *Putting Pants on Phillip*. Phillip was uncharacteristic of what was to come, but the team hit their stride with their next film, *The Battle of the Century*. "Reciprocal destruction" became the phrase used to describe how, in a Laurel/Hardy film, a deceptively simple tit-for-tat escalates into a donnybrook. In *Battle*, one little banana peel pratfall leads eventually to the biggest pie-fight in movie history, encompassing an entire city block of citizens. But Laurel and Hardy didn't need spectacle to be just as hilarious in their subsequent shorts. The situation could be as simple as Stan trying to help Ollie put a radio antenna up on a roof, or the two trying to make their dry-docked boat seaworthy, or—as in their Oscar-winning talkie, *The Music Box*, Laurel and Hardy simply attempting to deliver a piano—to a house way up there on top of the hill, with the only access via a narrow set of steps.

For all the brilliance of their slapstick, the comedy of Laurel and Hardy was personality-driven, not situational. The characters they developed were of two well-meaning but naive child-men—Stan, not too bright, and Ollie, who only *thinks* he's smarter than his pal—trying to cope with the vicissitudes of employment, matrimony, warfare, society, and technology, with the one constant being their friendship. Audiences laughed at the antics of Laurel and Hardy, but more than that, they fell in love with the boys. (No less loveable was a veritable stock company of brilliant supporting players, including James Finlayson and Mae Busch.) So endearing and enduring were the Laurel and Hardy characters that their appeal was only strengthened, not dissipated, by the coming of sound film. (The early Laurel and Hardy talkies benefitted enormously from the delightful underscoring of T. Marvin Hatley, composer of the "Cuckoo" theme which became the boys' signature tune.) Roach put his star team in feature-length movies, and still they prospered. Perhaps their best such film was *Way Out West*, 1937.

Of the two actors, behind the scenes, Laurel was the prime creator, working with the hand-picked Roach production team on the story, gags, production, and even the editing of their films. Stan actually thought of himself more as a gag-writer than a performer. (Not unlike Gene Kelly, another multiple talent, who once claimed that choreographing and filming his numbers was much more interesting than actually dancing.) Laurel and Roach did not always see eye to eye, but by and large the studio chief respected his star's talent and allowed it free reign. It is thanks to the work they did at Roach that Laurel and Hardy, the skinny guy and the fatso in their two derbies, became comedy icons recognized and adored wherever in the world movies were shown. And it is a tribute to Laurel and Hardy's appeal that they remained universally loved, even when the films themselves stopped being loveable.

Like other clowns from the golden age of screen comedy, Laurel and Hardy ran into trouble when they found themselves working for a production company that had no understanding of their working methods nor an appreciation of how crucial those methods were to the art of their comedy. By the 1940s, Laurel and Hardy had left Roach and ended up at Twentieth Century-Fox. Seeking to cash in on the new, brash brand of comedy popularized by Abbott and Costello, Fox

basically disallowed Laurel's input into the creative process. Gone were the carefully worked out scenarios and the opportunities to improvise on the central gag situations. For fans of the team, the 1940s films represented a mishandling of talent. For the most part, Laurel and Hardy called it quits with the movies after *The Bullfighters* in 1945, and spent the next decade delighting audiences overseas with personal appearances onstage. (In 1952, there was one disastrous comeback film, an international co-production called *Atoll K*, which is even harder to watch than the 1940s Fox films.) Over the years, Hardy would occasionally put in a solo appearance as a character actor in a movie, but these were few and far between. Eventually, his health started to fail, and he died in 1957.

In their heyday, for all their international success, Laurel and Hardy were not treated very kindly by most critics. The much-married Laurel spent his last years living quietly in his Santa Monica apartment, corresponding with his many fans, and occasionally receiving visits from them. Thanks chiefly to the lobbying efforts of one such fan, comedian Dick Van Dyke, a campaign began which led to a special honorary Oscar for Laurel in 1961. Laurel was appreciative, but wistful that the honor had not come in time to be shared with Hardy. Probably more gratifying to Laurel was the formation of an international Laurel and Hardy fan club, dubbed The Sons of the Desert, (after the fraternal order in their 1934 film of the same name). Into the 1990s, local chapters of this organization gather around the globe to watch the films of the screen's first great comedy duo. When Laurel died in 1965, he was eulogized as a great artist. It probably would have been nice if Laurel and Hardy had heard such praise in their heyday, but in the final analysis, it couldn't possibly have meant as much to them as the sound of one good belly-laugh.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Lauren, Ralph (1939—)

Bronx-born Ralph Lauren is the great dreamer of American fashion. He launched his fashion empire with wide ties (Polo Neckwear) in 1967. By 1968 Lauren covered the menswear business, adding womenswear in 1971. Lauren builds on consistent themes: Anglophilia of stately homes and rustic luxury, including tweeds, tartans, and Fair Isle sweaters; the heroic American West, celebrating the cowboy but revering Native American crafts; the Ivy League and clubby American elite of the 1920s; Hollywood and movie stars particularly of the 1930s; and style icons, including the Duke of Windsor. The New York flagship store is a Madison Avenue mansion which feels more like an historic home than a retail establishment.



Ralph Lauren fashion show, 1982.

Burnishing these powerful images, visualized in advertising photographed by Bruce Weber, Lauren has communicated a self-confident American style, compounded of aristocracy and adventure. Winning fame for Robert Redford's wardrobe in *The Great Gatsby* (1974), Lauren has given America a Gatsby imagination in apparel.

—Richard Martin

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Laver, Rod (1938—)

In 1969, "Rocket" Rod Laver did what no other male tennis player had done before or has done since—he won the Grand Slam for the second time. Only one other men's player, American Don Budge, had ever won the Grand Slam—the Australian, the French Open, Wimbledon, and the United States Opens—even once. Laver is

considered by many to have been the best tennis player ever, and his statistics make a good case for the Australian-born hall of famer. He was ranked number one in the world in 1961, 1962, 1968, and 1969. He won 11 grand slam titles—four Wimbledons, three Australian titles, two French Opens, and two United States championships. In addition, in Davis Cup competition he compiled a singles record of 16-4.

—Lloyd Chiasson Jr.

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Laverne and Shirley

Premiering on ABC in January of 1976, *Laverne and Shirley* captured 47 percent of the television viewing audience, becoming an instant hit. In its first season, the sitcom—set in 1950s Milwaukee—ranked second only to *Happy Days*, the show from which *Laverne and Shirley* was spun-off. The program's success can be attributed to the appeal of its title characters, Laverne DeFazio and Shirley Feeney—played by Penny Marshall and Cindy Williams—who were single women employed as bottlecappers at the "Shotz Brewery." They lacked college degrees or promising careers, and lived in a modest basement apartment, which made them blue-collar when working class comedies like *All in the Family* reigned and women were entering the work force in record numbers. In addition, their slapstick comedy recalled *I Love Lucy*, a favorite of the 1950s. Unlike Lucy and Ethel, however, Laverne and Shirley did not have husbands. They were, as their theme song asserted, doing it their way.

—Belinda S. Ray

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Lavin, Linda (1937—)

Linda Lavin, who had a successful stage career before moving to television, starred in the popular sitcom, *Alice* (1976-1985), one of the first television shows centered on a working class woman. On the

series, which was based on the 1975 film, *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore*, Lavin portrayed Alice Hyatt, a widow who worked as a waitress to support herself and her son while she dreamed of becoming a country singer.

As sometimes happens to actors who portray popular television characters, Lavin became a symbol. For Lavin it was to working-class women, and she used her celebrity to work with agencies focusing on improving conditions and benefits for working women. In 1977, she received the Grass Roots Award from the National Commission on Working Women for her realistic depiction of a blue-collar working woman.

—Denise Lowe

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Lawn Care/Gardening

Where the American settler had wilderness at his or her doorstep, the contemporary American has created the lawn, a buffer of pseudo-nature between the public and private domain. Tending this landscape ornament has grown into an American pastime and supports a multi-million-dollar industry. Its surrounding green turf defines the American home from those in most other nations. These lawns joined together create what some critics refer to as the "American Savannah," covering 25 million acres, an area slightly larger than Pennsylvania.

Despite its kitsch embellishments (such as pink flamingos and lawn orbs), the American lawn grows out of a serious tradition in landscape architecture. Andrew Jackson Downing and others who imported garden design and planning from Europe in the mid-1800s determined the green "setting" around homes to be majestic, utilitarian, and unique. The planting of grass defined the leisure household of the upper classes, who had more than enough land on which to situate a home. The grass thus became the background for landowners to incorporate more ornate garden designs.

From this point, the lawn and garden trend becomes entwined with growing suburbanization. As developers and designers in the early twentieth century tried to perfect a form of housing that was simple, cheap, yet dignified, the lawn became part of the basic landscape form of the American home. The design suggests changes in terms of attitudes toward the private and public self: often, the suburban design includes a front, communal green-space intended to enhance visual presentation of the home and a rear green-space for private playing and other activities. These tendencies became increasingly ubiquitous as the suburban home spreads itself throughout the United States.

Home building exploded from 1950 to the present, and even the most basic homes came to incorporate lawns, which have quickly become an indispensable part of American culture. For instance, when William Levitt perfected the minimalized version of the pre-fabricated home (of which thousands can be constructed in only a week) following World War II, a lawn remained integral to the design. While residents appreciate the green space's visual appeal,

particularly in the suburban development, tending one's lawn or garden becomes the remnant of a fleeting human connection with nature. The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that the garden and lawn might be seen as the equivalent of a "pet." Other scholars view it as the American connection with the "pioneer spirit" of westward expansion through a continued proximity with nature—albeit a quite manufactured version of nature.

Whatever the motivation, lawn and garden care became a multi-million-dollar industry after the 1960s. With the growth of the middle class in the twentieth century, males often found themselves with leisure time that could be channeled to activities and hobbies such as tending the garden and lawn. These practices became aesthetically and socially connected to the growing popularity of golf and defined much of middle class male persona, such as that seen in television's Ward Cleaver or Tim "The Tool Man" Taylor. More recently, efforts have been made to simplify lawn care through the use of chemicals and "lawn management" companies. This shift to the "industrial lawn" has led some Americans to view this green space more as a burden than blessing.

In recent years, the image of the lawn has changed, as many Americans refuse to blindly adopt landscape forms not of their own choosing. This is particularly true in arid and semi-arid portions of the United States, in which lawns require a significant amount of limited water resources. Naturalist Michael Pollan speaks for many environmentalists when he refers to the lawn as "nature under culture's boot." Such sentiment, though, has not altered the American interest in maintaining a natural zone between home and society. Critics of the lawn have often turned to xeriscaping and other alterations that involve regionally native biota and no turf grass. Most have not adopted concrete, which shows that Americans place a unique importance on maintaining some kind of natural environment around their homes.

—Brian Black

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Lawrence of Arabia

Lawrence of Arabia (1962) remains one of the most epic, literate, and beautiful films ever made. It brought instant stardom for actors Peter O'Toole and Omar Sharif; O'Toole in particular drew praise for his skillful depiction of Lawrence, a complex, unheroic hero, beset by inner demons and motivated by a heady mixture of noble purpose, self-aggrandizement, compassion, brutality, and a large dollop of abnormal psychology.

The film is based on the exploits of British scholar and military officer Thomas Edward Lawrence. Born in North Wales in 1888 and educated at Oxford, Lawrence took a walking tour of Syria and Palestine to gather material for a thesis. His living among the Arabs and learning their language, dialects, and customs would prove



Peter O'Toole in a scene from the film *Lawrence of Arabia*.

invaluable to the British Intelligence Service with the outbreak of World War I.

The Turks, who were allied with Germany, ruled most of the Middle East with such brutality that the Arabs revolted, and the British sided with the Arabs. Lawrence knew that Britain and France had plans to divide Arabia between them when the war was over, but he felt if he could help the Arabs unite and defeat the Turks, the British would be unable to overlook the Arabs' moral claim to freedom. Lawrence joined forces with Auda abu Tayi, leader of the Howeitat tribe, and together they captured Aqaba without firing a shot, raided Turkish positions, and blew up sections of the Hejaz Railway, vital to the Turks. The Arabs pronounced his name "El Aurens," as if he were already a prince, and he finally succeeded in leading the Arab army, under Prince Feisal, into Damascus.

American journalist Lowell Thomas and his cameraman caught many images of Lawrence in the desert, then toured the world with his illustrated lecture series, making Lawrence an international legend. After the war, Lawrence remained an adviser on Arab affairs until, in 1922, he enlisted in the Royal Air Force as a private under an assumed name. In 1926 he published *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, a complex and highly regarded blend of history, autobiography, philosophy, and mythmaking. He was killed in 1935 when the motorcycle he was riding struck a tree.

After the success of *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, producer Sam Spiegel approached director David Lean with the idea of making a film about Lawrence. After months of researching Lawrence's life, Lean agreed the story could make a fascinating film, provided a good script could be written. The first screenwriter proved unsatisfactory, and when Spiegel happened to attend the new hit play *A Man for All Seasons*, a historical play about Sir Thomas More and Henry VIII written by Robert Bolt, he hired Bolt for the job. Albert Finney and Marlon Brando were considered for the lead role, but the relatively unknown Peter O'Toole landed the part, and the film was shot in 1961 and 1962 in Jordan, Almeria, Morocco, and England. T. E. Lawrence's brother Arnold Walter Lawrence, who became T. E.'s literary executor upon his death and had permitted Spiegel to make the movie based on *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, attended a rough-cut in September 1962. When the film ended, A. W. stood up and shouted at Spiegel, "I should never have trusted you!" He then stormed out of the theater.

In O'Toole's first scene in the film, Lawrence does a trick putting a match out between his fingers. When another soldier tries the same trick, he winces, "Ow! It damn well hurts!" "Certainly it hurts," Lawrence replies. "Well, what's the trick then?" the soldier asks. "The trick," Lawrence answers, "is not minding that it hurts." When Lawrence says he thinks the burning desert is going to be fun, an officer suggests that he has "a funny sense of fun," and there are

suggestions that Lawrence enjoys the extreme tests of endurance that the desert provides. Later, to keep peace among the Arab tribes before entering Aqaba, Lawrence is forced to shoot one of them, then later confesses, “I enjoyed it.” And before Damascus, Lawrence exhibits maniacal glee as he joins in the slaughter of a column of Turks, shouting, “No prisoners!” and shooting point-blank one Turk with his hands up in surrender. It is easy to see why Lawrence’s brother was so incensed but, as later revealed, A. W. may have been angered by the fact that the film was uncomfortably close to the truth.

In a 1986 interview, A. W. finally revealed the terrible family secret buried for so long—T. E. hated the thought of sex and, after immersing himself in medieval literature about characters who quelled sexual longings by enduring beatings, T. E. opted to do the same. A former Tank Corps private admitted to ritually flogging Lawrence, at his request, from 1925 to 1934. A number of historians have hinted at Lawrence’s possible homosexuality, and a number of film historians have called the film’s homosexual overtones blatant.

Although all of this makes *Lawrence of Arabia* a far cry from *Rambo*, it makes for a more thought-provoking epic—heroic exploits may not always stem from the most heroic of motives—filled with great dialogue, great performances, gorgeous cinematography, and a sense of history. The title character’s humanness and faults makes the film easier to identify with. *Lawrence of Arabia* won seven Academy Awards, including best film, actor, director, cinematography (Freddie Young), and musical score (Maurice Jarre).

—Bob Sullivan

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Lawrence, Vicki (1949—)

Versatile television personality Vicki Lawrence won her show business break at age 18 thanks to her resemblance to comedienne Carol Burnett. Burnett was looking for a young comedy actress to play her kid sister in sketches for *The Carol Burnett Show*, a variety program that ran from 1967 until 1979. Born in Inglewood, California, in 1949, Lawrence, who had been singing in a group called the Young Americans, got the part and soon was playing an array of skit characters on the show. One of her ongoing roles—the hilarious, purse-lipped, irascible Southern matriarch Thelma Harper, the character for which she is best known—later evolved into the series *Mama’s Family*, which aired between 1983 and 1985.

In 1973, Lawrence topped the charts with her only hit single, “The Night the Lights Went Out in Georgia.” Three years later, she won an Emmy Award for Best Supporting Actress in a Variety Show for her work on the Burnett series. In the mid-1990s, she added to her coterie of fans as hostess of the daytime talk show *Fox After Breakfast*, later renamed *The Vicki Lawrence Show*.

—Audrey E. Kupferberg

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La-Z-Boy Loungers

The La-Z-Boy Lounger, a reclining chair also known as the “easy chair,” is a heavily padded item of furniture, generally upholstered in naugahyde or other, similarly tough and durable fabric, and boasts a built-in ottoman. By pulling a side lever, one can simultaneously recline the chair back and kick out the attached footrest, arriving at a position somewhere between sitting and lying down.

Ed Shoemaker and Ed Knabusch of Monroe, Michigan made the first loungers in 1927. Combining the science of ergonomics with automobile and airplane seat design, they developed what would eventually become the La-Z-Boy. In 1941, Edward Barcalo licensed the design of Dr. Anton Lorenz for a “scientifically articulated” chair, which he dubbed the “Barcalounger,” and which became La-Z-Boy’s largest competitor.

These chairs, which sacrifice high style for immediate comfort and versatility, have remained enduring American symbols of low-brow masculine tastes. Although many companies have produced loungers throughout the century, La-Z-Boy remains the most popular brand and has become the generic name for them all.

—Wendy Woloson

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le Carré, John (1931—)

In a review of James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Spy* (1823), the critic wrote: “No sympathy can be excited with meanness, and there must be a degree of meanness ever associated with the idea of Spy.” Eighty years later the *Morning Post* entitled its review of Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* “The Real Anarchist” and claimed that “it is a study of real value for the student of contemporary politics.” This tells us something about the evolving conception of the spy in society, and the novels of John le Carré further explore and develop this image.

John le Carré was born David John Moore Cornwell, in Poole, Dorset, October 19, 1931. His mother abandoned the family when he was six, and le Carré later learned that his father, Ronnie Cornwell, was a crafty con man who had served a prison term. Betrayal and deception were to become the key themes of his writings. After studying German at Berne University, he completed his National Service with the Intelligence Corps in Austria from 1949 to 1951. It is likely that he was recruited into the British Secret Service in Berne, although le Carré has never actually given the exact date of his enrollment nor has he elaborated upon the exact nature of his work.

In 1952 he returned to England, where he completed his German studies, graduating cum laude in 1956 at Lincoln College, Oxford. After a brief two-year spell of teaching at Eton, he entered the Foreign Office. In 1961 he was posted to the British embassy in Bonn as second secretary and that same year he published his first novel, *Call for the Dead*, introducing the anti-heroic figure George Smiley of the British security service, the Circus. The critical reception of his debut focuses mainly on the manipulation of the conventional “whodunit” into the spy thriller. This notion of subverting the rules of the genre has become the predominant critical view of le Carré’s novels. What has been instrumental in the process of canonization of le Carré is the realization that his novels could be read as political parables—“thrillers that demand a second reading as a treatise on our times.”

In 1963, still working as second secretary at the British Embassy in Bonn, at the height of the Cold War, le Carré published *The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, a grimly realist tale of betrayal and deception, the key theme being that espionage in itself inevitably leads to moral corruption. Its huge success enabled him to resign from the Foreign Office. Graham Greene called it the best spy novel he had ever read. The reactions from the professionals, however, were hostile. “You bastard, you utter bastard,” one of his former colleagues yelled at the author at a diplomatic dinner. Richard Helms, sworn in as Director of Intelligence at the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) in 1966, resented the climate of despair in le Carré’s novel. Thomas Powers writes in his *The Man Who Kept the Secrets* that “it was not just the violence Helms minded, but the betrayal, the mood of defeat, the meanness, the numb loneliness of a man for whom loyalty has become a joke. Le Carré was undermining the very bedrock of intelligence, the faith of men in the meaning of their work.”

In the George Smiley trilogy *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* (1974), *The Honourable Schoolboy* (1977), and *Smiley’s People* (1981), also published as *The Quest for Karla* trilogy, le Carré not only debates the morality of espionage, but explores the theme of love’s betrayal: “But who are the foes? Once upon a time it was clear, but now nothing is certain. The enemy in those days was someone we could point at . . . today all I know is that I have learned to interpret the whole of life in terms of conspiracy,” Smiley sighs in *The Honourable Schoolboy*. It does therefore not come as a surprise that le Carré’s only novel with an unambiguously evil villain, the illegal arms dealer Richard ‘Dicky’ Roper in *The Night Manager* (1993), is also le Carré’s only novel with a “happy ending.” In the Cold War novels that deal with the Circus and the KGB, the real and the absolute enemy are frequently not the same person or entity. Often the most intense enemy is to be found in the protagonist’s own camp (*The Spy Who Came in from the Cold*, *The Quest for Karla*) and sometimes the protagonist turns out to be his own worst enemy (*A Perfect Spy*, 1986).

As a public figure, the author has had to face the consequences of the strained fact-fiction continuum that characterizes his novels. “My great sin,” he said once, “ever since I wrote *The Little Drummer Girl*” (1983), “was suggesting that the state of Israel—that Palestine—was in fact a twice-promised land.” A *New York Times* book review of his novel *The Tailor of Panama* (1996), suggesting that the main character “was an anti-Semitic Judas” caricature, prompted him to publish his speech to the Anglo-Israel Association in *The Guardian*, in which he vehemently denied this charge. This in turn prompted a reply from Salman Rushdie who has lived from early 1989 under the Iranian fatwa (death threat; the official government fatwa was lifted in 1998 but extremist groups have reinstated their own fatwa on Rushdie) for his *Satanic Verses*. He reminded le Carré not only that he suffered from far more rigorous religious intolerance

but also that le Carré never spoke out against the fatwa, to which le Carré replied that “there is no law in life or nature that says great religions may be insulted with impunity.” The first and foremost quality of a good intelligence officer, said Allen Dulles—former head of the CIA—is to discern between fact and fiction. Le Carré shows us that it might be far more important to discern between friend and foe.

—Rob van Kranenburg

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Le Guin, Ursula K. (1929—)

In the introduction to Joe De Bolt’s collection of essays about Ursula K. Le Guin, Barry N. Malzberg claims that “Le Guin is probably the first writer to emerge solely within the confines of the genres of speculative fiction to win significant literary recognition . . . She is . . . the most important contemporary writer of science fiction, and this field cannot be understood if she is not.” In 1997, the largest survey in the field of speculative fiction listed Le Guin as one of the top five novelists in the history of both science fiction and fantasy, beating out Isaac Asimov in science fiction and C. S. Lewis in fantasy. Her short fiction has appeared in numerous publications, including *Amazing Science Fiction*, *New Yorker*, *Playgirl*, and *Playboy*. Her appeal within the genres of speculative fiction has earned her multiple Hugo, Locus, Nebula, and James Tiptree, Jr. awards. Her appeal outside that arena has yielded her such honors such as the National Book Award and the Newberry Award. Few authors have been as well received and influential in the span of their own lives as Ursula K. Le Guin.

If there were a central metaphor to describe Le Guin’s life and work, it might be the interplay of individual and society. Her own interaction with society began in a family of literate intellectuals. Her mother, Theodora Kracaw Kroeber, published *The Inland Whale: Nine Stories Retold from California Indian Legends* in 1959. As Elizabeth Cummins Cogell has claimed, this work suggests the “awareness of the female character,” which has become such a force in Le Guin’s own tales. Neither did Le Guin escape the influence of her father, Alfred Kroeber, who wrote prolifically in the field of anthropology. This discipline pokes its way to the surface of many of

Le Guin's finest and best-known works, such as *The Left Hand of Darkness* and "Solitude." Anthropology is, however, more than an overt theme in her stories; it is also the source of some of her greatest strengths: her ability to craft a world, universe, and history with utter believability.

One of her father's favorite books, Dunsany's *A Dreamer's Tales*, impressed upon her that the archetypal images evoked by myth and fable could be and indeed still were being called forth in literature. She began writing early, and recalls submitting her first science fiction story to *Astounding Stories Magazine* around the age of ten. The story was rejected, but Le Guin claims that she was more "proud of having a genuine rejection slip" than she was dejected. Much later, she read J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings*, which impressed her so deeply that she claims, "If I'd read it as a kid I might have written bad imitations of it for years. As it was, I already was finding my own voice, and so could just have the joy of reading Tolkien as the creator of the greatest of the fantasy worlds."

Le Guin has constructed an original path that winds through the traditions of science fiction and fantasy as well as mainstream fiction. Orson Scott Card has noted particularly her concept of the ansible, a conceit now commonly used in science fiction which allows two parties to communicate simultaneously despite their distance. Tom Becker has praised her attention to "real world physics," saying that she exceeds even De Camp, "the only other [early science fiction] writer I know of who wasn't violating the law of relativity." Elisabeth Vonarburg further recognizes Le Guin's influence on "non-American, non English-speaking writers," as well as female writers born in the last half-century. "I still hear," says Vonarburg, "from a number of young or less young female readers what I myself have been saying for years: 'I came back to reading SF because of Le Guin.'"

Her first novel, *Rocannon's World*, was published by Ace Books in 1966. Since then, she has explored topics as wide in variety as the influence of gender upon society (perhaps best achieved in *The Left Hand of Darkness*), what it means to be human, and the individual as outcast. Yet it is no great task for an author to speak out on a wide variety of tasks; where Le Guin has made her greatest mark is in her ability to craft a sound narrative with characters who embody the concepts she hopes to explore. Le Guin is above all a deeply talented storyteller, one whom Tom Becker has used to demonstrate the point that feminism is not only a source of ideas, but also a source of excellent literature.

It is difficult to narrow Le Guin's body of work to just a handful of important titles, but there are a few that have made particular impression on the field. The first of these, *The Left Hand of Darkness*, has crept into the canon's outskirts through women's studies and graduate programs, and was the first of her works to receive overwhelming acknowledgement from the writing community. *The Dispossessed*, published shortly thereafter, has likewise gained praise from nearly every quarter. Her *Earthsea* series, marketed as a children's book, reached new audiences for Le Guin. Unlike the other two works, this series is a high fantasy series, and it is largely on the strength of *Earthsea* that she has gained notoriety as a fantasy writer.

Le Guin is an active and vocal member of several feminist organizations, and has also been active in conservationist groups. As a writer, she has helped shape the ideas of such diverse speculative elements as magic, the power of language, interstellar communication, dragons, and the relationship of people across gender and racial boundaries. Her poetry has also elicited praise from critics, and she brings the poet's sense of language to her fiction. And with the publication of her 1998 *Steering the Craft*, a book about Le Guin's

ideas on writing, it is likely that her influence on popular culture will continue long into the future.

—Joe Sutliff Sanders

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Leachman, Cloris (1926—)

An exceptionally good and versatile actress, angular and wistful-looking, Cloris Leachman made a striking film debut in *Kiss Me Deadly* (1955). In between raising five children, she frequently appeared in secondary roles thereafter, but her identity remained vague until 1971. It was her poignant, exquisitely judged Oscar-winning performance as the lonely and neglected wife in *The Last Picture Show* (1971) that brought her due recognition and led her to two treasurable performances for Mel Brooks—the terrifying Frau Blucher in *Young Frankenstein* (1974) and the deliciously violent nurse in *High Anxiety* (1977). Leachman joined the acting profession by way of the 1946 Miss America Pageant, in which she was runner-up. Having studied drama at Northwestern University, she worked regularly on Broadway and in live television drama. Her TV career grew substantially from the mid-1970s, bringing her a clutch of Emmy Awards and her own show, *Phyllis* (1975-77), a spin-off series based on the supporting character she had played in *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* from 1970-1975.

—Robyn Karney

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Leadbelly (1885-1949)

In the pantheon of blues legends, few figures loom as large as Leadbelly, the peripatetic, gun-toting guitar player with the constitution of iron. The gifted composer of such standards as "Goodnight Irene," "Midnight Special," and "Where Did You Sleep Last Night," Leadbelly led a troubled life. Thrice consigned to imprisonment in the deep south, twice he had his sentence commuted on the strength of his musicianship alone. But his penchant for trouble was inextricably linked to his genius, and like Robert Johnson and Blind Lemon Jefferson, his hard times became interwoven with his musical abilities. The years of Leadbelly's fame would be short and far from remunerative, and he would not live to see his songs become standards and his talent revered.



Huddie (Leadbelly) Ledbetter

Born Huddie Ledbetter in the backwoods of Northern Louisiana near Shreveport, Ledbetter's family was relatively affluent, with a fair-sized farm on the outskirts of Mooringsport. He was musically precocious from an early age—his father first took him to play on the streets of Shreveport when Huddie was a mere eight years old—and soon he graduated from windjammer (a rudimentary accordion) to guitar. Ledbetter grew up to be a man of extremes. A veritable John Henry of the cotton fields, he could drink most men under the table, and was purported to be the best musician in the area. His appetite for women was of a piece with his other attributes, and after leaving home bound for New Orleans, he was waylaid by the first available woman he set eyes on, settling with one Lethe Massey in Dallas.

In what became a pattern of behavior, Ledbetter would work hard for a time, content to remain domestic, but then some deep-seated impulse would send him on the road. He would vanish, then show up months later penniless and bruised. But for all his carousing, Huddie's ambition to make a living solely from music remained intact. After a stint on the railroad, Ledbetter vowed to realize his ambition. He became enchanted by the 12 string guitar, bought one with his scant savings, and took to the streets of Dallas where he busked for drinks and spare change. After teaming up with legendary slide guitarist Blind Lemon Jefferson, his life slid into a nonstop bacchanal of music, drink, and women until he was convicted of his first serious crime, the rape of a whorehouse madam, and was sentenced to a year on a chain gang. Within three days he had escaped, rejoining his family in Mooringsport. His wife located him there, and they moved to De Kalb, Texas, where Lethe died of gonorrhea. Guilt ridden over her death (he suspected it was he who had transmitted the

disease), Huddie careened into a profound depression. Some months later, he shot and killed a drunk while playing a local dance, drawing a 35-year sentence.

Much of Ledbetter's legend revolves around the two gubernatorial pardons he received on the strength of his musical talent. In March of 1918, Ledbetter was remanded to Huntsville penitentiary where he acquired a prodigious reputation for work and music. His surname was soon corrupted into Leadbelly, a moniker he took pride in, denoting as it did his iron constitution. Befriended by a prison officer, Captain Franklin, Huddie strove to be a model prisoner, but Franklin's efforts at winning a release resulted in his transfer to the infamous Sugar Land Penitentiary, where he composed "Midnight Special." It was at Sugarland that Texas Governor Patrick Neff came to see the legendary singing convict. Ten months after performing for Neff, Ledbetter was free, perhaps the first convict to sing his way to freedom. Leadbelly won his freedom a second time, having been convicted of assault in his native Louisiana, due to the auspices of John Lomax who, with his son Alan, was touring the south as an archivist for the Library of Congress. The Lomaxes recorded a plea to Louisiana Governor O.K. Allan, and in July of 1934, Ledbetter was again pardoned.

Leadbelly's time in the limelight was brief and bitter. Following his release, John Lomax employed him as a driver in Lomax and son's peregrinations. Huddie located musicians in the towns and prisons they visited, and on a northern leg of the journey, Lomax began arranging recitals for his at times obstreperous driver. Much to Huddie's consternation, he was made to perform in prison stripes. Leadbelly performed at Bryn Mawr and Columbia, his extensive repertoire and prison record adding to his appeal for the collegiate audience. He was the toast of the town, a talented curiosity, but Leadbelly missed his wife, who he had married shortly after his release, and rankled under Lomax's cautious administration, frequently slipping off on drinking sprees. They finally parted company after Leadbelly pulled a knife on his benefactor.

For the rest of his life, Leadbelly would remember his brush with fame and strive to recapture the elusive pot of gold. He returned to Shreveport, where his celebrity could not prevent him from serving more jail time. He returned to New York and the years slipped by. In 1939, he stabbed a man at a party and spent a year on Riker's Island. In 1943, he worked as a shoeshine boy; in 1944, a janitor. Occasionally he played on the radio or in Greenwich Village and Harlem. In 1949, he was flown to Paris for a string of engagements. The first concert was far from successful: a scant 30 people showed up in a hall that held 4,000. With that, Leadbelly's dream of fame and the good life died an abrupt death. By November, the mysterious back pains that had plagued him for years had been diagnosed as amyotrophic lateral sclerosis—Lou Gehrig's Disease. He died in Bellevue on December 6, 1949 with his guitar by his side. Six months later, "Goodnight Irene" had sold two million copies. Meanwhile, Leadbelly's widow was applying for work as a laundress.

Like many of the first generation of blues musicians, Leadbelly was a man stuck between the antebellum south and the modern age. Part of his problem, certainly, was the record industry, in which black artists were often cheated, but it was Leadbelly's erratic nature that prevented him from capitalizing on his success. By the time he had a chance at fame, he was too set in his ways to turn professional. But for all that, he was a man of intense pride who resented having to play a convict or barefoot country boy to promote himself. When his first collection of songs appeared, it pained him that the cover photo

showed him barefoot and sitting on a barrel. Seeing how many artists had had hits with his songs would not have pleased him, when he himself had profited so little.

—Michael Baers

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A League of Their Own

The 1992 film comedy, *A League of Their Own*, revitalized interest in and helped memorialize a neglected chapter of sports history: The All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (AAGPBL). With America's men joining up to fight in World War II, Chicago Cubs owner Philip K. Wrigley, the chewing-gum mogul, thought that women playing baseball might help keep interest in the sport alive until the war was over and the men returned home. As depicted in the film, in 1943, the league's first year, there were four teams: the Rockford Peaches, the Racine Belles, the Kenosha Comets, and the South Bend Blue Sox. When it became evident that the major leagues would not be seriously affected by the war, Wrigley sold the league to Chicago advertising executive Arthur Meyerhoff. But after the men returned home, instead of fading into oblivion the AAGPBL prospered due to the women's extraordinary ballplaying abilities. By 1948, the league had grown to 10 teams, which attracted 910,000 paid fans. The league lasted 12 seasons, until 1954, killed off in part by television, especially televised professional baseball. During its existence, the AAGPBL never would have attracted as many fans as it did without the high level of pure athleticism demonstrated by the players.

The film itself is a craftily constructed comedy that gets big laughs, manages an emotional tale of sibling rivalry, imparts a surprisingly accurate painless history lesson, and, for some young girls, has been an inspiration, showing them that there's no such thing as a man's sport or, for that matter, a man's occupation. Much of the film's strength stems from the fact that the actresses playing the athletes seem, themselves, to be athletic, which is absolutely vital to telling the story of a professional women's baseball league able to sustain itself by attracting fans through sheer excellence on the field. The film, which cost up to \$50 million to make, went approximately \$15 million over budget and, according to no less an authority than *Sports Illustrated*, if the extra money was spent "for the technical advice, it was money well spent. Thanks to the efforts of Southern Cal coaching legend Rod Dedeaux, the USC coaching staff and AAGPBL alumna Pepper Davis, nobody in *A League of Their Own* throws like a girl. In fact, everybody throws better than John Goodman did in *The Babe*." Geena Davis and Lori Petty play the central two characters, rival sisters who move from farm life to the major leagues and, again

according to *Sports Illustrated*, it's hard to believe that Davis never played baseball before because, in a pickup game, you'd choose her over Tom Berenger in *Major League*, while Petty "displays a nice flair for the mound." Screenwriters Lowell Ganz and Babaloo Mandel (who also wrote *Splash* and *City Slickers*) made the sisters a pitcher (Petty) and a catcher (Davis)—perfectly logical positions for two sisters who practiced alone on a farm—and used those positions to maximum effect during the film's climactic game, with the sisters on opposing teams during the league's first World Series. Even comedy relief Madonna and Rosie O'Donnell seem athletic; John Lovitz is hilarious as scout Eddie Capadino; the director's brother, Garry Marshall, plays the Wrigley character (here made a candy bar mogul); and David Strathairn plays the promotional genius who believes that the league has a future beyond the war.

But the film is almost stolen by Tom Hanks in a career-altering role as the alcoholic chauvinistic manager Jimmy Dugan. *Big* showed that Hanks could act, but his next four films—*The 'burbs*, *Turner & Hooch*, *Joe Versus the Volcano*, and *Bonfire of the Vanities*—had his career on the ropes. So Hanks approached director Penny Marshall about playing the role of the team manager and, when she agreed, he once again got serious about acting. The script described the character as a 52-year-old broken-down alcoholic, but as Hanks told Marshall, instead of being made to look older, he was more interested in playing a 36-year-old broken-down alcoholic. He began by asking himself why his character wasn't still playing ball or joining up to fight in the war. Hanks solved the problem by giving the character a pronounced limp, an injury sustained during a drinking mishap. Another problem, suggested by Marshall, was how to make this character less attractive; if the manager were cute, everybody would be wondering why the girls on the team didn't go for this cute guy. Hanks suggested the solution, "How about if I get fat?"—and according to Hanks, he's been fat ever since. Hanks is both funny and touching as the manager who begins with the belief, "Girls are what you sleep with after the game, not what you coach during the game," then gradually develops a deep respect for these girls of summer. Hanks followed up this performance with *Philadelphia*, *Sleepless in Seattle*, and *Forrest Gump*. But the film's greatest achievement remains its reviving, from semi-obscurity, the achievements of the women of the AAGPBL, who definitively demonstrated that America's pastime is not a pastime just for men.

—Bob Sullivan

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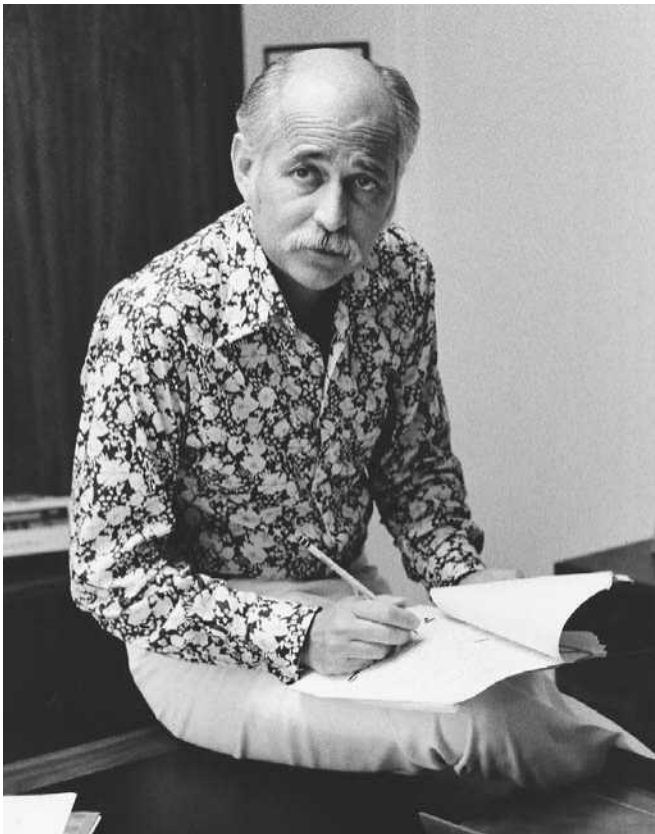
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Lear, Norman (1922—)

Perhaps the most significant of several producers who reshaped American television in the 1970s, Norman Lear brought his particular genius to the situation comedy genre. Infusing sitcom content with social commentary and earthy language while also updating its visual form with the immediacy of live videotaping, Lear created a string of shows—*All in the Family*, *Sanford and Son*, *Maude*, *The Jeffersons*, *One Day at a Time*, *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*—that captured national audiences as effortlessly as they did the zeitgeist.

Lear's career began almost by accident. A salesman by day and gagwriter by night, Lear sold a routine to Danny Thomas that resulted in an offer to write for *The Ford Star Revue* in 1951. He moved on to work as a writer for Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis on *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, followed by similar jobs with other variety shows. By the end of the 1950s, however, Lear was tired of the weekly grind of television and turned to film writing and producing. In 1959, he and director Bud Yorkin formed Tandem, a production company responsible for a series of light sex comedies—*Come Blow Your Horn*, *Divorce American Style*, *The Night They Raided Minsky's*—throughout the 1960s.

While moderately successful, the Tandem films never ended Lear's interest in television. In 1968, he obtained the rights to *Till Death Us Do Part*, a controversial British situation comedy about a Tory bigot and his argumentative family, that was a smash hit in Great Britain. The show, Lear said, was appropriate for an American public that was "in the mood to have its social problems and shortcomings



Norman Lear

analyzed." His first pilot episodes for the American adaptation were rejected by ABC, which found the protagonist too offensive. CBS, however, picked up the third pilot, and began broadcasting *All in the Family* in January 1971. By fall, conservative blowhard Archie Bunker and his family were the most popular characters on American television.

Lear created a comic formula in *All in the Family* that he rapidly replicated in other sitcoms: A loud, insensitive protagonist gets caught up in a social issue and/or family problem that finally reveals both his/her blindness to reality as well as the genuine good heart beating beneath all the bluster. *Sanford and Son* (NBC, 1972), adapted from the groundbreaking British sitcom *Steptoe and Son*, made the protagonist a crotchety black junkyard dealer in Watts. *Maude* (CBS, 1972), a spin-off of *All in the Family*, featured a liberal feminist as the central character. Another spin-off, *The Jeffersons* (CBS, 1975), employed Archie Bunker's entrepreneurial ex-neighbor George Jefferson, a bigoted black man, in the focal role. In *Good Times* (CBS, 1974), a spin-off of *Maude* set in the Chicago housing projects, Lear jumped the generation gap, making a callow black youth the source and butt of the series' jokes. *One Day at a Time* (CBS, 1975), which presented the comic travails of a working single mother, varied from the formula a bit, spreading the buffoonery between two teenage daughters and a randy building superintendent. The producer's unabashed liberalism worked its way through the weekly morality plays all of those series offered, but the lesson of each show was tempered by the revelation of humanity in the most reactionary of characters—or a foolishly closed mind in the most liberal.

Lear augmented the didactic directness of his plots and characters with live, three-camera videotaping that added speed (through quick cuts) and intensity (through extreme close-ups), as well as decibels from the studio audience, to performances and dialogue. The package proved remarkably successful: In every season from 1972-73 to 1982-83, at least two Lear shows finished the year in the Nielsen Top 20, while numerous other situation comedies adopted the topicality, verbal crudeness, and production style of the Lear series.

The further Lear attempted to move from the *All in the Family* formula, however, the less his efforts worked, at least on the network level. A 1975 adaptation of Lanford Wilson's play *Hot! Baltimore* for ABC lasted only half a season, while several other gimmicky sitcoms—*The Dumplings*, *All's Fair*, *A Year at the Top*, *In the Beginning*, *Apple Pie*—came and went with long notice but little remembrance. The social relevance that Lear rode through the Vietnam-Watergate era was becoming quickly dated, as America moved through the "malaise" of the Carter years and into the happy new morning of the Reagan era.

Lear, however, did have two major successes off of network television. The syndicated *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* (1976) savagely parodied soap operas and their commodified worlds, while using the genre's continuing storyline to present the gripping and tragicomic disintegration of the show's title character. A spin-off of that series, *Fernwood 2-Nite/America 2-Nite* (1978), performed a similar generic deconstruction of the late-night talk show.

As the popularity of his 1970s creations waned, Lear stepped away from television in the early 1980s to work on behalf of People for the American Way, a liberal political organization he helped found as a response to conservative groups including the Moral Majority. He has occasionally revisited the medium with series—*Sunday Dinner* (CBS, 1991), *The Powers That Be* (NBC, 1992)—that attempt to address contemporary social and political issues with the visual and verbal urgency of his earlier shows. One series even

returned to Archie Bunker's old house—*704 Hauser* (CBS, 1994)—now occupied by a black couple trying to deal with their son's interracial relationship. None of those shows, however, lasted beyond 13 episodes.

Regardless of his early excesses and his later failures, however, Norman Lear occupies a well-earned place in the pantheon of American television. Emerging at the moment when new FCC rules concerning network financing and syndication gave producers unprecedented power in the American television industry, Lear brought an individual style and mission to the producer's role that few have been able to emulate, much less match. Time has not favored the blunt topicality of most of his work, but the best of that work stands equal to the best of any age. And Lear's influence on the medium as a whole and the sitcom in particular extends far beyond the specific historic moments he chose as the immediate targets of his wit.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

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Leary, Timothy (1920-1996)

Who was Timothy Leary? Prophet? Charlatan? Mystic? Mephisto? Years after his death his legacy is still contested, with advocates and detractors both passionately debating his worth. The Pied Piper of LSD, the man who coined the phrase “turn on, tune in, drop out,” eulogized in song, his image disseminated on posters, Leary was perhaps the most famous academic of the 1960s, ranking with Marshall McLuhan as prophet of the post-industrial age. He began the decade as a Harvard professor and ended it in prison. During his life he was a clinical psychologist doing groundbreaking work in behavioral change, but he became a rebel, a guru, a fugitive, and a prisoner. Leary's life never lacked for adventure, nor his work for controversy, but to this day it remains unclear whether drugs were his salvation or his ruin.

Born to an alcoholic Army dentist and a prim New England aristocrat, in his autobiography, *Flashbacks*, Leary claimed he was conceived the day after prohibition took affect, implying a predestined—or ironic—connection to drug prohibition. His upbringing displayed a classic Irish schizophrenia. His father came from an upper-crust Boston-Irish family—rebellious, irreverent, and idiosyncratic—while his mother was a member of a devoutly religious family of conservative gentleman farmers. As a youth, Leary was more inclined towards his paternal side; he was kicked out of several colleges before being drafted in 1943. He spent the war stateside working as a clinical psychologist at an Army hospital in Virginia where he met his first wife, Marianne. With a family to support, Leary

forswore rebellion, attaining a doctorate at the University of California, Berkeley. With two small children, a house, and a post at the Kaiser Research Facility in Oakland, Leary appeared to have settled into the sedate life of an academic. He might have continued along this path had his wife not committed suicide the morning of his thirty-fifth birthday. Her death threw Leary's entire world into tumult—in four months his hair turned completely gray—but it also liberated him. Resigning his position, Leary fled with his children to Europe with the vague notion of working up the data he had amassed from his years at Kaiser.

While at Kaiser Leary had made a crucial discovery. With a waiting list of patients at the clinic, Leary and his colleague, Frank Barron, devised a simple way to test the efficacy of therapy: those who received therapy and those on the waiting list were tracked and then compared. “To say they were horrified by what they found is a little strong—amazed, worried amused, disturbed—you could use any of those,” writes Jay Stevens in *Storming Heaven*. “Because what they found was that there was no difference. Roughly a third of each group had stayed the same, a third had improved, and a third had deteriorated.” Behavioral change became Leary's obsession; in Florence, where he had settled, it was his intention to work on his findings, but he was unmotivated and at loose ends. Frank Barron, now teaching at Harvard, visited Leary, bringing with him tales of the wondrous drug, *Psilocybe mexicana*, he had recently taken in Mexico. Leary was skeptical. He was more enthusiastic, however, when Barron mentioned that his boss, David McLelland, director of the Harvard Personality Clinic, was vacationing in Florence. Leary paid him a visit, carrying along a backpack full of manuscripts, and walked away with a lectureship.

Leary's career was back on track, but Harvard would eventually prove his downfall as an academic. When he arrived in the fall of 1959, he was nearing 40 and was at the bottom rung of the academic ladder, but he proved to be a popular lecturer, charming his students and faculty members alike. He had forgotten all about Barron's glowing praise of magic mushrooms, but while vacationing with Barron in Mexico that winter, Leary tried *Psilocybe mexicana*; he returned to Harvard a changed man. With the blessing of McLelland, Leary inaugurated what became the infamous Harvard *Psilocybin Project*, using a synthesized version of the mushroom manufactured by Sandoz Laboratory of Switzerland.

Far from being quixotic, Leary knew exactly what he was after with the Harvard project. He was still searching for that elusive vitalizing transaction—that key to lasting behavioral change—and he had a suspicion that hallucinogens held the key to sloughing off conditioning. The rumors of strange goings-on at Leary's Cambridge house were soon alarming the Harvard authorities, but Leary staved them off for the time being. He had come up with an inspired study to test psilocybin's efficacy in effecting behavioral change: he would give the drug to inmates at Concord State Prison, and monitor the change in values and recidivism rate of the test group. The change was miraculous, but it underscored a point of contention between Leary and his superiors. “The prisoners were changing true enough,” writes Stevens, “but they were changing in a way that made science uncomfortable: they were getting religion. And if psilocybin could do that to hard-core cons, imagine what it was doing to the members of the psilocybin project.” After the *Harvard Crimson* (the school newspaper) published a series of articles in which Leary was taken to task for his sloppy science, the long-brewing conflict came to a head. Before he was asked to leave, Leary resigned.



Timothy Leary

Psychedelics had accessed a utopian strain in Leary's character, and he became obsessed with forming a psychedelic community to continue his research and train psychedelic guides and disciples. Leary and his co-conspirators returned to Mexico where they hoped to establish a research facility; they were expelled within two weeks. They then set up shop in the Dominican Republic with similar results. Antigua also evicted them, but upon returning to Cambridge, heiress Peggy Hitchcock volunteered her family's estate in upstate New York. Millbrook was a five mile square estate with an enormous mansion and several buildings dotting the property. It was the ideal locale for their project, situated close enough to New York to attract New York's intelligentsia, whose paid attendance offset expenses. Millbrook evolved into part retreat, part research project, and part conference center. It proved to be the quiet before the storm, for Leary had not yet been dismissed as a menace to society. Participants remember it as an idyllic place. The interior and exterior of the big house, as the main mansion was called, were covered with psychedelic murals, and visitors were frequently treated to the sight of jazz trumpeter Maynard Ferguson pattering in the garden or society matrons high on one of a variety of controlled substances.

Tumult had become Leary's operating paradigm. He already had the rebel's instinct for jumping into the fray, and his experience at Harvard had reaffirmed his conviction that to buck the authorities was

his destiny. Thus, after being busted for marijuana possession while en route to Mexico with his new wife, Rosemary, and his two children, he returned to Millbrook full of plans to further expand the consciousness revolution. He met with Marshall McLuhan, who told him to keep a positive profile and use the tools of Madison Avenue to make his case, singing "Lysergic Acid hits the spot, 40 billion neurons, that's a lot." Not long afterwards, Leary coined his famous phrase, "Turn on, tune in, drop out," which was taken up as a standard in the burgeoning hippie movement. Psychedelic usage was spreading like wild fire, and like the officials at Harvard, it was not so much the danger to life and limb that state authorities objected to as the moral changes LSD usage seemed to inspire.

Leary's metamorphosis from drug researcher to counterculture guru was not a pleasant one. By year's end, LSD was illegal, with no visible effect on the drug's availability. LSD's illegality only heightened its allure, and incidence of adverse reactions grew to epidemic proportion. The new breed of psychedelic aficionados knew no more about Leary and his theories than that one singular phrase; he was put in the uncomfortable position of being blamed for the hippies while having little authority among them. He continued to lobby for sensible drug policies, but the situation was far beyond his control. For the remainder of the decade, Leary would be more or less sidelined in the debate, although as an icon, he was omnipresent. He

became a familiar figure in books, posters, and on the radio. The Moody Blues eulogized him in a song whose opening lines went: “Timothy Leary is dead / no nana no / he’s on the outside looking inside”—they had little way of knowing how prescient their lyrics were. Leary continued appearing at various events from the first human Be-In to Altamont, even running for governor of California in 1968, but with the myriad drug cases hanging over his head, he was a man preoccupied. He knew his time was running short.

With the close of the decade, Leary’s role as a guru ended, and a new role, as fugitive, began. In January of 1970, he was imprisoned, looking at 20 years to life, and with Nixon in the White House, he had little doubt he would do the time. Nine months later, he was a fugitive, escaping from jail with the aid of the Weathermen Underground, fleeing the country to uneasy sanctuary in Algeria where members of the Black Panther Party had set up a United States Government-in-Exile. Tim and Rosemary were eventually placed under house arrest by the Panthers before escaping to a temporary asylum in Switzerland. In 1972, Leary was finally apprehended in Afghanistan and remanded to United States custody, where he served time in several federal and state prisons before being released in the winter of 1975. Leary remarried and spent the rest of his life developing interactive software; he was also interested in the Internet and space travel. He continued to lecture, appearing for a time in debates with his ex-nemesis, Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy, and aside from a midnight raid of his Laurel Canyon home, his last years of his life were free of controversy. He died of cancer in May of 1996. Fittingly, his final resting place is in orbit; his ashes were shot into space from an island off the coast of Morocco.

Leary holds a paradoxical position in the history of American culture. His confederates blamed him for the abrupt cessation of LSD research funding, and it is possible that his reckless behavior was the reason for the abrupt cessation of the research engine. But for Leary, it was a matter of losing the battle and winning the war. In becoming an advocate for hallucinogens on a grand scale, he thought he was goading America’s psychological evolution, as opposed to staying in the sterile environment of the laboratory. If ultimately he misjudged the efficacy of his tactics, that, too, is part and parcel of the man himself. Leary was the first to confess his naivete. By addressing himself directly to the baby boomers, he lost the support of the scientific establishment, and a great deal of his credibility, but for a brief time he was the spiritual leader to a generation. In a way, Leary played out the ancient role of the prophet, and he paid the price. History alone will decide whether he was a savant or addled by the very drugs he advocated.

—Michael Baers

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Least Heat Moon, William (1939—)

In 1978 William Trogdon (who writes as William Least Heat Moon) was an obscure English teacher whose job and marriage were falling to pieces around him. Seeking to cope with his feelings of isolation and alienation, Least Heat Moon set out on a three-month, thirteen-thousand mile journey on the back roads—the blue highways—of America. Following his Osage background, he travelled clockwise around the country (“That’s the Indian way.”), interviewing locals and occasionally photographing them. His record of his journey, published as *Blue Highways: A Journey Into America* (1982), was a surprise publishing sensation, winning several awards and remaining on the *New York Times* bestseller list for 34 weeks. Unlike other famous American “road” books—such as Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* (1957), John Steinbeck’s *Travels with Charley* (1962), Tom Wolfe’s *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968), and Robert Pirsig’s *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974)—*Blue Highways* combined real insights into the human experience with a tone that was modest and intensely personal. After this memorable book came *PrairieEarth* (1991), an in-depth study of Chase County, Kansas, its people and history. He has also contributed, as journalist and photographer, to numerous publications.

—Samuel I. Bellman

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Leather Jacket

Few pieces of clothing carry the rich connotations of the leather jacket, especially when it is the personality-laden black motorcycle style. Since the prehistoric era, people have worn leather, but in the twentieth century, the black leather jacket became the symbol of the outlaw when it was used as protective outerwear for motorcycle enthusiasts. Marlon Brando exemplified the style in the film *The Wild One*, and the coat became a necessity for Hell’s Angels and other bikers who emblazoned their club’s name on the back. Rock stars and punks later latched on to this “bad boy” image of black leather, but leather jackets eventually found mainstream favor when manufacturers began creating leather in a variety of styles and colors, such as the brown bomber jacket and haute couture skirts and blazers. The mystique of the original biker style, however, endures.

—Geri Speace

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Leave It to Beaver

Leave It to Beaver was one of a number of family situation comedies that proliferated on the small screen in the 1950s and 1960s. Along with *Father Knows Best*, *The Donna Reed Show*, and *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Leave It to Beaver* portrayed the trials and tribulations of everyday life in an American suburb. The difference between *Leave It to Beaver* and the other shows was that it told its stories (all 234 of them) from the point of view of the youngest family member, Theodore “Beaver” Cleaver. Through the eyes of a child, life in the postwar economic boom was simple and sweet. Problems arose, but they were always resolved by a kind and loving family working together.

Leave It to Beaver debuted in the spring of 1957 as a pilot called *It’s a Small World*. When the series premiered in the fall of that year, it starred Jerry Mathers as Beaver, an adorable seven-year-old boy whose actions, no matter how well-intended, always seemed to land him in some kind of hot water. Tony Dow played Wally, Beaver’s twelve-year-old brother. Wally was the quintessential all-American boy, a popular athlete with a healthy interest in girls. Barbara Billingsley played mother June, the patient, understanding housewife who seemed to do all of her housework in high heels and pearls. Hugh Beaumont played Ward Cleaver, the wise and patient father who commuted to work in his business suit, but was always home in time for dinner. They were a perfect American family—devoted parents, well-behaved, polite children, and a beautiful home in Mayfield, U.S.A., complete with white picket fence. No one ever really fought.



The cast of *Leave It to Beaver* (clockwise from top): Tony Dow, Hugh Beaumont, Jerry Mathers, and Barbara Billingsley.

Ward and June were completely supportive of each other and of the boys. The boys learned all of their lessons gently.

One of the most memorable characters that the series spawned was Eddie Haskell, played by Ken Osmond. Eddie was an obsequious weasel. He was a friend of Wally’s who feigned respect and admiration when dealing with parents and adults, while behaving like a rat to young Beaver and his friends. He wasn’t really smart enough to pull it off though, and most of the adults on the show saw through his ruse. His questionable character was explained by the occasional appearance of his family, which proved that the apple never really fell very far from the tree. Though he was slimy, Eddie never really posed a threat to Wally’s good character. Wally and everyone else knew what he was and what motivated him.

Leave It to Beaver is perhaps better remembered by the audiences who saw it as reruns in the 1980s and 1990s than by 1950s/1960s television viewers. Though it did run for five seasons (first on CBS and later on ABC), it was never rated in Nielsen’s top 20 for the years it was originally broadcast. Those years belonged to cowboys and pioneers in shows like *Gunsmoke*, *Wagon Train*, *Bonanza*, and *The Rifleman*. In the same way that the television audiences of 1957–63 seemed to be indulging in the nostalgia of the old American west, audiences of the Reagan years seemed to be indulging in the nostalgia of 1950s America. In syndicated reruns, *Leave It to Beaver* became something of a cult phenomenon. The suburban American life of a nuclear family in the 1950s and early 1960s seen through the eyes of an innocent seemed to strike a chord with Americans in the 1980s.

A testament to its resurgence in popularity, a reunion show was filmed in 1983. Again, it is difficult to deny the irony, as the TV movie *Still the Beaver* showed viewers an unemployed, nearly divorced 33-year-old Beaver facing the reality of raising two slightly troublesome sons on his own. Wally, though a successful attorney married to his high school sweetheart, had no children and had problems of his own dealing with an unscrupulous contractor named Eddie Haskell. June Cleaver was still around, and still trying to help, but she didn’t have the commanding wisdom of the deceased Ward Cleaver, who could make everything right with a few words of advice in the 1950s. An idyllic childhood did not insure that the Cleaver boys would grow up and live unquestionably happy lives. The happy, sun-filled days in Mayfield did not foreshadow June Cleaver’s future as a widow, and father didn’t know best anymore.

Due to the success of the television movie, in 1985 Disney produced a new series with the same name. In the series, Beaver is divorced and living at home with June and his two sons. In 1986, the series was bought by WTBS and renamed *The New Leave It to Beaver*. It ran until 1989. In 1997, a major Hollywood bomb of a film based on the original series was released. Beaver apparently was not as appealing in 1997 as in the early 1980s.

—Joyce Linehan

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Mathers, Jerry, with Herb Fagen. —*And Jerry Mathers as “The Beaver.”* New York, Berkley Boulevard, 1998.

Led Zeppelin

One of the all-time greatest rock bands, Led Zeppelin formed in 1968 with Jimmy Page (formerly of the Yardbirds) on guitar, Robert Plant as vocalist, John Bonham on drums, and John Paul Jones on bass/keyboards. They found success with their self-titled first album in 1969, which contained heavy blues-driven rock songs that carried a frightening manic edge never before heard in popular music. Their second album, *Led Zeppelin II*, (1969), brought further success buoyed by top ten single, “Whole Lotta Love.” The old-time blues and acoustic tunes on *Led Zeppelin III* (1970) were less popular than earlier efforts, but Zeppelin returned the following year with their most acclaimed work ever. *Led Zeppelin IV* (a.k.a. *Zoso*, 1971) contained the fiery “Black Dog” and the nostalgic, dreamy epic, “Stairway to Heaven,” which remains among the most loved and respected songs in all popular music, routinely voted #1 on all-time best lists, possessing a status and reputation unlikely ever to be equaled.

Impressively, Zeppelin was able to maintain their high level of success. The well-balanced *Houses of the Holy* (1973) showed a funk and reggae influence and is considered by many to be the band’s all-around best album. The double album, *Physical Graffiti* (1975), was Zeppelin’s most diverse album, containing some of their most beautiful acoustic pieces (such as “bron-Yr-Aur”), as well some of their most driving and powerful epics (such as “Kashmir”). In subsequent years, Zeppelin released the heavy *Presence* (1976), the live *The Song Remains the Same*, (1976), and the melodic *In Through the Out Door* (1979). Tragedy struck in 1980 when Bonham died of asphyxiation after a bout of drinking. The band was forced to break up, although Page and Plant both went on to further success; Page doing soundtracks and playing in his group The Firm; Plant was very popular during the 1980s with solo albums and with his group The Honeydrippers. Page and Plant occasionally played as a duo, appearing on MTV’s *Unplugged*.

Led Zeppelin’s music is quite diverse. As the icons of 1970s hard rock, they are best known for the scorching guitar work, screeching vocals, pounding drums, and the driving beats of their heaviest songs; but their repertoire includes lilting love songs, covers of traditional folk and blues songs, and standard rock ‘n’ roll. Some Zeppelin songs explore Tolkienesque fantasy elements, others show a freewheeling spirit of hippy adventure and fun, while still others show a sad, mystic longing for joys gone and times past.



Led Zeppelin (from left): John Paul Jones, Robert Plant, Jimmy Page, and John Bonham.

Zeppelin albums have been innovative not just with content but with design. The sleeve of *Physical Graffiti* displayed various objects and personages who could be made to appear and disappear in various “windows,” while the sleeve of *Led Zeppelin III* was a moveable psychedelic pinwheel; and *Led Zeppelin IV* appeared with no band or title information anywhere on the jacket. *In Through The Out Door* came wrapped in brown paper and was released with six different covers; the album’s inner sleeve changed colors when dampened. Mysterious symbols on album covers, mysterious song titles, and a general avoidance of interviews all led to a sense that the band and its music were filled with deep, hidden meanings. Hostile critics feared that these meanings were Satanic, leading to the false but widespread rumor that “Stairway to Heaven” contained pro-Satan messages when played backwards on a turntable.

Zeppelin tours were hugely popular in the mid 1970s, with powerful drum solos by Bonham, grotesque guitar solos by Page (some of which featured Page scraping his guitar strings with a violin bow), and the sweaty sex-appeal of bare-chested Plant. At their peak of popularity (1973-76), Zeppelin regularly played to stadium and arena crowds of 50,000 plus. The excellent *Song Remains The Same* movie (released in 1976 alongside the album) features heavy jamming, extended solos from Page and Bonham, and a quartet of remarkable quasi-videos, each of which features one of the band members on a personal adventure, with Zeppelin songs comprising the backgrounds.

Led Zeppelin’s impact on popular music has been tremendous. Along with Black Sabbath, Zeppelin is considered one of the forefathers of blues-based hard rock in general and of Heavy Metal in particular, their legacy apparent in groups such as Kiss, Queen, Rush, Iron Maiden, and Metallica. Led Zeppelin are also among the forefathers of 1990s Seattle Grunge music, with echoes to be found in groups such as Nirvana, Pearl Jam, Mudhoney, and Soundgarden. Through the 1980s and 1990s, Zeppelin has remained among the most popular rock bands, continuing to sell albums and to receive regular radio airplay. In the 1990s, Atlantic Records released remastered versions of all Zeppelin’s albums, as well as two boxed sets, a 10-CD set of complete recordings, and various documentary and concert videos. Continuing publications of books, websites, and fan magazines in both the United States and United Kingdom are an ongoing testament to the status of Led Zeppelin as one of the top all-time legendary bands in rock.

—Dave Goldweber

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Ledbetter, Huddie

See Leadbelly

Lee, Bruce (1940-1973)

Bruce Lee was born Lee Yuen Kam in San Francisco’s Jackson Street Hospital on the evening of November 27, 1940 between the hours of 6:00 and 8:00, significantly in both the hour and year of the Dragon. The fourth son of Grace Li, a Chinese woman whose ancestry was one-quarter British, and Li Hoi Chuen, a star of the classical Chinese opera, Lee’s name meant “Protector of San Francisco.” The circumstances of his birth in the Chinatown district of San Francisco under the sign of royalty are appropriate to a man who spent his career poised between two continents and acting as a conduit for cultural exchange, both by introducing American audiences to Chinese martial culture and by working to bring western technology to a nascent Chinese film industry. Lee enjoyed a stellar film career cut short by his sudden and untimely death. Much like other American youth icons such as James Dean, Buddy Holly, and Jim Morrison, however, Lee’s death at the pinnacle of his popularity and in the prime of his talent led to the buildup of a death cult that has added to the imposing image of the martial arts master as a powerful mystique, guaranteeing the indelible impression of that image onto the American cultural consciousness.

Besides his film exploits, Lee became one of the premier martial arts instructors in the United States. He introduced his students, which included celebrities like James Garner, Roman Polanski, and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, to both Kung Fu (almost entirely unknown in America at the time) and his own martial art of Jeet Kune Do—a combination of styles including those of Kung Fu, Thai kick-boxing, and American boxing. Early on in his career as an instructor, he broke new ground by teaching Kung Fu to non-Asians—a manifestation of his strong desire to spread knowledge of Chinese culture to the United States. His efforts proved fruitful: the success of the martial arts schools he founded has resulted in the continued widespread popularity of martial arts instruction in America.

Lee began his on-screen career at an early age: he was given his first film role at the age of three months as a female infant in *Golden Gate Girl*, filmed in San Francisco shortly before his family left the United States to return to their home in Hong Kong. While growing up, he appeared in over 20 more films. It was during this period that he became known to Chinese film audiences as Lee Siu Lung, “The Little Dragon.” At 13, motivated by the desire to defend himself against the assaults of Hong Kong street gangs, he began his education in Kung Fu under the direction of Yip Man of the Wing Chun school of Kung Fu. His strength and grace were immediately apparent, and by the time he was 18, Bruce was a champion tournament fighter.

In 1959, Lee’s parents, fearing for his safety, sent him to the United States after he had gotten into a string of street fights. He returned to his birthplace in San Francisco and began working odd jobs and studying to get his high school diploma. He used what little spare time he had to teach martial arts in city parks and from his own backyard. In 1961 he started college as a philosophy major at the



Bruce Lee

University of Washington, where he taught Kung Fu to other students and wrote an undergraduate thesis on his own fighting style of Jeet Kune Do.

Lee became occupied with efforts to expand the scope of his martial arts instruction, but he did not decisively act upon that desire until he had fallen in love with his future wife, Linda Emery. They had met at the University of Washington, where Linda was also a student, and as their relationship progressed, it soon became apparent to Lee that he needed to consider more seriously the future of his career if they were to be financially secure. He thus set out to open his own martial arts school—the Jun Fan Kung-Fu Institute. Although his investment of time and money seemed precarious at the start, his reputation spread quickly, and in less than a year he had opened a second Jun Fan Kung-Fu school and attracted the attention of television producer William Dozier.

In 1965, Dozier signed Lee on to a one-year option for the series *The Green Hornet*, choosing him to assume the role of the Green Hornet's sidekick Kato. When the series premiered in 1966, he received wide publicity for the uncommonly graceful and skillful way

he performed the stunts required of him for his role. To his chagrin, however, articles often made careless errors (referring to him most often as a “Karate master”) and either ignored or made light of the spiritual significance of the martial arts he practiced. By the time *The Green Hornet* was canceled in 1967, Lee had become somewhat discouraged with such misrepresentations, a feeling only amplified by his relative failure to find work thereafter.

A serious injury in 1970 resulted in months of rehabilitation and afforded Lee the time to document his philosophy of martial arts. The next year, disillusioned by rejection and racism in the American film and television industry, he returned to Hong Kong film with *The Big Boss* (1971; also known as *Fists of Fury*), which broke all box office records in that country. Over the next three years, Lee starred in his best-known films, *The Way of the Dragon* (1972; released in the United States under the title of *The Return of the Dragon*) and *Enter the Dragon* (1973), continuing the trend of success started by *The Big Boss*.

On July 20, 1973, Lee complained of a headache while visiting the apartment of Betty Ting Pei, a Hong Kong actress with whom he

was developing a film project. After taking a dose of pain killer from Pei's prescription—Equagesic—he laid down on her bed and lost consciousness. When he could not be revived, Lee was rushed to the hospital, where he was pronounced dead. Two funerals were held for Bruce Lee—one in Hong Kong for his throngs of Chinese fans, and a smaller ceremony in Seattle, Washington, for his friends and family. Soon, reports circulated in the media that he had died of an overdose of illegal drugs. There was speculation that he had been murdered by gangsters or by an underground society of Kung Fu devotees angered by his practice of teaching the art to non-Chinese. The official coroner's report, though, stated that he died of a massive allergic reaction to Equagesic.

The rumors, however, never died. Over time, the various speculations about his death have fallen under the title of "The Curse of the Dragon," adding a tinge of the supernatural to his already legendary status. Such a mystique, though, has had ample soil in which to grow. The popularity of his films set the stage and the standard for a Hong Kong film industry that in the 1990s ranked among the most successful and innovative in the world, and he has been the inspiration of generations of American youth seeking formal training in the martial arts. His fame has given momentum to an active cultural dialogue by means of which both Chinese and American pop culture have influenced one another and thereby been transformed.

—Manuel V. Cabrera Jr.

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Lee, Gypsy Rose (1914-1970)

Even to those who have never seen and would never consider seeing a strip show, the name Gypsy Rose Lee conjures up a glittering image. In the parlance of her trade, Lee was part "parade stripper" and part "society stripper." She invented the intellectual striptease performance and took stripping out of the dingy burlesque halls and into the high-toned venues of Broadway. Though she was notorious for her inability to sing or dance, Lee was a natural performer who knew how to control an audience with timing, humor, and sex appeal. In the 1940s, *Variety's* J.P. McEvoy described Lee's act as a "burlesque of burlesque—literally more tease than strip."

Lee was born Rose Louise Hovick in Seattle, Washington, on January 9, 1914. Her father was a cub reporter for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, and her mother was an amateur performer with big ambitions. Shortly after the birth of Lee's sister, June, in 1916, Lee's mother took the girls and left their father. By the time Lee was five, both girls were enrolled in dancing school and soon afterwards began their careers singing and dancing on the grueling vaudeville circuit. Though later Lee would spin yarns about studying ballet, sociology, and anthropology at the Imperial School in Moscow, she actually had little formal schooling. Her mother falsified papers and lied about the girls' ages to stay one step ahead of the truant officer and keep the children on the stage. June Hovick eventually left her controlling mother to go on to a successful Broadway career, leaving her sister to perfect her striptease on the bump-and-grind stages of burlesque. Gypsy, who got her nickname from a fondness for fortune-telling, got her big break in 1937 when she did her strip in the Ziegfeld Follies.

A master of creating image and effect, Lee managed to exemplify the stripper in the public imagination without exposing her naked body for more than a second or two at a time. "Bare flesh bores men," she said, and went about finding a way to keep audiences interested while keeping her own dignity intact. Considering zippers inelegant, she outfitted her clothes with snaps, used rubber cement to attach her lace stockings to her legs, secured her g-string with unbreakable dental floss, and covered it all with an evening gown, gloves, fur coat, and jewels. By the time Lee had pranced and joked her way down to her underwear, the audience was hers. Leaving nothing to chance, Lee sometimes paid a woman in the audience to scream or a waiter to drop a tray as she dramatically removed her brassiere a split second before the lights went out and the laughter and applause thundered.

When H.L. Mencken dubbed Lee an "ecdysiast" from the Greek word for one who sheds, it inspired Lee to take an intellectual approach to her craft, and she began to sprinkle her act with quotes from the likes of Spinoza and Aldous Huxley, creating the paradoxical "intellectual strip." Audiences loved her. When she performed at the 1939 New York World's Fair, she drew crowds as large as 17,500, more than President Franklin Roosevelt and politician Wendell Wilkie combined.

In 1937, Twentieth Century Fox's Darryl F. Zanuck signed Lee to a \$2000 a week contract to make movies with her clothes on. Outcries from such conservative groups such as the Catholic Legion of Decency forced her to use her non-stripping name, Louise Hovick, for her movie roles, but she was not skilled as an actor and later believed that going to Hollywood had been a "big mistake." Though Lee projected an elegant, sophisticated image in her act, she was really a hard-boiled trouper from small-town vaudeville stages. Her lowbrow vaudevillian sensibility did not fit in with many of the actors who wanted to be viewed as upper class.

Lee continued to manage her image into a profitable career. In the 1940s, she became a best-selling author with *The G-String Murders*, and in 1957 wrote her own memoirs, which were made into the popular musical *Gypsy*. Her quick wit and salty humor placed her in demand as a panelist on television shows and she had her own syndicated talk show in the 1960s. She was diagnosed with lung cancer in 1969 and died the next year.

Gypsy Rose Lee was full of contradictions—she was at once the intellectual stripper, the poor glamour girl, and the rich, successful entertainer who cooked on a hot plate in her hotel room to save



Gypsy Rose Lee

money. Though always a figure of romance, she had three failed marriages. But with faultless showmanship and pure brass, she created a persona that eclipsed the real Louise Hovick and outlived her. And she added an icon to American culture that will not be soon forgotten.

—Tina Gianoulis

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See *To Kill a Mockingbird*

Lee, Manfred B.

See Queen, Ellery

Lee, Peggy (1920—)

The adage that “less is more” sums up Peggy Lee’s style as a singer and performer of the American popular song. With her assured stage presence and vocal perfectionism, Lee has captured a devoted audience over a career that spans more than 50 years. Songs like “Fever” and “Is That All There Is?” are instantly identifiable with Lee, even by those who are unfamiliar with the rest of her repertoire.

Born Norma Delores Egstrom in Jamestown, North Dakota, Lee’s childhood and adolescence were marked by family hardships, including the death of her mother when Lee was four, an alcoholic father, and a stepmother who was cruel and physically abusive. But throughout this desolate period, as Lee reported to writer Gene Lees, “I’d sing in the fields and I’d talk to the trees.” This aura of self-sufficiency has remained Lee’s hallmark throughout her career.

Lee received her first break as a singer on a radio station in Fargo, North Dakota. She later moved with a friend to try her luck in California but, after a period of illness, low-paying jobs, and a near abduction into white slavery, she returned to the Midwest. In 1941, Benny Goodman heard Lee sing at the Ambassador West Hotel in Chicago. As luck would have it, singer Helen Forrest was about to leave Goodman’s band, so he hired Lee as her replacement. Singing with Goodman’s band, Lee began a successful career as a recording artist. Among her hits with Goodman during the 1940s were “How Deep Is the Ocean?,” “My Old Flame,” and “Why Don’t You Do Right?”

In 1942, Lee married Goodman’s guitarist Dave Barbour, with whom she co-wrote three songs—“It’s a Good Day,” “Don’t Know Enough About You,” and “Mañana.” Although they were later divorced and Lee married two more times, Barbour remained the love



Peggy Lee

of her life and an important musical influence. Other collaborations with Barbour as arranger and conductor included “Fever” and the albums *Black Coffee* and *Beauty and the Beat*, which were among Lee’s most celebrated work.

During the 1950s, Lee was active in films, both performing songs and taking on acting roles. She appeared in *The Jazz Singer* (1953), with Danny Thomas, and *Pete Kelly’s Blues* (1955), for which she was nominated for an Academy Award as Best Supporting Actress. In Walt Disney’s animated *Lady and the Tramp*, Lee provided the voice for several feline characters and wrote the song “He’s a Tramp.”

Lee performed extensively in concert halls, clubs, and on television in the years that followed, appearing with such major entertainers as Nat King Cole, Bing Crosby, and Frank Sinatra. Lee also claimed as friends numerous musicians of a later era, including Paul McCartney. Her live appearances slowed down in the 1980s after complications from diabetes, lung ailments, and double bypass surgery. Lee’s long-awaited, autobiographical Broadway musical, *Peg*, proved a disappointment, opening and closing in one night in 1983. Soon thereafter, Lee’s fall on a Las Vegas stage resulted in a broken pelvis, confining her to a wheelchair in performances to come.

Nevertheless, Lee continued to perform, albeit on a somewhat limited scale. A younger audience was becoming aware of her gifts for gesture, nuance, and subtle sexual appeal. Writer Stephen Holden described Lee’s “pastel shadings,” her “air of perpetual dreaminess,” and her “heart-tugging fragility and mystical resilience.” *Village Voice* columnist Michael Musto referred to “those ‘fever all

through the night' tones that could turn a gay man straight." In her autobiography, *Miss Peggy Lee* (1989), Lee wrote, "You can bet on it! I plan to do another turn or two . . . and if the body is a little bit reluctant, I *know* the spirit is willing."

—Sue Russell

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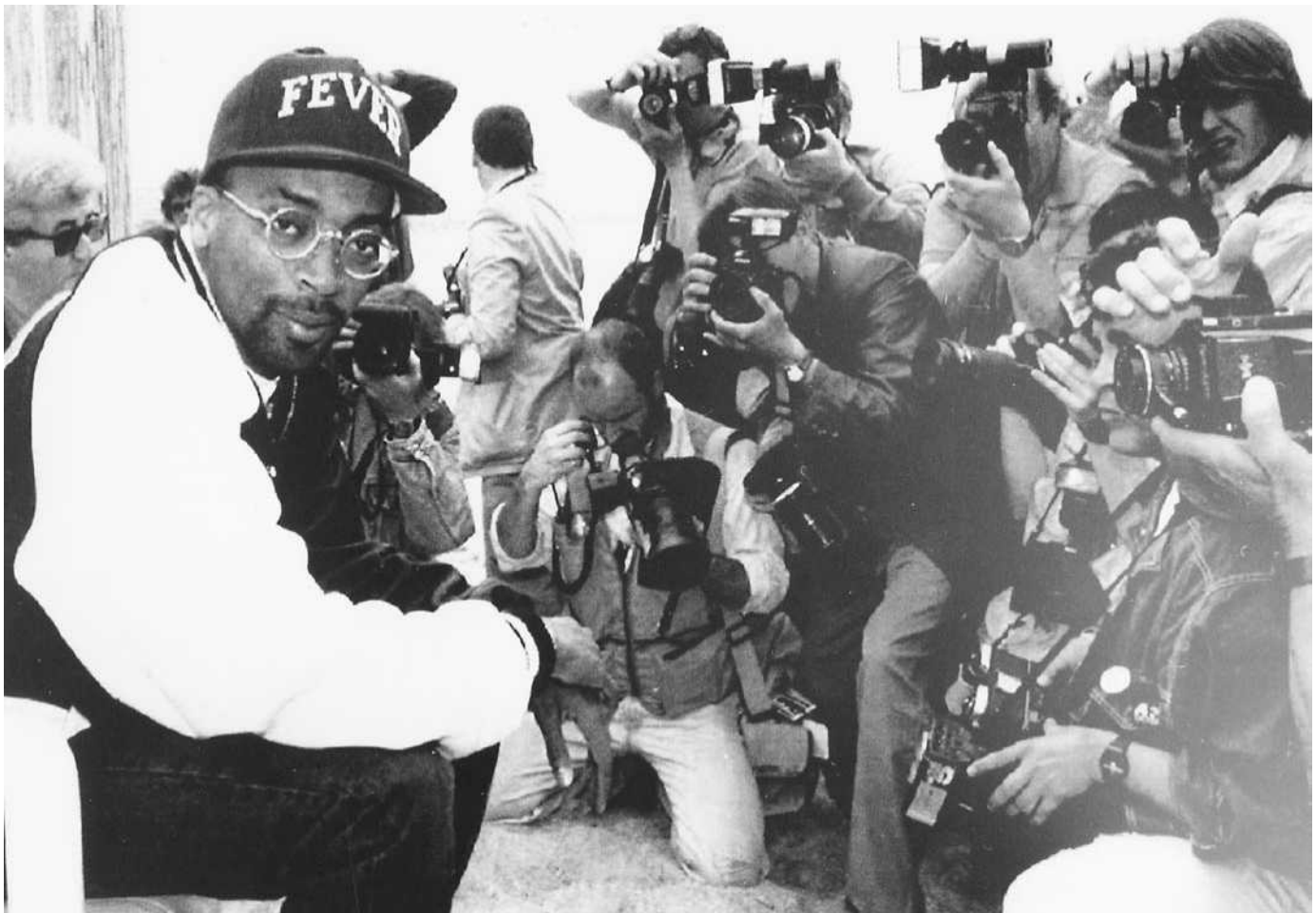
Lee, Spike (1957—)

A controversial artist and a wizard at self-promotion, Spike Lee became America's best known African-American filmmaker in the

1980s. By the end of the 1990s, Lee became widely recognized in critical circles as one of the top five most important filmmakers in America. With a string of provocative films dealing as never before with the complexity of contemporary African-American urban life, Lee helped energize the spirit of independent filmmaking in the United States. Over time, Spike Lee managed to become one of the most highly visible celebrities in America through his entrepreneurial ventures, his controversial statements in the media, and his daring artistic achievements in film.

The filmmaker was born Shelton Jackson Lee on March 20, 1957 in Atlanta. His parents relocated to Brooklyn, New York, in 1959. During his early childhood in the 1960s, Lee spent many of his summers visiting relatives in the South, where he encountered vicious displays of racial segregation. As he grew older, Lee borrowed from these experiences to create films that would come to explore the detrimental effects of bigotry on the cultural fabric of American life.

After studying communications at Morehouse College in the mid-1970s, Lee undertook graduate studies at New York University's film school. Upon graduation in 1982, Lee received the Student Academy Award for his third-year thesis project, *Joe's Bed-Stuy Barbershop: We Cut Heads*. Despite the critical acclaim generated for his student film, Lee found himself unable to raise significant money for a feature project. The budding filmmaker remained determined,



Spike Lee at the 44th International Cannes Film Festival.

however. Lee claims that the experience “cemented in my mind what I always thought all along: that I would have to go out and do it alone, not rely on anyone else.”

The director’s independent spirit served him well in the years following his graduation from school. By 1986, Lee had amassed the financial and emotional support of his friends in order to write, produce, direct, edit, and co-star in his first feature, *She’s Gotta Have It*. Inspired by the unprecedented success of Prince’s *Purple Rain* (1984), *She’s Gotta Have It* marked a drastic change in the climate of filmmaking in the United States. Financed using creative ingenuity, *She’s Gotta Have It* contrasted typical films of the era through its use of aggressive filmmaking techniques and its decision to portray the subtleties of African-American life. The film was a huge success for an independent feature, drawing lines around the block in its cinematic presentation in New York.

She’s Gotta Have It earned Lee a major prize at the prestigious Cannes Film Festival. Yet the film received equal amounts of glowing praise and stinging criticism, as would most of Lee’s work to follow. A number of white critics found the film to be unrealistic in comparison to previous films dealing with African-American subject matter. A handful of African-American female critics also took issue with Spike Lee’s portrayal of the female lead character. Nonetheless, the film proved the commercial clout of African-American audiences who wanted to see realistic portrayals instead of rote stereotypes. It also put a number of African-Americans who had been previously excluded from film jobs to work behind-the-scenes as cinematographers, designers, and costumers. Eventually, the success of *She’s Gotta Have It* helped launch a black new wave of filmmaking. Often referred to as “New Jack Cinema,” this movement brought to visibility a series of young black male artists who wrote screenplays and directed films about their personal experiences around African-American identity.

Lee followed *She’s Gotta Have It* with *School Daze* (1988), a contentious musical comedy dealing with the politics of skin color on a historically black college campus. His next film *Do the Right Thing* (1989) marked the beginning of Lee’s association with Universal Pictures and proved to be a watershed moment in the director’s career. An inflammatory tale of racism in Brooklyn’s Bedford-Stuyvesant neighborhood, *Do the Right Thing* grossed over thirty million dollars and was heralded by many critics. Some, however, felt that the film’s dubious message would provoke rather than amend racial violence. *Do the Right Thing* received the L.A. Film Critics Award for picture, director, and screenplay. Yet the acclaimed film was virtually ignored at the Academy Awards, earning Lee only a single nomination for Best Screenplay. Despite this mixed reception, it was clear that the director had gained new levels of visibility in American society. In fact, Lee became known in the media for his open criticism of black celebrities whom he felt had neglected their racial communities. Soon after the release of *Do the Right Thing*, the director began to earn a reputation for his flamboyant, off-the-cuff remarks in the media around issues of race.

In the years to follow, the sharp-tongued director continued to make movies about African-American life that intended to enlighten audiences. *Mo’ Better Blues* (1990) was a tale of a black jazz musician (played by Denzel Washington) and his relationship with two women. The film fared moderately at the box office but drew sharp criticism for its portrayals of Jews. A cautionary tale of interracial desire,

Jungle Fever (1991) made a box office impact. Yet the film was overshadowed by other films from the movement of “New Jack Cinema” that Spike Lee had helped to generate, including John Singleton’s acclaimed *Boyz ‘n’ the Hood* (1991).

Lee finally won the rights in the early 1990s to undertake his most ambitious project: a film biography of the great Muslim civil rights leader Malcolm X, starring Denzel Washington. The project marked the first time an epic film of such scope had employed a black director and a black leading star. Yet even before its release, *Malcolm X* received negative critical attention from African-American critics who felt Lee was only interested in commercializing the civil rights legend for his own personal gain. When Lee eventually ran into financial trouble and could not finish the film, he received charitable donations from a number of prominent black celebrities, including Oprah Winfrey and Prince. Upon release in 1992, the lavish and accomplished film earned its money back. But despite much publicity, the film failed to amass major awards or other critical attention.

After *Malcolm X*, Lee returned to films smaller in scope and size but still rich in content and theme. Cowritten by his siblings, *Crooklyn* (1994) was Lee’s semi-autobiographical tale of his childhood in 1970s Brooklyn. After fathering his first child with wife Tonya Lewis, Lee then filmed *Clockers* (1994) and *Girl 6* (1995). *Get on the Bus* (1995), a low-budget feature about the historic Million Man March, marked Lee’s return to independent forms of film production.

As the commercial viability of his films waned, Lee’s skills at self-promotion and his entrepreneurial ambitions kept him in the public limelight. By the late 1980s, Lee had launched a self-merchandising store in Brooklyn, and he had begun to direct music videos for artists like Tracy Chapman and Public Enemy. He directed and co-starred in a popular series of Nike commercials with Michael Jordan and he established a music division from his production company, 40 Acres and Mule. In the late 1990s, Lee authored a book about his love for basketball and he formed a merger with DDB Needham, a major advertising firm. In 1998, Spike Lee released *He Got Game* for Disney’s Touchstone Pictures. The film centered around the director’s central pre-occupations, in and out of the spotlight: fatherhood, basketball, and celebrities. Re-teaming Denzel Washington with Spike Lee, *He Got Game* became the director’s first film to open at number one on the box office charts and it also received extensive critical praise.

Although Lee has been criticized for his controversial films and statements in the media, he has helped changed the segregated nature of filmmaking by bringing African-American talent to the fore. While highly contentious, Lee’s films have helped expand conversation in American society around the issue of racial prejudice, often allowing audiences new ways of seeing the plight of black people in the contemporary moment. Lee’s films have been widely praised for providing positive images of black people that have managed to counteract the history of previous stereotypes in Hollywood. A visionary artist and a highly visible figure in American popular culture, Lee has left an indelible legacy.

—Jason King

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Lee, Stan (1922—)

As a writer, editor, and promoter Stan Lee revitalized comic books, created pop culture icons, and, in the process, became “comicon’s” first celebrity. Yet, before he made his mark on the industry and the culture, Lee spent 20 years toiling in obscurity.

Young Stanley Lieber, who had won the *New York Herald Tribune* essay contest for three consecutive years, had visions of being a great writer. After graduating from high school, the 17-year-old Lieber took what he thought would be a temporary job with Timely Comics (a company owned by his cousin-in-law, Martin Goodman). At first, the job consisted mostly of proofreading, sharpening pencils, and making coffee, but by the middle of the following year young Lieber did his first writing for comic books—a two page text piece in *Captain America* number 3. He signed the work “Stan



Stan Lee and Sandra Hess

Lee.” It was the first use of the pen name that he would eventually make his legal name. A few months later, Lee wrote his first comic book script for a short, back-up story in *Captain America* number 5.

Although Lee was realizing his dream of becoming a professional writer, he soon expected to outgrow the crude medium of comic books. Circumstances conspired against him. Timely Comics editors Joe Simon and Jack Kirby left the company to work at DC Comics, leaving the talented young Lee to take their place. Although the name of the company changed repeatedly (Goodman used at least 50 corporate names for his publishing venture), Lee remained editor and chief writer for the next 30 years. For the first 20 years, he churned out mediocre comics in whatever genres were popular at the moment—he kept thinking that he would eventually quit comics and move on to “legitimate” writing.

Rather than outgrowing the comics, Lee forced comic books to grow up to suit him. By 1960, he was tired of following trends and crawling out hack work. In general, the comic book industry was in a slump, and Goodman’s company, going by Atlas Comics at the time, appeared on the verge of folding. When instructed by Goodman to follow another trend and mimic DC’s successful superhero team book, *Justice League of America*, Lee told his wife Joan that he was really going to quit this time. In an interview in *Comic Book Marketplace*, Stan Lee paraphrased his wife’s response: “If you want to quit anyway why don’t you do the book he wants, but do it the way you’d like to do it, and the worst that could happen is he’ll fire you . . . and you want to quit anyway.” He followed her advice, and the result, which appeared in 1961, was *The Fantastic Four*.

The basic premise of the superhero team was borrowed, but the execution was brilliant. In collaboration with Jack Kirby, Lee made *The Fantastic Four* grander, wackier, and at the same time, more human than anything the competition was producing. Most of the grandeur came from the imagination and pencil of Jack Kirby, but the humanity and the sense of fun came from the dialogue and captions written by Stan Lee. Lee and Kirby followed this initial success with the creation of The Hulk and Thor in 1962 and the X-Men in 1963. Working with artist Steve Ditko in 1962, Lee produced his most famous creation, Spider-Man. Publisher Martin Goodman thought that no one would want to read about a high school science nerd who gained the powers of something as creepy as a spider. He only allowed Lee to run the story in *Amazing Fantasy* number 15 because the title was being canceled. That was indeed the final issue of *Amazing Fantasy*, but the sales figures on that issue were so strong that Spider-Man appeared in his own title the following year.

Before 1961, comic book superheroes had one-dimensional, virtually interchangeable personalities and lived formulaic lives. When Lee’s heroes are not defending the earth from weird menaces, however, they lead lives much like other New Yorkers (Lee’s stories were set in the real world, not fictional cities such as Metropolis). They have trouble hailing cabs, get razzed by teenage toughs, chat with the mailman, and even lose money on the stock market—and young Peter Parker has to juggle typical teen problems with fighting super villains as Spider-Man when he realizes that “with great power comes great responsibility.”

When *The Fantastic Four* number 1 was published Atlas Comics had actually gone out of business, and there was no company name on the cover. Goodman soon began using Marvel Comics as the name of his company, and due to the attention the books were receiving the

name became permanent. Stan Lee was quick to trumpet the coming of the “Marvel Age of Comics,” and it was more than just hype. Marvel’s innovative characterization and storytelling began to attract older, more sophisticated readers. For a change, Lee was setting the trends, and the Marvel approach was soon copied by competitors. Lee became a charismatic pitchman for Marvel, making radio and television appearances, being profiled in mainstream magazines, and going on the college lecture circuit. In 1972 he left the comic book end of the business to oversee production of cartoons and films based on Marvel characters.

Stan Lee is a controversial figure in the comic book world. While he is often touted as a creative genius and the innovator that saved the flagging comic book industry, he is just as often dismissed as a self-serving huckster. His critics portray him as the front man who took most of the credit and did little of the actual work. It is true that the artists who worked with Lee, particularly Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, often did the lion’s share of the storytelling. Because he was scripting and editing most of the titles in the early days of Marvel, Lee developed what became known as the Marvel Method of producing comic books. He had a story conference with the artist of a title and outlined the plot for the particular issue of a multi-issue story. The artist would draw a story based on that plot, and Lee would then write the dialogue and captions. Although Lee’s exact contribution to any particular comic book will probably never be known, it is clear that Marvel Comics would not have been as successful—and comic books in general would not have been as much fun—without Lee’s creativity, boundless enthusiasm, and love of the medium he meant to outgrow.

—Randy Duncan

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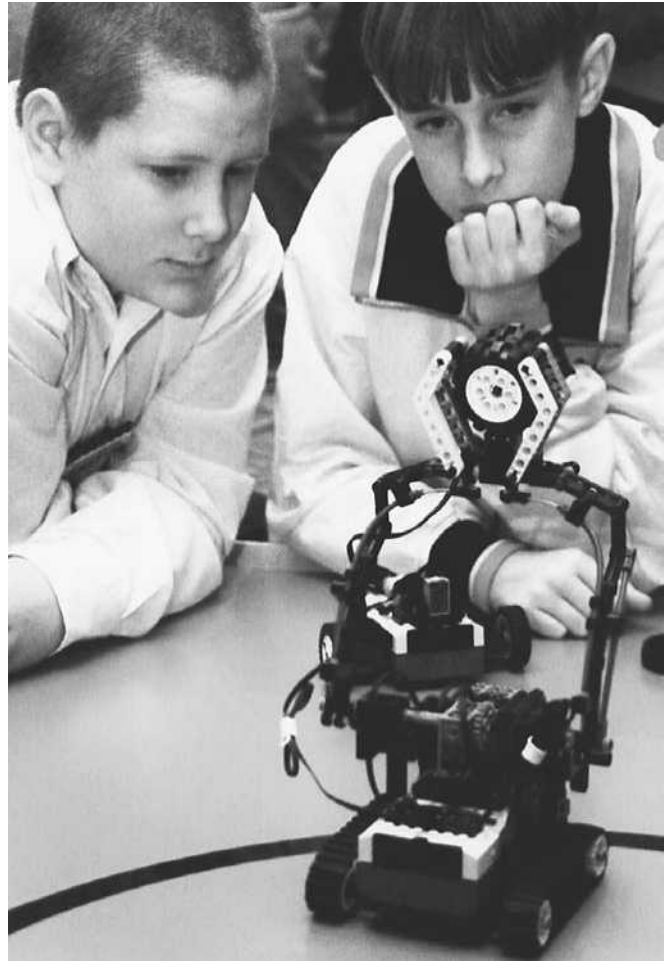
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Legos

Legos were certainly not the only building toys on the market during the better part of the twentieth century, but they were the ones that quintessentially represented the culture of the time. Wooden building blocks had been around for thousands of years and symbolized a simple, pre-industrial era. Toys like Erector and Meccano sets, with their nuts and bolts and metal girders, captured the aspirations of the skyscraper era experienced in the 1910s and 1920s. Legos, however, as interlocking plastic bricks 1 1/4 by 5/8 inches with eight knobs on top and three tubes underneath, combined the concept of a simple toy with newer materials.

The concept for the Lego brick began in 1932 when Danish carpenter Ole Kirk Christiansen used scrap material from his furniture-making business to make wooden bricks for children’s toys. In



Children play with the Lego Mindstorm robot, 1998.

1947 the Lego Company introduced plastic and was making all of their bricks out of plastic by 1960. These basic bricks, made of red, yellow, white, blue, and black indestructible plastic and infinitely combinable into all manner of shapes and structures, had not changed in design since their early models.

The word Lego, from the Danish “leg godt,” or “play well,” epitomized the philosophy of the Lego company, which was to provide a “system” of play: simple, educational toys that allowed children to be creative and use their imaginations. The company manufactured various lines of their signature bricks specifically intended for different age ranges: Primo were larger and meant for infants; Duplo for preschoolers; Technic kits, for builders aged 9 to 11; and Freestyle for older children. The bricks themselves combined order with flexibility—one was limited to the rectangular form of the brick, but could use it in combination with other bricks to build almost anything from one’s imagination; Norman Mailer, for example, used Legos in the 1960s to build his own version of the “city of the future” using 15,000 Lego bricks. In addition, Lego manufactured kits that allowed one to make anything from castles, airplanes, and ships to houses, cars, and bridges.

By the 1980s and 1990s Lego kits became more specialized and less interchangeable, reflecting children’s desire to possess things on demand rather than having to use their intellectual skills to get them.

These kits came with more pre-built components that lessened the challenge of original construction. In addition, the parts became more particularized, including things beyond the basic bricks, such as rubber tires, plastic trees, and even human figures, which the company introduced in 1997. The Lego “Mindstorms” kits, introduced in 1999 and starting at \$200, integrated computer chips in the bricks, allowing for interactive possibilities.

It was estimated that by 1993, 70 percent of American families with children owned at least one Lego product. By 1996 Lego was the world’s fifth largest toy maker, amassing a profit of \$79 million in that year. During this era Lego also shifted its focus from creating educational toys for children to becoming the most familiar brand name among adults with children. To this end, Lego expanded its product line to include backpacks and children’s clothing. In addition, the company expanded its LegoLand theme park. Known as the “Disneyland of Europe,” the first LegoLand was built in Billund, Denmark (home to the Lego factory) in 1968. LegoLand California opened near Carlsbad in 1999, and the company promised many more—including a theme park in Japan—by 2005.

These developments epitomized equally the shifts in the nature of children’s play and in the formation of corporate identity during the late twentieth century. At one time Lego bricks—as simple and affordable objects of a sturdy material that allowed educational yet creative play—encouraged children to build their own universes. Eventually, however, the bricks were no longer basic structural elements but were instead pre-built component parts used to create a pre-determined object with the help of instructions and expensive computer technology. This reflected both the tendency of parents to steer their children toward more sophisticated play as well as Lego’s desire to abandon its original mission of manufacturing sound toys with integrity and become, rather, the embodiment of an identifiable brand name that manufactured mass-media experiences for children (as evidenced by LegoLand) that were worlds away from simply building houses with colored bricks.

—Wendy Woloson

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Lehrer, Tom (1928—)

Tom Lehrer, the mathematician/balladeer, grew up in New York city. He received piano lessons, learning classical music. At his request, his parents found a teacher who taught him how to play popular tunes. In 1943, when he was 14, child-prodigy Lehrer became an undergraduate at Harvard, majoring in mathematics. He earned his



Tom Lehrer

Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts within three years. During his undergraduate days, he also found time to write song parodies, particularly a fight song for his alma mater. “Fight Fiercely, Harvard” became popular at the university, and would show up on his first record. And this marks the beginning of one of the twentieth century’s most controversial satirists.

With his undergraduate degrees tucked under his belt, Lehrer stayed on at Harvard working toward a graduate degree in math. In 1950, he teamed up with four other musically-inclined members of the university community to form a singing group. One of the group’s members taught a freshman physics course, and the quintet put on a performance for the benefit of the students in that course. One item on the repertoire was a Lehrer composition: a song which listed the elements (not necessarily in order) to the tune of Gilbert and Sullivan’s “Modern Major General.” “The Elements” would later find appreciative audiences beyond Harvard. Lehrer also wrote a parody poking fun at a sculpture on campus which had been designed by Walter Gropius. The poem was published in the student paper—the *Harvard Crimson*—and republished in *Time*.

In 1953, Lehrer decided to put out a record of the various songs with which he had been entertaining people around Cambridge. He at first expected *Songs by Tom Lehrer* to sell around 400 copies; it ended up selling 350,000. He then decided to leave Harvard in 1953 to work for the technical firm Baird-Atomic. His work for Baird-Atomic was followed by a stint in the Army, a tour of duty which was to inspire his hilariously nasty song “It Makes a Fellow Proud to be a Soldier.” Lehrer then toured the United States and the English-speaking world

to entertain his audiences with new songs, interspersed with acerbic commentary. A record based on one of his concerts—*An Evening Wasted with Tom Lehrer*—came out in 1959 and sold almost as well as his first record.

Next, Lehrer decided to return to graduate school—he was a graduate student at Harvard for a total of ten years and at Columbia for one year. By 1965, he had completed all the work required for his degree, except for the dissertation, but he decided to stop seeking a doctorate. He began teaching mathematics at MIT's Political Science Department in 1962. He then became a professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where he has taught since 1971. His work as a math teacher, however, did not stop Lehrer from performing his music; the British magazine *The Spectator* reported in 1998 that Lehrer had made "109 concert appearances" over the course of his career.

In 1965, Lehrer had some topical political songs performed on the NBC program *That Was the Week That Was* (a program taken from England). He put out a record, *That Was the Year That Was*, based on the NBC songs. He wrote some of the songs for the children's television series *The Electric Company* in the early 1970s. In the early 1980s, there was a touring show called *Tomfoolery*, in which a four-member cast sang an ensemble of Lehrer's old songs. Although Lehrer helped with the production, he did not sing in it.

A couple of his songs seem to foreshadow future events. In a 1965 song about George Murphy, a now-forgotten actor-turned-Senator, Lehrer mused that many Hollywood actors had become politicians, "from Helen Gahagan to . . . Ronald Reagan?" In his song "Pollution," Lehrer anticipated President Clinton in his advice for coping with America's smog: "wear a gas mask and a veil / Then you can breathe, long as you don't inhale."

Lehrer's humor was somewhat daring—at least for its time. In 1982, he wrote: "I was often accused of bad taste in the '50s and '60s, but the songs which prompted that accusation seem positively genial today." At the very least, his humor was unconventional as evidenced by a word he used to describe President Lyndon Johnson's increasing military involvement in Vietnam—"escallatio." Additionally, the song "I Hold Your Hand in Mine" is about a man who holds onto some of the remains of the woman he killed—"still I keep your hand / As a precious souvenir . . ." "The Masochism Tango" combines a catchy dance tune with lyrics about S&M, while "Smut" celebrates the joys of porn: "I could tell you things about Peter Pan / And the Wizard of Oz—There's a dirty old man!" And, of course, there is the favorite tune of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, "Poisoning Pigeons in the Park."

The Lehrer song which caused the most controversy was "The Vatican Rag." Here, he sings irreverently about the Catholic sacraments. Many Catholics were offended by this song, although Lehrer later said that he was making fun of "the Catholic ritual," not "the religion." When he performed "The Vatican Rag" at the hungry i night club, Lehrer indicated that the song was simply a logical extension of the liturgical reforms of the Vatican II conference—reforms under which the Mass could be performed in the vernacular. He further disrupted church officials and members when he said that the Vatican II reforms were intended to make the Church "more commercial," implying that Catholicism was being turned into a "product" that the Church was selling. Thus, the song could be seen as a satire about the perils of departing from religious orthodoxy

(although both Lehrer and his Catholic critics would probably disagree with such an interpretation).

Since about 1965, Lehrer has not written new songs for public performance. He explained that "satire was made obsolete when Henry Kissinger got the Nobel Peace Prize."

—Eric Longley

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Leisure Suit

Like bell bottoms, platform shoes, and mood rings, the leisure suit came to symbolize the swinging mid-1970s and its pervasive disco culture. The matching polyester jacket and pants often came in tacky colors such as powder blue or burnt orange and could sport either wide collars and lapels or none at all, instead coming adorned with a belt to be worn tunic-style. Originally designed after World War II as resort wear for the wealthy, the early leisure suits were priced handsomely and constructed out of wool gabardine. Though they enjoyed a brief heyday in the 1970s, leisure suits were soon acknowledged as tacky. Beginning in 1989, however, a 1970s nostalgia revival led to an annual leisure suit convention in Des Moines, Iowa. In the 1990s, a series of computer games featuring a sleazy character named Leisure Suit Larry epitomized the garment as the unofficial uniform of the déclassé.

—Geri Speace

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Leisure Time

Despite the persistent complaints Americans make about not having enough free time, the twentieth century ushered in an unprecedented age of leisure. Economic developments, like the decreased work week, increased wages, and increased productivity brought more free time to workers, and the changing attitudes toward leisure are a reflection of the greater role that free time plays in American life. The shift in attitudes are subtle and sweeping, their significance barely noticed by most. The free time that allows for “the newfound delight of young fathers in their babies,” wrote Margaret Mead in 1957, represented “another intrinsically rewarding pattern which no large civilization has ever permitted.” The observation is at once a measure of the unprecedented role of leisure in everyday life, and how much Americans take their free time for granted.

Twentieth-century America’s preoccupation with leisure time represents an enormous change from the attitudes held by Americans settlers, who cleared their land and farmed it for subsistence. Primarily agrarian, early nineteenth-century Americans found that most of their time was consumed by agricultural work. Those who loafed beyond what was socially acceptable found themselves ostracized within their small, agrarian communities. Places of entertainment, such as theaters, were regarded as dens of vice that were populated by drunk actors and prostitutes. But in pre-industrial America, leisure and work often commingled. As Roy Rosenzweig observed in *Rethinking Popular Culture*, “the rum barrell (sic) was always near the work—ready for distribution, by this means they kept the men hard at work all day.” The prevailing mindset was exemplified by Benjamin Franklin in *Poor Richard’s Almanac*: “Leisure, is Time for doing something useful . . . *Trouble springs from Idleness, and grievous Toil from needless Ease.*”

The advent of industrialization brought changes to the workplace, Mechanization, the specialization of labor, and the regulation of the workplace made the workplace strictly a place for labor. Drinking, for example, was banished to the saloon. These sharp delineations led to the recognition that free time had value and that how one spent one’s free time had significance. Middle-class reformers, who took issue with the rowdy, hard-drinking, working-class culture, began to view industrialism as a potential wedge that could come between workers and a more meaningful culture. “When the operation of the machine tends to relieve the operative of all thought, the man or woman who tends it risks becoming a machine, well oiled and cared for, but incapable of independent life,” worried industrialist Edward Atkinson. Americans slowly began to realize that overwork could be as destructive as idleness, and that a useful pursuit of leisure could be beneficial.

The pursuit of leisure had been defined as an upper-class privilege by Thorstein Veblen in his *Theory of the Leisure Class*, published in 1899. Veblen introduced the phrase “conspicuous consumption” to describe leisure as “a non-productive consumption of time.” Leisure was associated with pursuits that did not contribute to making a living, and the notion of “culture” tied such pursuits to

higher aims—the arts, religion and higher education. As the middle class grew in the early twentieth century, its definitions of culture and leisure reflected their emphasis on hierarchical order. The polarization between rich and poor gave the growing middle class impetus to create a social role for culture that distinguished the status-seeking middle class from the working and immigrant classes below it.

After World War II, the idea of “earned” pleasure—free time as a reward for hard work—began to break down. According to Margaret Mead, Americans sought to restore an equilibrium that had been disrupted by the hardships of war and the wartime separation of men and women. Soldiers had too little leave time, and war workers had too much disposable income. The desire to get some joy out of life superseded all else, and the home became the place where Americans sought that joy. Americans began to reconceive the relationship between work and family life. “As once it was wrong to play so hard that it might affect one’s work,” writes Mead, “now it is wrong to work so hard that it may affect family life.”

The emergence of a distinct youth culture during the 1950s helped define some leisure activities. Around the time of World War I, few considered adolescence a separate stage of life. The term “teenager” did not come into common use until the 1940s. Prior to the 1950s, teenagers had been expected to work full time, like adults. Most adolescents worked by age 15, moving from childhood straight into adulthood. But with the increasing opportunities for secondary education in the 1920s, and a lack of available work during the Depression, American children found that their adulthood was postponed. The postwar prosperity of the 1950s brought fatter allowances to teenagers and this new demographic group became a target market. Entire industries retooled their operations to meet the needs of these indiscriminate consumers, flush with disposable income. This development transformed twentieth-century popular culture, as new icons like Elvis Presley became cultural phenomena, and encouraged the purchase of rock ‘n’ roll concert tickets, trendy clothes, and long-playing records.

In addition to the prosperity of the times, technological changes—like the television and the movies—changed the leisure experience into a consumptive one for adults as well as teenagers. Leisure expenditures in 1950 had increased tenfold from those in 1909, when Americans were likely to make their own music or toys. Correspondingly, the average work-week dropped from 12 hours a day in 1900 to 7.5 in 1960, as increased productivity helped to shrink working time. By the end of the century, it would be possible to speak of a “leisure industry.”

Whereas work was once the primary identifier for individuals, leisure has become more and more central to identity. In the introduction to an issue entitled “Americans at Play,” *Life* magazine wrote in 1971:

The weekend is a state of mind, betrayed by a vacant stare that lasts till Tuesday and an anticipatory twitching that begins on Thursday. We talk fishing at the factory, surfing at the store, skiing in the office, and when we make new acquaintances, we identify ourselves less by what we do for a living than by what we do to loaf . . .
Wherever we are, inside our head, we’re *out there*.

Nothing could slow Americans’ appetite for leisure time activities: “Leisure spending rose on a steady curve through Vietnam, an

oil embargo, runaway inflation, an energy crisis, unemployment and a recession.” According to Mark Jury in *Playtime! Americans at Leisure*, leisure spending increased from \$58 billion in 1965 to \$160 billion in 1977. Though obviously fueled by factors like lower working hours, higher wages, and earlier retirement, the leisure spending also represented a willful reorganization of personal priorities. Jury indicated that leisure products, like boats, that were once only available to the wealthy could now be purchased, through extended financing, by the middle class. Leisure had become one of the great American levelers.

People not only reorganized their priorities for spending money for leisure activities, but also reorganized their work to accommodate their desire for leisure time. Though the more prosperous middle-class workers had less time to devote to leisure activities than their working-class counterparts, and the income gap widened in favor of college degree holders, the rise of the service economy provided an alternative for many. The service economy enabled a number of Americans, many of them college-educated, to work when they needed to as bartenders, waitresses, or hairdressers, and make an above-average income from tips. Free time was no longer available only to the rich. The service economy offered modest incomes and flexible working hours that provided workers the time and the money to pursue leisure activities. Jury describes one so-called “leisure freak”:

(Pete) decided to give up acting and enroll in a school to become a hairdresser . . . a good hairdresser in Los Angeles could make twelve thousand dollars a year (including tips) [1977 dollars] by working *three days a week*. The other four days were then free to pursue a current passion—skydiving, bodybuilding, motorcycle racing, anything. His entire crowd lived for their leisure activities.

As more and more Americans participated in leisure time, the very definition of leisure came into question. Instead of encompassing all time away from work, leisure has been defined as “doing something” enjoyable. Leisure has evolved into the time in which one is free, apart from others. The phrase “quality time,” so often used in respect to the family, implies that the time spent together isn’t as important as the amount of effort put into that time. Its use also indicates the diminished focus of leisure time within the family. In the 1990s fewer Americans were married than in the previous generation, and fewer still were parents, as many put off parenthood for a longer period.

Despite these trends, Americans in the 1990s remained largely home-centered. A March 1999 Gallup Poll reported that watching television was the favorite way to spend an evening for 31 percent of the respondents. Television watching has been the top response on this poll since 1960, though the poll has reported demographic differences in the responses. For example, watching television is much more popular with those 65 and older than with the 18-29 segment. Educational differences also prompt different responses: college or postgraduate degree holders are more involved in reading or dining out, while less educated people prefer television. “As our leisure time has increased since 1965,” Geoffrey Godbey told the *Christian Science Monitor*, “the gain has been plowed into more TV because it can be sequenced, an hour here, an hour and a half there. TV fits so well now, and it is immediately accessible.”

But in the face of increased free time, Americans in the 1990s complain that they have less of it. Their complaints constitute a healthy debate among those involved in leisure studies (a field of sociological inquiry that in itself indicates the prominence of leisure in American life). One plausible explanation for this discrepancy emerges in the concept of “time-deepening,” which “assumes that, under pressure of expanded interest and compulsion, people are capable of higher rates of ‘doing.’” John P. Robinson and Geoffrey Godbey described this conception in their book *Time for Life*, and based their study upon “time diaries,” in which study groups recorded how they spent their free time. Time-deepening is the *sense* of being rushed, either a sense that is self-imposed, or perceived. Management at work is geared scientifically toward making the workplace run at its optimal efficiency. Our sports are “measured, timed, specialized, and synchronized,” say Robinson and Godbey. It’s not enough to go to the live event: we need portable radios to listen to the broadcast of the live event. Fans tailgate before football games, with grills scattered throughout the stadium parking lot, making it hard to tell anymore if the leisure is the game, or the impromptu party before the game.

Like the phrase “quality time,” Americans have come to act as if the time spent is not as important as how much has been extracted from that time. We read *and* watch television. We admonish each other to “get to the point” in conversation, as if taking too long is wrong in itself. Technology has made us more accessible to each other than ever before, but it sometimes seems that we spend more time trying to get in touch with each other, leaving endless messages on machines, than we actually spend in direct communication.

The modern explosion of leisure implies that one should feel a certain amount of guilt for enjoying work too much. Researchers like Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre suggest that an imbalance in favor of leisure is no more desirable than a reverse imbalance favoring work:

If people realized that their jobs were more exciting and fulfilling than they had thought, they could disregard the cultural mandate against enjoying work and find in it a satisfaction that at present seems to be denied by the fact that people think of it as obligatory.

The Information Age will likely change much about how leisure is defined. If more workers telecommute from home, will work appear less regimented and therefore feel less like work? Americans’ views of recreation may also have to adjust to a new conception of work. The likelihood will be that these shifts will occur seamlessly, as many think about their free time only in the terms of what they will do with it.

—Daryl Umberger

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LeMond, Greg (1961—)

Three time winner of the Tour de France (1986, 1989, 1990) and World Road Race champion (1989), Greg LeMond is undeniably America’s most successful cyclist. As an ambitious young professional in the early 1980s, his uneasy relationship with team leader Bernard Hinault reached its boiling point during the 1986 Tour, when a clearly stronger LeMond ignored team orders to support his leader and went on to record his first victory and become the first American to win the race at the expense of what could have been a record-breaking sixth win for France’s Hinault. LeMond’s absolute commitment to winning the Tour and apparent indifference towards the one day “Classics” meant that he struggled to gain the recognition he surely deserved. Following a near fatal hunting accident in 1987, LeMond won his second Tour in dramatic fashion, finishing just eight seconds ahead of his nearest rival, the closest win in the race’s history. This performance remains one of the most memorable ever witnessed—his improbable come-back performance won over a host of previously skeptical admirers. A muscle disorder forced LeMond to retire from competitive racing in 1994.

—Simon Philo

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L'Engle, Madeleine (1918—)

Madeleine L'Engle wrote over two dozen books of poetry, plays, memoirs, and fiction and is credited with bringing science fiction into mainstream young-adult fiction. Often compared to C.S. Lewis, she used science and Christianity to create stories of spiritual quests, battles between good and evil, and an omnipresent God of Love.

Her Newbery Award winning novel *A Wrinkle in Time* (1962) is a blend of science fiction, fantasy, and coming-of-age tale. The awkward and intense Meg Murry must travel in time and space to fight “the black thing” on a planet of utter conformity, ruled by an emotionless brain. L'Engle asked all the cosmic questions about morality, religion, love, and identity, and the book found international popularity with children and critics.

—Jessy Randall

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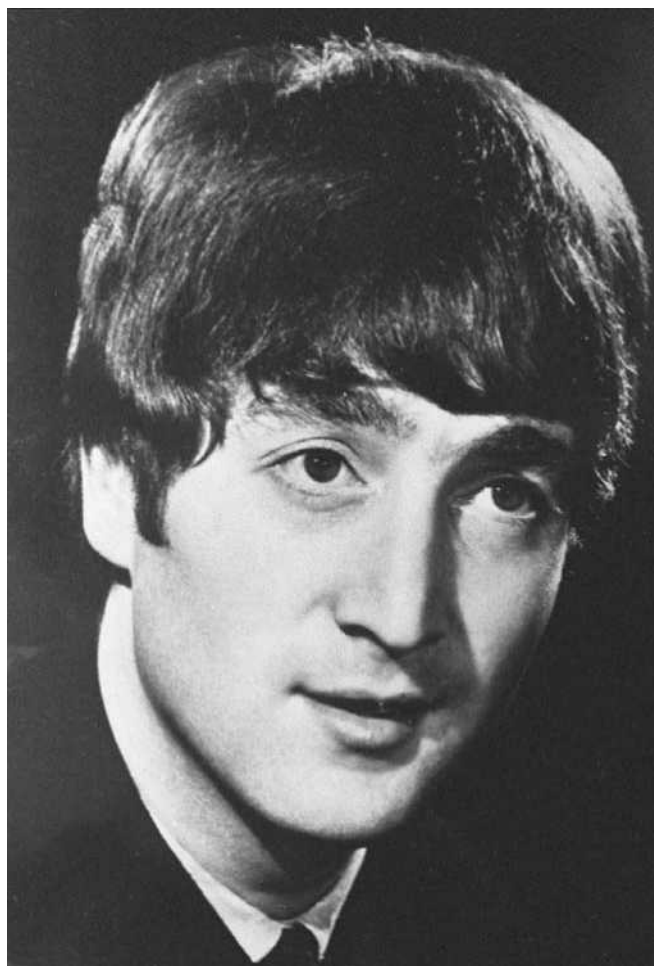
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Lennon, John (1940-1980)

Most famed as one of the members of the Beatles as well as the co-composer of the Beatles song catalogue which includes many of the most popular rock songs ever written, John Lennon is also notable for his solo career, his enduring status as a celebrity victimized by one of his own fans, shot dead outside his New York home, and as a celebrity who used his fame to draw attention to various causes.

Born in Liverpool, raised in a middle-class home that lacked a father and frequently a mother as well (she died in a car accident), Lennon was largely raised by his aunt Mimi, who warned him that while playing the guitar was fine, it was unlikely to earn him a living. Lennon attended art school where he formed a skiffle group, the Quarrymen, which would later form the basis for the Beatles.

Lennon was the initial leader of the Beatles and their most controversial member. At the 1963 Royal Command Performance, he told the audience, “On the next number, would those in the cheap seats clap their hands? The rest of you rattle your jewelry.” Upon being awarded the MBE, Lennon observed, “I can’t believe it. I



John Lennon

thought you had to drive tanks and win wars.” He prompted even more controversy when on November 25, 1969, he returned his MBE “with love” to the Queen to protest Britain’s involvement in Biafra and Vietnam and [his song] “Cold Turkey” slipped down the charts.

In 1966, Lennon told Maureen Cleave in the *London Evening Standard*, “The Beatles are bigger than Jesus Christ,” creating a religious backlash in the United States. A similar British backlash was created when Lennon appeared nude on the cover of his *Two Virgins* album. An exhibition of Lennon’s erotic lithographs had to have eight prints removed under threat of possible prosecution under the Obscene Publications Act. (Lennon’s lithos were later declared “unlikely to deprave or corrupt” by legal experts and handed back.)

In addition to music and art, Lennon also dabbled in literature. Lennon wrote his first book, *In His Own Write*, which subsequently won Foyle’s Literary Prize. This was followed by *A Spaniard in the Works* (a pun on the English expression “A spanner, meaning monkey wrench, in the works”). In addition to his film work with the Beatles (*Help!*, *A Hard Day’s Night*, *Let It Be*), Lennon had a minor role in Richard Lester’s absurdist black comedy *How I Won the War*. He was also the subject of the documentary film *Imagine*.

Lennon married Cynthia Powell on August 23, 1962, a union which produced a son, Julian Lennon, who later went on to have his own musical career. The couple divorced on November 8, 1968, a

month after Lennon and his Japanese artist lover Yoko Ono were busted by the drug squad (they were also arrested again for possessing cannabis in September 1969).

Lennon and Ono became an inseparable couple and were wed on the Rock of Gibraltar on March 20, 1969. For their honeymoon, they conducted a “Bed-In for Peace” at the Amsterdam Hilton, and Lennon officially changed his name from John Winston Lennon to John Ono Lennon. Lennon proceeded to use his celebrity status to bring attention to all kinds of causes, from freeing Angela Davis to giving Ireland back to the Irish.

He also formed his first post-Beatles group, the Plastic Ono Band, which initially consisted of himself, Ono, Eric Clapton, Klaus Voorman, and Alan White, who threw together an under-rehearsed show for a live concert in Toronto which was recorded as an album and film. Lennon’s next Plastic Ono Band effort, Plastic Ono Band with Voorman on bass, Ringo Starr on drums, and occasional piano by Billy Preston and Phil Spector, is one of rock’s all-time classic albums. Sparse and powerful, the album was an outgrowth of Lennon’s involvement in primal scream therapy techniques as he tries to exorcise his personal pain and rejection tempered by feelings of love and hope.

Ironically, following the break-up of the Beatles, even Ringo Starr initially had greater chart success than Lennon. If *Plastic Ono Band* evoked Lennon’s agony, his *Imagine* album celebrated his ecstasy, and proved to be another rock classic. This was the most melodic of Lennon’s solo albums, a quality he would downplay subsequently as his peace rhetoric gave way to rabble-rousing political statements as on his abrasive *Some Time in New York City* album. Lennon decided to emigrate to the United States, but Lennon’s political activities brought him under investigation by the FBI and he was ordered to leave the U.S. by the Immigration Authorities. Lennon was able to successfully fight the deportation, and in January 1974, he asked the Queen for a Royal Pardon in connection with his drug conviction in order to be free to travel to and from the United States.

Lennon and Ono suffered a temporary split that found Lennon keeping time with May Pang and getting drunk. Lennon announced that the separation hadn’t worked out and the couple got back together and would remain so for the rest of Lennon’s life. Their marriage resulted in a son, Sean, who has also embarked on a musical career of his own. Lennon created the albums *Mind Games*, *Walls and Bridges*, *Rock ‘n’ Roll*, and the best-of compilation *Shaved Fish* before retiring from music for five years to spend time raising his son and becoming one of the world’s most famous house-husbands. He announced in Japan, “We really have nothing to say. We’ve basically decided, without a great decision, to be with our baby as much as we can until we feel we can take time off to indulge ourselves in creating things outside our family.”

Then Lennon heard in the B-52s’ work sounds much like that of Yoko Ono’s and decided that it was time to re-enter the musical mainstream. He created a collaborative album with Yoko Ono, *Double Fantasy: A Heart Play*, with the couple trading off songs, and the result was a welcome return to form, lacking perhaps the urgency of John’s best works, but reflecting his personal growth and current perspectives. Another half-album’s worth of material was recorded and later released on the posthumous *Milk and Honey*, which despite some worthwhile Lennon tracks (“Nobody Told Me” and “Borrowed Time”), does not hold up as well.

However, Lennon’s commitment as an artist has left a lasting impression, from his commitment to political causes to his celebrated love for Yoko Ono in the face of public hostility and disdain. His solo music has been frequently repackaged, his demo tapes and home recordings formed the basis of a long-running radio show, “The Lost Lennon Tapes,” a couple of these recordings formed the basis for the two Beatles reunion singles, “Real Love” and “Free As a Bird,” and many of these pieces were collected together for release in late 1998 as the *Lennon Anthology* album. They offer a complete portrait of Lennon, from his happiness to his sadness, his anger and his humor.

Lennon realized years ago that what most people around him were most interested in was Lennon himself, and few artists have put so much of themselves into their art so that he and his love for Yoko became his greatest subjects.

—Dennis Fischer

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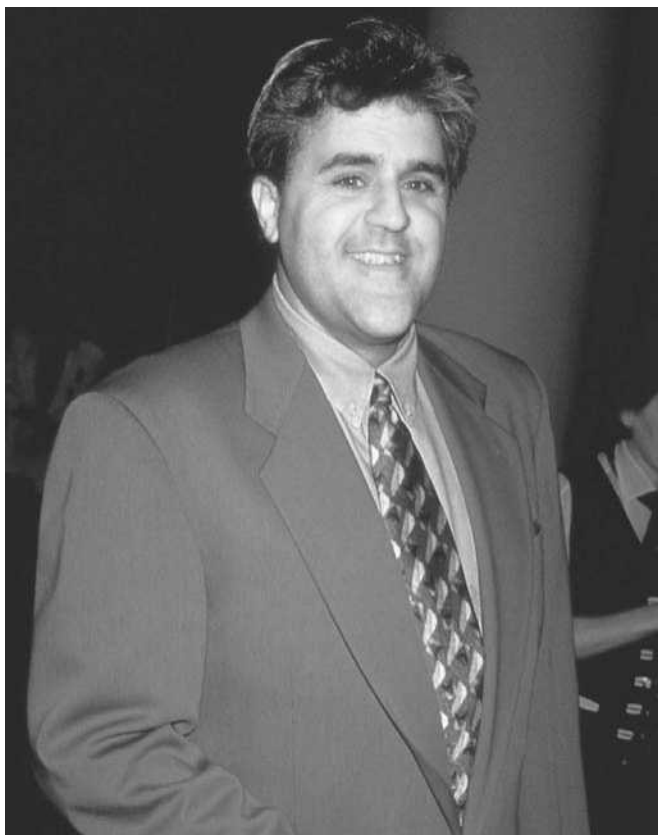
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Leno, Jay (1950—)

On television, Jay Leno exudes the image of an easygoing, affable comedian. This he is, but he is also one of the hardest working men in show business. His perseverance, long hours (he claims he sleeps only four hours a night), and sheer determination have brought him to the top of the late-night talk show industry as host of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno*, where he is seen by millions of viewers every weeknight.

Born on April 28, 1950, in New Rochelle, New York, Leno grew up in the Boston suburb of Andover, Massachusetts. He graduated from high school in 1968 and from Emerson College in 1973. On March 2, 1977, he made his first television appearance as a guest on *The Tonight Show*, then hosted by Johnny Carson. But like many television comedians, Leno got his start traveling around the country doing standup comedy, performing no less than 250 times a year in every imaginable corner of the United States.

Persistence paid off for Leno. By the mid-1980s, he was guest-hosting many talk shows, and in September 1987, he guest-hosted *The Tonight Show* for the first time. Following Carson’s retirement, Leno became the permanent host of *The Tonight Show* on May 25, 1992. His tenure as host did not begin well. On advice of his manager, Helen Kushnick, an avowed enemy of Carson, Leno failed to mention Carson’s name in his first show as the new host; this omission was



Jay Leno

glaring. Kushnick also forbade Leno's guests to appear on other talk shows. Even though Kushnick had engineered Leno's rise from comedy clubs to *The Tonight Show*, within a few months Leno and NBC had fired the increasingly domineering Kushnick.

Since that time, the popularity of *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* has increased dramatically. After 90 weeks of trailing *The Late Show With David Letterman* in the ratings, Leno finally won a weekly ratings war with the CBS talk show host in July 1995. By 1996 Leno was regularly winning the late night ratings wars, and by the end of the decade he was widely regarded as the king of late night talk show hosts. *The Tonight Show with Jay Leno* has won two Emmys.

Much publicity was made about Leno's feud with late night talk show host David Letterman. The subject was even the basis for a book and an HBO movie—*The Late Shift*. In the late 1970s, Letterman had served as a guest-host for *The Tonight Show*. In 1980, NBC gave him his own show, *Late Night with David Letterman*, which aired directly after Carson's *The Tonight Show*. When Johnny Carson retired in 1992, Letterman (and many others) expected he would replace Carson as host. Instead, the job went to Leno, thanks in large part to Leno's manager's intensive lobbying. In 1993, Letterman declined to renew his contract with NBC and moved to CBS, where he was given a show opposite Leno. The ordeal bred ill will between the two, and they reportedly have not spoken to each other since. Nonetheless, Leno still insists that he is on good terms with Letterman.

Leno's appeal as a pop icon is multifaceted. As the successor of the legendary Johnny Carson on *The Tonight Show*, he automatically gained prestige and legitimacy. Leno is perceived as a hard worker

and a perfectionist, thus endearing him to other hardworking Americans. Further endearing him to a large segment of Americans, are Leno's ordinary looks and ordinary tastes. He is not a Hollywood socialite. He is dedicated to his wife, Mavis, to whom he has been married since 1980. Renowned for his prominent chin and big, wavy hair, Leno is not a Hollywood pretty boy. Thus, when people watch him on television every night, they see a person not unlike themselves. Finally, one cannot deny the value of the time slot that Leno's *The Tonight Show* occupies. Virtually anyone who has a show on one of the three major networks (ABC, CBS, NBC) in the late night time slot (11:30 ET/10:30 CT) would have great visibility among the American television viewing public.

—Matt Kerr

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Leonard, Benny (1896-1947)

Considered by many as the greatest fighter of American sport's ostensible "golden age," the 1920s, Benny Leonard (born Benjamin Leinert) was one of the few white champions of his era to take on all comers, regardless of race. Nicknamed "The Ghetto Wizard," (Ghetto for his Lower East side upbringing, Wizard for his cerebral, mind over matter approach to fighting), Leonard is generally considered the greatest Jewish boxer of all time. In 1917, at the age of 21, Leonard was lightweight champion, and he held the title for nearly eight years, at which point he retired at his mother's request. Leonard had invested the small fortune he made in the ring, and was apparently financially secure for life when he stepped down as the unvanquished 135 pound champion in 1925. Hit harder by the stock market crash of 1929 than by any opponent, Leonard made an ill fated comeback in 1931, eventually losing to Irish Jimmy McClarnin, who at the time was making a name for himself knocking out Jewish fighters. Nevertheless, Leonard is considered by many, the greatest fighter of the first half of the twentieth century.

—Max Kellerman

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A boxing match between Benny Leonard (left) and Pal Silvers (right), 1931.

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Leonard, Elmore (1925—)

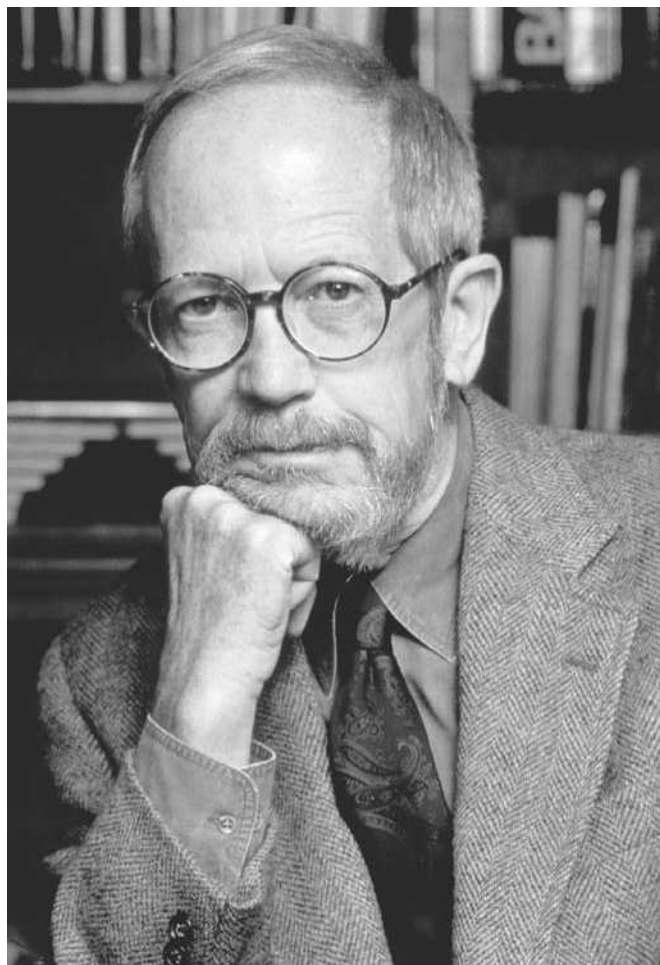
American author Elmore “Dutch” Leonard is often mentioned in the same class as Ross Macdonald and Dashiell Hammett as a

writer whose work exceeds the expectations of suspense novels. However, though Leonard is praised as a master of the crime novel—with his fast-moving action, hard-boiled characters, and detailed but not flowery descriptions—his writing style does not fall neatly into the crime or detective genre. Many critics, in fact, decline to peg him as a genre writer due to his skillful craftsmanship. Leonard’s realistic, contemporary dialogue reads practically effortlessly, and his story lines often interject social commentary without distraction. Often dubbed the “Dickens of Detroit,” Leonard began his literary career

writing Westerns in the 1950s and has been writing fiction full time since 1967. He chugged along relatively unnoticed until his works *LaBrava* (1983) and *Glitz* (1985) established him as an accomplished novelist. Though at that time he made national news, he did not become a major name until his tale of a starstruck loan shark, *Get Shorty*, was released as a film in 1995.

Leonard was born on October 11, 1925, in New Orleans, Louisiana, and relocated with his family several times before finally settling in the Detroit area. After high school, he served in the U.S. Navy during World War II, then attended college at the University of Detroit, where he graduated with a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in 1950. Though he aspired to become a writer, Leonard was concerned about making a living, so he took a job at a Detroit advertising agency and rose early in the morning to work on Western stories, which he chose because he thought they would be the most lucrative. In 1951, he sold his first piece, "Apache Agent," to the magazine *Argosy*, and in 1953 sold his first novel, *The Bounty Hunters*, following it up with four more over the next eight years.

In 1961, Leonard had a major breakthrough with *Hombre*, a book about a white man raised by the Apache Indian tribe. It was later named one of the 25 best Western novels of all time by the Western Writers of America in 1977. He quit the ad agency and wanted to begin writing full time, but had a family of five children to support, so



Elmore Leonard

he took freelance jobs writing for educational and industrial films, as well as advertising. When Twentieth Century-Fox bought the rights to *Hombre* in 1967 for \$10,000, Leonard finally had the means to pursue fiction as a career. Because Westerns were losing their audience, Leonard switched to crime novels and published his first in this genre, *The Big Bounce*, in 1969.

Throughout the 1970s, Leonard wrote more suspense fiction and also worked regularly adapting novels—including a few of his own—for the screen. Though these jobs paid well, Leonard longed to return to books, and in 1983 published *LaBrava*, for which he earned an Edgar Allen Poe Award from the Mystery Writers of America in 1984. After that, his 1985 work, *Glitz*, became a best-seller and Book-of-the-Month selection, thrusting him into the mainstream. Leonard's novels became known for their direct focus on plot and characters' actions, rejecting the psychoanalytical aspect prevalent in so many crime tales. His dialogue was fresh and realistic, the characters quirky and intriguing rather than two-dimensional and formulaic, and the stories satisfyingly gripping.

Though Leonard's books continued to be popular throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s, the few that were made into films did not meet with much critical or popular success. By the mid-1990s, however, Hollywood had rediscovered Leonard, and director Barry Sonnenfeld was hired to direct the screen adaptation of *Get Shorty*, which was released in 1995. This adaptation had a vein of humor running through it that surprised Leonard at first, since his works are not comical, but the new take delighted critics and moviegoers alike. The story involved a loan shark who goes to California to collect on a debt and becomes entranced with Hollywood.

After *Get Shorty*, hip director Quentin Tarantino in 1997 reworked the novel *Rum Punch* into *Jackie Brown*, starring 1970s Blaxploitation queen Pam Grier as a flight attendant who is involved with a petty gun runner. Following that, Leonard made \$2.5 million for the rights to *Out of Sight*, and by 1998, Quentin Tarantino had purchased the rights to three more Leonard novels. In the fall of 1998, ABC created a television series based on the 1991 book *Maximum Bob*, about a tough Florida judge and his bizarre wife. Meanwhile, *Touch* was adapted for film as well, and Leonard released his first non-contemporary novel in years, *Cuba Libre*, a story of horse smugglers set roughly a hundred years ago. Filmmakers Joel and Ethan Coen, who made *Raising Arizona* and *Fargo*, immediately showed interest. During this period, Leonard planned a sequel to *Get Shorty*.

Leonard's knack for creating seedy villains and shopworn heroes does not come from first-hand experience. Living a relatively tame life in an upscale suburb outside of Detroit, Michigan, the author does not prowl the underworld for material, except for an occasional trip to the police station to listen to speech rhythms of cops and crooks; and he has an assistant perform a good deal of his research. Nevertheless, his offbeat hoodlums ring true, and readers have come to enjoy his plot twists and portrayals of people on the other side of the tracks without relying on stereotypes and clichés.

—Geri Speace

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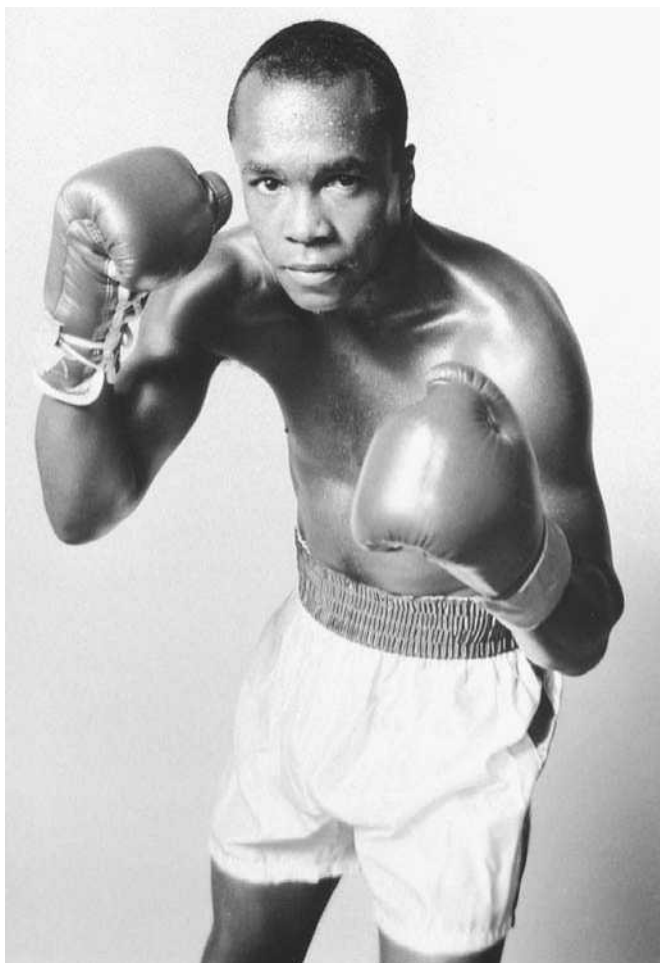
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Leonard, Sugar Ray (1956—)

Sugar Ray Leonard was the first boxer, and certainly the first non-heavyweight, to cash in on the new era of exploding sports salaries ushered in by Muhammad Ali. A Baby Boomer coming of age in the early 1980s, Leonard seemed to personify his generation: apolitical and corporate, with style superseding but not necessarily precluding substance. An Olympic gold medal winner in the Junior welterweight class, Ray Charles Leonard took the name "Sugar Ray" as an amateur. Any fighter adopting this nickname has an almost impossible act to follow, because the man most boxing experts agree was the greatest pound-for-pound fighter in the history of the sport was Sugar Ray Robinson. Yet by the end of Leonard's career, the name Sugar Ray would conjure an image of Leonard just as soon as one of Robinson, and in the consciousness of many Baby Boomers and most Generation Xers, the new Sugar Ray even usurped the original.

Leonard first burst into the American consciousness during the 1976 Olympic Summer Games when famed announcer Howard



Sugar Ray Leonard

Cosell publicized the fact that Leonard fought with a picture of his girlfriend taped to his socks. Following his Olympic victory Leonard embarked on his professional boxing career, winning the welterweight title in 1979 and remaining undefeated until 1980, when he lost a 15 round decision to Panamanian legend Roberto Duran. Leonard won back his title in a rematch with Duran later in the same year when Duran, frustrated, disgusted, and behind on points, quit in the middle of the eighth round, turning his back on Leonard and uttering the infamous phrase "no mas," which means "no more" in Spanish. This extraordinary ending sent shock waves through the sporting world. Leonard had forced the unbeatable Duran—the one athlete who seemed incapable of losing, let alone giving up—to quit.

Outside the ring, Leonard became well known for raising public awareness regarding eye-related injury. During his epic welterweight unification bout with Thomas "The Hitman" Hearns in 1981, Leonard suffered a detached retina. The following year he retired from boxing, even though a mega-fight awaited him and the seemingly invincible Marvelous Marvin Hagler. During this retirement, Leonard parlayed his boxing celebrity and infectious smile into a career as a television boxing announcer for the premium cable channel HBO. The specter of the fight-that-could-have-been against Hagler loomed in Leonard's mind, however, and despite the risk to his vision and having fought only once in a five year span, Leonard came out of retirement to fight Hagler. After 12 rounds of boxing, Leonard pulled off one of the unlikeliest upsets in modern sports history. He was awarded Hagler's middleweight title with a split decision victory. The fight was also significant because it was the first major bout in which thumbless gloves were used (a stipulation Leonard insisted on during negotiations for the fight in order to protect his surgically repaired eye).

With his boyish good looks and personable, articulate interview style, Leonard was a media hit from the beginning. Initially, he was best known to the American non-boxing public for the 1980 television advertisement for the soft drink Sprite in which he starred with his seven-year-old son. By the end of his career, Leonard became better known for his accomplishments inside the ring, including epic battles with lightweight legend Roberto Duran, welterweight greats Wilfred Benitez and Thomas Hearns, and middleweight extraordinaire Marvin Hagler (all of whom Leonard beat at least once, and only one of whom—Duran—ever beat him). Always willing to take on the most dangerous opposition for the largest purse available, Leonard proved he was more than the front-runner many initially believed him to be. He was the greatest fighter of his time, and one of the greatest of all time as well.

—Max Kellerman

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Leone, Sergio (1929-1989)

When his first western, *A Fistful of Dollars*, was released in 1964, Sergio Leone was forced to hide his Italian identity under the



Sergio Leone

name of Bob Robertson by the widespread belief that only Americans could make successful westerns. The success of Leone's westerns as well as of his last movie, *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), which exploited the formula of the gangster movie, another typical American genre, was to prove this assumption wrong. Leone's choice of pseudonym was in fact deeply ironic: Bob Robertson is the English transposition of the Italian name ("Roberto Roberti") used by Leone's father, himself a film director. The choice points to Leone's lifelong commitment in reconciling his fascination for American culture and mythology with his Italian background, which he was seemingly trying to conceal. The same reconciliation is spelled out by the name given (at first disparagingly) to the genre of films with which Leone has come to be identified, spaghetti westerns.

Leone's reputation as a director was established by the popular success of the so-called "Dollars trilogy" which also helped Clint Eastwood to achieve star-status: *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964); *For a Few Dollars More* (1965); and *The Good, The Bad and The Ugly* (1966) ranked amongst the top grossing Italian movies at the international box office between 1956-71. These three movies were made outside the Hollywood production system and were not simple carbon copies of the traditional westerns. Perceptive critics have listed as sources for the trilogy as diverse works as (to mention but a few) Sicilian morality and puppet plays, Carlo Goldoni's *The Servant of Two Masters* (first performed in 1746), Akira Kurosawa's samurai film *Yojimbo* (1961), Charlie Chaplin's *Monsieur Verdoux* (1947), as well as George Stevens's *Shane* (1953), Robert Aldrich's *Vera Cruz* (1954), and the unusual westerns by Nicholas Ray and Samuel Fuller. The traditional optimism of the genre is tempered in the "Dollars"

trilogy by the violence pervading the environment in which the characters live without being able to trust each other and to which they conform without trying to change it. Money is of course the primary motivation for action. Yet, in Leone's early westerns, money is not to be invested or used to buy goods, as it was in traditional westerns; it is simply something to possess or worship.

Although by the end of the trilogy Leone felt he had exhausted the possibilities of the western and wanted to shoot a gangster movie, he was persuaded by Paramount to make another western, *Once Upon a Time in the West* (1968). In Leone's words, the film was to be "a fresco on the birth of a great nation." Its all-star cast, including Claudia Cardinale, Henry Fonda, Charles Bronson, and Jason Robards, and its exploitation of the traditional western theme of the impact of technological progress (represented here by the railroads and by the building of the town of Sweet Waters) on the Western frontier made it, in theory, a more appealing movie to American audiences than the "Dollars" trilogy. Yet, the movie flopped badly in the U.S. where it was savagely cut by the distributors. Before finally being able to make the gangster movie he had been planning for so long, *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), Leone shot *Duck, You Sucker* (1972, aka *For a Fistful of Dynamite*). Entitled at first *Once Upon a Time, the Revolution*, the movie is a pessimistic post-western on the Mexican Revolution, which was strongly criticized by left-wing intellectuals for its supposedly conservative politics. The most-often quoted sentence from the movie is "Revolution is confusion" and Leone himself described it as being about the friendship between a naive Mexican and an Irish-Catholic intellectual: It is "the story of Pygmalion reversed. The simple one teaches the intellectual a lesson . . . finally the intellectual throws away his book of Bakunin's writings. You suspect damn well that this gesture is a symbolic reference to everything my generation has been told in the way of promises."

Once Upon a Time in America (1984) represents a change of genre (the western is substituted by the urban gangster movie) and of narrative technique (to the linear chronological narration with a flashback inserted at a topical moment characterizing the earlier films, Leone substitutes a story line that moves continuously between the 1920s, 1930s, and 1960s) but addresses the same themes and exploits similar situations of Leone's westerns. The plot is structured around the usual two-character confrontation, the problem of friendship and betrayal, the impact of money on human relationships, the entrapment of the villain at his own hands. The typical close-ups of the characters' eyes which are a distinctive feature of Leone's westerns (and usually precede a gunfight) are developed in Leone's last film in a veritable obsession with images of looking and of meeting glances.

As Robert C. Cumbow has pointed out, *Once Upon a Time in America*, like Leone's westerns, is a "buddy movie" with a clear homosexual subtext. The two male protagonists (whose first intercourse with the same woman is characterized by premature ejaculation and temporary impotence) have relationships with women that are "never more than a mirror of their relationship with each other." As in the westerns, the female figures of *Once Upon a Time in America* follow the Mary/Eve Catholic dichotomy: they are either sexual objects, prostitutes, or almost spiritual figures.

In spite of their fairy-tale titles and their superficial simplicity, Sergio Leone's movies are powerful and intense exploration of the mythic America he had created in his own mind and, most often than not, the myth has to come to terms with, in Cumbow's words, "a dark and complex vision of morality and the psyche." This apparent discrepancy is vividly echoed by Leone himself when he recounts the

intrusion, experienced during World War II, of “real-life Americans” into his childhood and adolescent dreams of America: “They were no longer the Americans of the West. They were . . . victorious soldiers . . . who were materialist, possessive, keen on pleasures and earthly goods. [In them] I could see . . . nothing—or almost nothing—of the great prairies, or of the demi-gods of my childhood.”

—Luca Prono

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Leopold and Loeb

Nathan Leopold and Richard Loeb, the sons of two of Chicago’s wealthiest and most prominent German Jewish families, precipitated one of the twentieth century’s most sensational mass media events when they kidnapped and murdered a fourteen-year-old neighbor boy, Robert Franks, in May of 1924. At first, there was little suspicion that the pair—close friends since childhood—had any involvement in the disappearance of the Franks boy. The nineteen-year-old Leopold,



Nathan Leopold (left) and Richard Loeb

son of a millionaire box manufacturer, was a law student at the University of Chicago and had earned earlier distinction for his path-breaking studies in ornithology. One year younger than Leopold, Loeb, whose father was a respected executive at Sears, Roebuck and Company, was also an accomplished student, having become the youngest person ever to graduate from the University of Michigan at the age of seventeen. On May 31, 1924, however, the pair shocked the nation when they abandoned their alibis, turned against one another, and confessed to the Franks murder. For the next three months, the combination of intense public interest in the case and the willingness of the national media to indulge, even encourage, that interest in an effort to increase circulation figures made Leopold and Loeb not only household names, but also two of the nation’s most notorious criminals.

Seldom in the history of American journalism had the nation’s press played such an instrumental role in the shaping of a news event as it did the story of Leopold and Loeb. Aside from the day-to-day reporting of developments in the case, journalists uncovered pieces of evidence and tracked down material witnesses to the crime that later proved critical to the prosecution’s case. When the families of the two young men hired famed attorney Clarence Darrow and a team of expensive psychiatrists to defend their sons in court, the press encouraged the public to question whether justice could be bought. Finally, as the courtroom drama unfolded, the press covered the proceedings in relentless detail, giving extensive coverage to the testimony of the psychiatrists and Darrow’s eloquent summation, in which he questioned the merits of capital punishment and called upon the court to spare the lives of his youthful clients.

The story of Leopold and Loeb earned widespread notoriety not only because of the media’s efforts to prioritize it as a news event, but also because the image of the defendants was one onto which Americans could easily project their own fears and anxieties about modern society. During the initial rush to suggest explanations for the pair’s actions, the media, in concert with prosecuting attorney Robert Crowe, depicted Leopold and Loeb as wealthy, over-educated, self-confident daredevils whose plot to commit “the perfect crime” represented a serious threat to the legal and moral foundations of society. Citing factors such as the pair’s non-Christian upbringing, their growing interest in atheism, and their exposure to the allegedly subversive world of the university as possible causes for their strange behavior, the newspapers explained the killers’ motives in a manner that reinforced nativist sentiments and common religious prejudices. Crowe and the media incited additional public outrage by labeling Leopold and Loeb “perverts,” a then widely used euphemism that in this instance gave the public reason to fear that the two boys were not just murderers, but also pedophiles, pornographers, and homosexuals. As the courtroom proceedings unfolded, however, defense attorney Darrow and his expert psychiatrists offered a different and potentially far more unsettling theory to explain why Leopold and Loeb had behaved the way they did. Drawing upon theories of psychoanalysis and child development that had yet to become widely accepted, they recast the defendants as ordinary American youths whose immature crime was the product of inattentive parenting and unresolved childhood insecurities. Such was the effectiveness of the defense strategy that many parents, earlier frightened only that their son or daughter might become another Robert Franks, grew increasingly concerned that their child might become the next Leopold or Loeb, even as they persisted in their demands that the pair receive death sentences for their crime. In the end, Judge John R. Caverly, acknowledging the young ages of the defendants, spared their lives and sentenced them instead to life plus ninety-nine years in prison.

The lives of Leopold and Loeb continued to captivate the public's attention and remained an important part of American popular culture throughout the twentieth century. The national media kept close track of the pair's activities in prison, including Loeb's own murder at the hands of another inmate in 1936 and Leopold's efforts to win parole in the mid-1950s. Fictional accounts of the case, such as Alfred Hitchcock's 1948 film *Rope*, also served to sustain the public's curiosity in the pair by explaining their crime in a manner that addressed the needs and concerns of contemporary Americans. The most influential of these fictional accounts was novelist Meyer Levin's *Compulsion*. Published in 1956 and remade into a Broadway play and then a motion picture in 1959, Levin's novel resonated with readers for its probing examination of the psychological and sexual motives behind Leopold and Loeb's friendship and criminal activities. Director Tom Kalin's 1992 movie, *Swoon*, similarly recast the story of Leopold and Loeb to suit changing times by examining the pair's likely homosexual bonds.

Late in life Leopold struggled to regain control over his public image. As part of his successful efforts to win parole, he completed his autobiography, *Life Plus 99 Years*, in 1958. Shortly after his release from prison in 1959, Leopold filed suit against Meyer Levin for misrepresentation and invasion of privacy. The suit was not resolved until 1970, when the Illinois Supreme Court decided that Levin's account of Leopold's life was not misleading and that the latter's status as a public figure denied him the right to privacy. Following parole, Leopold moved to Puerto Rico where he married, conducted research, and died in 1971.

—Scott A. Newman

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Les Miserables

Billed as "the world's most popular musical," *Les Miserables* has been translated into numerous languages and has been performed in theaters all over the world. With music by Claude-Michel Schoenberg, book by Schoenberg and Alain Boublil, and lyrics by Herbert Kretzmer, adapted by Boublil and Jean-Marc Natel, the musical began life in 1980 in a Paris sports arena. In 1985, Cameron Mackintosh took over as producer in collaboration with London's Royal Shakespeare Company, thus beginning *Les Miserables*' legacy as one of the most significant musical theater works of the late twentieth century.

Based on Victor Hugo's somber and sprawling novel, the musical *Les Miserables* brings to the stage the tale of Jean Valjean, a man who is determined to survive and to do good in the face of vengeful persecution. Freed from prison after serving hard labor for

stealing a loaf of bread, Valjean initially reverts to his old ways, stealing from a Bishop who has tried to help him. But when the Bishop protects him from the law, Valjean decides to reform his ways, eventually becoming a successful factory owner. Valjean befriends one of his factory workers—a young woman named Fantine, who has been forced into prostitution to support her young daughter. After Fantine dies of tuberculosis, Valjean rescues her daughter Cosette from the money-hungry Thenardiers, with whom she has been living, and raises her as his own. Pursued by the sinister police inspector Javert, Valjean and Cosette eventually end up in Paris on the eve of the 1832 Student Uprising where Cosette meets Marius, a young student, and the young couple falls in love. To complicate matters even further, Eponine, the Thenardiers' daughter, is also in love with Marius. Eponine dies in the assault on the students' barricade, along with many of the young idealists. Marius is seriously injured and Valjean carries him to safety where he leaves him for Cosette and disappears. In an effort to stop the wedding of Cosette and Marius, the Thenardiers attempt to blackmail Marius by allegedly exposing the truth about Cosette's father, whom they say is a murderer. As a result of this malevolence, Marius learns that it was Valjean who saved him. Cosette and Marius seek out the dying Valjean and they find him moments before he is welcomed into the afterlife by Fantine, Eponine, and the chorus of students.

Many aspects of Hugo's novel provide the story with its universal appeal. Valjean represents the inherent good in every person, while Javert symbolizes the opposite. A single act of mercy on the part of a Bishop caused Valjean to radically alter his ways. The sacrificial deaths of Fantine, Eponine, and the students are among the most emotional moments in the show, without which Valjean's noble death at the end of the show would not have its dramatic impact. Taken as a whole, *Les Miserables* demonstrates the best and worst of humanity. In addition to the general theme of redemption, the show is filled with various subplots, each of which offers a moral lesson to the audience.

Schoenberg's music for *Les Miserables* is rich and romantic. Recurring melodies are used to enhance developments in the dramatic plot. For example, Valjean and Javert share much of the same music, thus demonstrating that they represent two sides of the same human condition. Among the most impressive songs in *Les Miserables* are Fantine's "I Dreamed a Dream," the inspiring choral number "Do You Hear the People Sing?" Eponine's "On My Own," Valjean's prayer for Marius "Bring Him Home," and Marius's grief-filled "Empty Chairs at Empty Tables."

John Napier's incredible sets add to the dramatic quality of the show. The barricade, the two parts of which are joined on stage to highly dramatic music, is an integral component of the show. The standard set with the rotating center unit allows for the innovative staging for which the musical is known.

Les Miserables opened in 1985 at the Royal Shakespeare Company's Barbican Theatre in London. It quickly transferred to the Palace Theatre in London's West End. The original London production starred Colm Wilkinson, Alun Armstrong, and Patti LuPone. The New York production opened in 1987, and featured Wilkinson, Terrence Mann, Frances Ruffelle, and Judy Kuhn. *Les Miserables* has since been produced worldwide and has been translated into many different languages.

Numerous recordings of the show exist. Among them are the original cast recordings from both London and New York and the complete symphonic recording (1988), featuring Gary Morris as Valjean performing with an international cast. The historic tenth



The cast of *Les Misérables* as seen at the Imperial Theatre in New York, 1992.

anniversary concert from London's Royal Albert Hall has been released on both CD and video.

—William A. Everett

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Lesbianism

Romantic, sexual, and emotional attachment between women was named lesbianism after the island of Lesbos, home of Sappho, a Greek poet of the seventh century. Sappho wrote eloquently of her complex passion for her women lovers, and her ancient verses demonstrate the long tradition behind the lesbians of today. Lesbians come from every nation, ethnic group, and economic class. Though many may feel little sense of community with other lesbians, they are

united by, if nothing else, their attraction to women and the stigmatization of that attraction by many modern societies.

Because of that stigmatization, many lesbians conceal their sexual identities, making an accurate count of their number difficult, but estimates range from six to ten percent of women. In the early 1990s, one study placed the number of lesbians in the United States at six to thirteen million. Women recognize themselves as lesbians in a wide variety of ways. Some may feel from early childhood that they are "different," and some of these may act on their attraction to other girls while still quite young. Others may be aware of such attractions at an early age, but not act on them until much later. Girls who exhibit tomboyish traits may be labeled as lesbians and ridiculed by parents or peers for their difference. Some women may not "come out" until middle age, after long-term relationships with men. Still others may feel a clear attraction for women but never act on it, because of social pressure or isolation.

Lesbians have often been conflicted about what to call themselves, and which term one chooses can be meaningful. Some call themselves gay women, though many consider this a conservative term, and argue that "gay" was invented to describe homosexual men. Many more radical lesbians refer to themselves as dykes, reclaiming an anti-lesbian epithet. Black lesbians were sometimes contemptuously called bulldaggers, and that term has been reclaimed

as well by black lesbians like writer Diane Bogus, who argued that the name originated with the Amazon queen Bodicea. Among themselves, lesbians worked out code references to announce their identity. In one of these codes, one was a "friend of Dorothy" if she was known to have sex with other women.

Women have traditionally been somewhat invisible in patriarchal society, and one or two women living without men has tended to arouse condescension or pity rather than the suspicion of homosexuality. Therefore, lesbians who were financially independent of men have historically been able to live together with relative ease. These relationships, sometimes called "Boston marriages," were socially tolerated. Choices for working class and poor women were more limited, but some lesbians found a solution by passing as men, so that they could marry other women openly.

In the early-twentieth-century United States, where homosexuality was considered a vice by straight society and was beginning to be considered a mental illness as well, urban lesbians continued to find each other as best they could in back street bars and private social clubs. Lesbian and gay visibility got an enormous boost during World War II, as gays poured out of rural and small-town America to join the military or work in the defense industry. Many did not return home, but settled in urban centers like New York, San Francisco, and Chicago, where they established underground communities which revolved around gay clubs, bars, and, for women, sports teams.

In the bars and on the softball teams, lesbians began to develop their own subculture. A large part of this culture involved butch and femme, lesbian roles that appeared to be based on traditional definitions of masculine and feminine behavior, but were deeply lesbian in their evolution. A butch, for example, probably dressed in traditionally male clothes, down to the underwear, and might wear her hair combed in a duck-tail, while a femme might wear the same make-up and high heels as a heterosexual woman. But the butch woman's attire, while giving her a certain status within the lesbian community, made her extremely visible and vulnerable walking down the street, where she might be attacked and beaten or raped. Therefore, it was often the femmes who served a protective function in the straight world, where they would be perceived as "normal." In the 1940s and 1950s, lesbians pressured each other to assume either the butch or femme role. Those who did not identify either way were called "kiki" or "sooners" ("just as soon be one as the other") with some derision.

The women's liberation and gay liberation movements of the 1970s brought revolutionary change to lesbianism. Lesbians were in the forefront of women's liberation, and, inspired by the exciting new ideas of feminism, some women who thought of themselves as straight began to question their need to form relationships with men. Women who had never before considered the possibility now began to wonder if they might be lesbians. These new "political lesbians" came out by the thousands and began to demand acceptance from both gay men and straight feminists. They also began to build a visible "women's culture," separate from the bars (though always including the softball teams). Lesbian journals, bookstores, and coffeeshops became places to discuss the endless ramifications of lesbian politics. Lesbian musicians recorded on lesbian music labels and played at women's music festivals across the country.

Many lesbians were swept up in a kind of euphoric idealism by this new openness, but because of the diversity of the lesbian population, conflict inevitably arose. The new young feminist lesbians alienated many of the older lesbians by criticizing their butch-femme roles. Among the feminists themselves, unacknowledged

differences of race, class, and ethnicity led to bitter divisions. Lesbians who wanted to create a woman-only space and focus on lesbian issues alone fought with those who wanted to continue to work with gay men or heterosexual feminists. Lesbians who preferred the safety of the closet disliked the blatant visibility of the political lesbians, since it drew attention to their existence. It was this visibility, however, that was perhaps the biggest contribution of the 1970s lesbians. Young feminist lesbians, while eschewing the butch-femme drag of earlier generations, wore the uniform of the androgynous political dyke, blue jeans, flannel shirt, work boots, and short hair cut. Utilitarian and counterculture, this manner of dress also allowed lesbians to recognize each other with ease. "Any lesbian whose hair is more than a half inch long," wrote lesbian musician Alix Dobkin in the second issue of *Dyke* magazine, "is trying to pass for straight."

The work done by the butch and femme bar dykes and the lesbian feminists bore fruit in the 1980s and 1990s. While lesbians of the 1970s had worked hard to be taken seriously within the feminist and other progressive movements, the lesbians of the hedonistic 1980s were more focused on making lesbianism fun. Even the serious political groups were aggressively irreverent. "We Recruit" was the tongue-in-cheek motto of the Lesbian Avengers, a radical group that arose in New York in the mid-1980's and quickly spread across the nation.

Another development that shook the lesbian community in the 1980s was the rise of sado/masochism (s/m). Not uncommon in the gay male community, s/m was almost totally unacknowledged among lesbians until the mid-1980s. Then, s/m lesbians, calling themselves sexual radicals, began to speak out publicly, calling many lesbian feminists puritanical and repressive. They claimed the right to define their own sexuality, even if it included pornography, casual sex, and butch/femme roles. The s/m, or leather dykes, began to reclaim the butch/femme roles that the feminists had disparaged, proclaiming them an integral part of lesbian sexuality.

The look of young lesbians of the 1980s was heavily influenced by the outrageous hair and clothes of the punks, and lesbian style, with its piercings, spiky hair, and tattoos, was in turn widely imitated by young heterosexual women. This, coupled with the new visibility of lesbian celebrities like musicians k.d. lang and Melissa Etheridge, began to bring lesbianism to the attention of the national media. Captivated by the tough, hip image of "grrl power," establishment organs like *Time* magazine and television's *Prime Time* began to explore the new phenomenon of "lesbian chic." From being invisible, lesbians had become trendsetters. Many lesbians were disgusted with their "discovery" by the press and found the courtship of the media to be opportunistic and artificial. A popular sticker that began to appear at gay events read, "Lesbianism: A Movement, not a Market."

In the late 1980s and 1990s, a new movement of "queer power" began to break down the barriers among different sexual minorities. Bisexuals and transgendered people demanded acceptance within the lesbian and gay communities as well as in the straight world. For lesbians this meant that several new groups began to consider themselves members of the lesbian community. Bisexuals and transgendered people, both men and women, claim that they are a part of the definition of lesbianism too. Though many lesbians, especially those who came of age before the 1980s, resist these broadening categories, there is no doubt that the "queer" movement has added depth and complexity to questions of sexual identity.

Though some lesbians are childless, by choice or necessity, many are mothers. Lesbians who have children from previous marriages with men often worry about losing custody if their sexuality

becomes known, and activist groups have organized around the country to fight for the rights of lesbian mothers. Lesbians who want to conceive children without intercourse with a man use alternative insemination. In the 1970s, many lesbians made informal arrangements with sympathetic gay men to obtain sperm with which they inseminated themselves, resulting in a “baby boom” of so-called “turkey baster babies.” The AIDS epidemic which devastated the gay male community in the 1980s drastically curtailed these informal and inexpensive arrangements, forcing lesbians to the far more costly sperm banks to obtain “safe” sperm. Other lesbians have turned to adoption, another expensive option. These women often adopt disadvantaged or foreign children, since many states make it difficult for non-traditional families to adopt. The large number of unwanted girls in China has led to a “boomlet” of lesbians adopting Chinese babies in the 1990s, and large cities often boast support groups for lesbian mothers and their Chinese daughters.

Though usually hidden, lesbian influence has been felt throughout American history. Whether it is writers like Willa Cather, performers like Bessie Smith, activists like Angela Davis, or athletes like Martina Navratilova, lesbians have been an integral part of the fabric of American society. Behind the scenes, lesbians have often been at the forefront of movements for societal change and improvement, from the fight for women’s suffrage to AIDS activism. Because lesbians are not motivated by male preferences to the degree that heterosexual women are, lesbians have often taken the lead in confronting the damaging unfairness of conventional standards of beauty. The concepts of fat oppression and “looksism” were hotly discussed within the lesbian community long before they reached the talk-show circuit. This work, while begun in the iconoclastic 1970s, still continues. A popular T-shirt marketed by a young lesbian in the late 1990s declaims, “Fuck Your Fascist Beauty Standards.”

Lesbians have also spearheaded reforms in the fields of psychiatry and mental health. Since any deviation from their prescribed societal role often landed women in mental hospitals, many lesbians were forcibly committed and subjected to various brutal “cures.” Beginning in the 1960s and continuing to the present many lesbians have fought against abuses of lesbians and gays by the mental health system. Many lesbians have become therapists themselves in an effort to create an alternative mental health system that is more responsive to the needs of the disenfranchised.

Lesbian culture too has permeated American life. Lillith Fair, the popular concert tour, has its roots in the women’s music festivals that sprang up across the country as lesbianism gathered its strength in the 1970s. And the “grrl power” of the 1980s continues to empower young women through the dangerous process of coming of age in a male-dominated society. 1990s films like *Bound*, *Chasing Amy*, and *The True Life Adventures of Two Girls in Love*, have placed lesbians in the center of mainstream entertainment. Lesbians have also found their way onto television, if only as peripheral characters, and, in the late 1990’s comic Ellen DeGeneres made a historical connection by coming out as a lesbian both in real life and on her sit-com, *Ellen*. The fact that her series was cancelled only a few episodes after a coming-out episode that broke ratings records points to the slowness of true public acceptance.

In the 1970s, lesbians began to redefine lesbianism. It was not merely sexual attraction between women, they argued, it was living a woman-centered life, where women and girls could take themselves seriously apart from their relation to men. It is perhaps this shift in the

world view of women and girls that is lesbianism’s greatest contribution to American culture.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Let Us Now Praise Famous Men

A photographic essay published as a Houghton Mifflin book in 1941, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* was a collaborative project by writer James Agee (1909-1955) and photographer Walker Evans (1903-1976), who were sent by *Fortune* magazine to document the lives of southern tenant farmers. While the book originated as one of many similar projects within the 1930s documentary tradition, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* has come to be seen as an enduring work of philosophy, cultural history, and autobiography, as well as being an acknowledged American literary classic.

In April of 1936, *Fortune* magazine, one of the most liberal magazines during the 1930s, asked Agee to contribute an article to its “Life and Circumstances” series about poor and lower-middle-class Americans. Agee was asked to write on the lives of white southern tenant-farm families and to include a photographic essay with his report. Agee requested Walker Evans, a staff photographer for the Farm Security Administration, to accompany him to Alabama, and the government and *Fortune* magazine’s parent company, Time, Inc. reached an agreement whereby Evans’s work would become government property. Agee and Evans traveled the rural South and lived with three families in July and August of 1936. Agee eventually produced an article deemed unacceptable by *Fortune*, not only because of its length—it was ten times longer than assigned—but because its substance and tone did not comply with *Fortune*’s optimistic and sometimes paternalistic stance. After a year of attempted editing, *Fortune* released the article to Agee, who received a contract from Harper and Brothers to expand the work into a book-length manuscript. When Agee submitted the work in 1939, Harper and Brothers refused to publish the work without substantial revisions that the author was unwilling to make. Eventually, Agee received a contract with Houghton Mifflin, who published the book in September of 1941, an inopportune time for a book on a domestic issue since the nation’s attention was focused on the accelerating war in Europe and Asia.

The book itself did not fit into any accepted category of literature, nor did it compare with documentary photo essays which had been popular in the 1930s, such as Margaret Bourke-White and Erskine Caldwell’s *You Have Seen Their Faces* (1937) and Dorothea

Lange and Paul Taylor's *An American Exodus* (1939). *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* is, at heart, an attack on the documentary tradition of the Great Depression. William Stott's *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* and Michael Staub's *Voices of Persuasion: Politics of Representation in 1930s America* both describe the manner in which Agee and Evans's work defied the prevailing trends. As Staub pointed out: "Agee's text repeatedly and obsessively undermined its author's authority to write the very text we read, rejecting therefore one of the era's most valued documentary conventions." That convention, according to Stott, was that "experience per se became a good." Agee agonized over his ability to truthfully represent the lives of the three families he and Evans lived with, and he feared their feelings about and reactions to the intrusion he had imposed on their lives. "It is not going to be easy to look into their eyes," he wrote, as he contemplated the exacting and detailed description of the Gudger family home he had just written. Agee realized that his intentions, however noble, were far outside the realm of the Gudgers' everyday, or even occasional, experience. This gap between subject and writer faced Agee like a dark abyss as he desperately tried to build a bridge across it. It is this bridge, or at least the attempt to build it, that makes *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* different than other documentary works, and that led to the cold reception it received upon its publication. Since the 1960s, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* has grown in estimation among an academic audience that has become more sensitive to the ideas and implications of representation.

—Charles J. Shindo

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Let's Pretend

From the 1930s to the mid-1950s, *Let's Pretend* was one of the most enduring and highly lauded radio programs for children ever broadcast. For over two decades of Saturday mornings (apart from a few years in a bi-weekly, early evening slot during the 1938-39 season), the show presented familiar fairy tales such as "Cinderella," "Rumpelstiltskin," "Sleeping Beauty," "The Little Lame Prince," and "Jack and the Beanstalk," along with the occasional original story, in fully-dramatized half-hour segments featuring a large cast of new and seasoned radio performers, accompanied by specially composed musical scores. In the pre- and early-TV era, these imaginative-ly produced shows nurtured the imaginations of countless American youngsters with a simple but potent fusion of spoken word, music, and sound effects, which in tandem evoked many a magical image in the collective mind of generations as yet unsullied by the literal visualizations of television.

Let's Pretend was originally (and rather generically) titled *The Adventures of Helen and Mary* when it was first heard on CBS in September of 1929, the creation of Yolanda Langworthy. In 1934 the title changed to *The Land of Let's Pretend* (and later, simply *Let's Pretend*) and the show became the province of Nila Mack, a vaudeville and Broadway actress who had also performed with the Alla Nazimova troupe, and who developed the show's concept to its full potential. Mack wrote the program, adapting her scripts from sources ranging from Hans Christian Andersen and the Brothers Grimm to the Arabian Nights, while also creating original tales (including an annual Christmas show).

She also directed the weekly productions, which often included promising child stars, many of whom went on to further success in broadcasting, theater, and movies. Additionally, the casts regularly included adult performers, some of whom had grown up on the show to become "steadies," remaining with *Pretend* until its last broadcasts in the mid-1950s. Performed before a live studio audience of mostly children in CBS's Radio Playhouse 3 in New York City, the show was hosted first by Harry Swan, and later by "Uncle" Bill Adams, who remained with the show until it went off the air.

The weekly format included a musical opening, after which Uncle Bill and cast members decided on some magical mode of transportation to the Land of Let's Pretend. This ritual journey, abetted immeasurably by the assistance of the studio's versatile sound effects man, set the stage for a different tale of fantasy each week.

Though *Let's Pretend* was consistently popular and won many prestigious media awards in its day, its commercial exploitation seems quite mild by today's standards, being limited mostly to a few storybooks and some children's record albums on Columbia. Thus, few collectible artifacts survive to mark the existence of one of radio's most popular shows for young people.

The esteem with which CBS held Mack's award-winning show was exemplified by the fact that, for the first several years of its broadcast, the network chose to carry the show without a commercial sponsor, until, in 1943, Cream of Wheat became the first and only product to garner that honor. The hot cereal also inspired what may have been among the first, and certainly one of the most memorable examples (at least to a generation of radio-bred children), of the singing commercial. Regular listeners to the show probably still remember the infectious jingle's first few lines:

Cream of Wheat is so good to eat, Yes, we have it every day.

We sing this song, it will make us strong, And it makes us shout hooray!

Nila Mack died in January of 1953, and Johanna Johnston wrote the final episodes of *Let's Pretend*. The last broadcast of one of the most imaginative and well-loved shows of a kinder, gentler era in children's media entertainment was heard on October 23, 1954.

—Ross Care

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Letterman, David (1947—)

From 1980 onwards, television talk show host David Letterman has entertained viewers with his wry observational humor, zany antics, and refusal to kowtow to celebrities on his late night program. First aired on NBC, *The David Letterman Show* evolved into *Late Night with David Letterman* from 1982 to 1993, then moved to CBS and became *The Late Show with David Letterman*. Throughout the changes, Letterman maintained his reputation as one of the most innovative personalities on television, bringing to the well-rehearsed business a playful spontaneity. His uncanny ability for ad-libbing, as well as his propensity for undertaking creative stunts, has kept the show perennially fresh. What makes the show truly a leader, though, is its postmodern approach to the medium, characterized chiefly by Letterman's talent for zoning in on commonly accepted but nevertheless ridiculous aspects of society and culture (such as the concept of canned ham), and for targeting cultural icons. Though many are disturbed by his notorious penchant for condescension and put-downs during celebrity interviews, Letterman is recognized as a dynamic host due to his insistence that guests work for their spot on his stage.

David Letterman was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, on April 12, 1947. His father, Joseph, was a florist, and his mother, Dorothy, served as a church secretary. Letterman, who has one older and one younger sister, has described his upbringing as typical lower middle-class. He played Little League baseball, ran track in high school, held a paper route, and bagged groceries at a local supermarket in his teens. A rambunctious youth who made mediocre grades, Letterman was



David Letterman

nevertheless ambitious. From an early age he aspired to become a broadcaster, despite his parents' wishes that he pursue a more practical profession. He adored television—perhaps because his parents kept a tight control over their children's viewing—enjoyed *The Arthur Godfrey Show* and idolized talk show host Johnny Carson.

After high school, Letterman attended Ball State University in Muncie, Indiana, which is known for its outstanding communications program. While still in college, he found a summer job as a replacement announcer at a local television station and eventually became an announcer and weekend weatherman at the ABC-TV affiliate in Indianapolis. There, he began trying out some of his humor on the air, and realized that he wanted to become a comedy writer. After graduating from Ball State in 1969, the station where he had worked summers hired him full-time to announce the weather and host an occasional children's program or late-night movie. Here, he continued cultivating his quirky sense of humor, describing hail the size of canned hams and reporting on weather conditions in fictional locales. He went on to host a radio talk show at the Indianapolis station WNTS, but quickly tired of nitwit callers and took a full-time job as host of *Clover Power*, a show about children's agriculture projects, which he later admitted centered on poking fun at the young guests. He also began sending unsolicited scripts to the *Mary Tyler Moore* show on a regular basis, hoping that someone would discover his talents. Finally, his wife, Michelle Cook (they divorced in 1977), insisted they move to Los Angeles so that he could devote himself fully to pursuing his chosen career.

In 1975 Letterman arrived in Los Angeles and began performing in stand-up comedy clubs in order to get his name noticed. He cites *Tonight Show* host Jay Leno, then also a club circuit regular, as being one of his greatest influences at the time. Letterman became popular in the clubs and eventually landed a job as a comedy writer. In 1978, *The Tonight Show* invited Letterman to appear, a major step in any entertainer's career. At the end of his routine, Johnny Carson invited him to sit and chat with other guests—an honor seldom bestowed on a first-time performer. After just three more appearances, Letterman began filling in for Carson, acting as guest host on over 20 occasions during 1979. Observers mused that Letterman could be in the running to take over as permanent host when Carson retired, a possibility that had been one of Letterman's lifelong dreams.

Meanwhile, NBC signed Letterman to a contract in 1980 and gave him a daytime talk show, *The David Letterman Show*, which proved the prototype for his later format. The show, intended to cover subjects like household tips and cooking demonstrations, was not a ratings hit and was soon canceled. In their remaining time on the air, Letterman and Merrill Markoe, who was his female companion for ten years and provided much of his material, began developing the irreverent humor that would become his trademark. At one point, a herd of sheep was let loose in the studio; sometimes the host took a camera and strolled around the city looking for funny sights, on one occasion visiting a number of establishments that all displayed signs boasting that they had the world's best coffee. During this time, Letterman introduced Stupid Pet Tricks, featuring average people and their performing animals. Critics loved the novel format, and the doomed series quickly built a small but loyal audience, eventually leading the network to offer him the late-night time slot of 12:30 a.m. to 1:30 a.m. Eastern Standard Time.

Late Night with David Letterman first aired on February 1, 1982, broadcasting from the NBC studios in New York City. In addition to the variety-show antics from the daytime show, Letterman added elements of a more traditional talk show format, including an opening

monologue, chit-chat with his bandleader, Paul Schaffer, and interviews with celebrity guests. However, the show maintained a rough-around-the-edges atmosphere, setting it apart from the slick, showbiz image of other programs. None of the spots escaped the host's offbeat approach, which teemed with a sense of wonderment at much of what the rest of society takes for granted, from the ubiquitous canned ham to a duo of recent immigrants selling New York souvenirs out of their Manhattan shop. Indeed, it became a Letterman trademark to draw regular people onto the program, putting them in the spotlight for a few seconds or even presenting them as recurring "characters." One such was Meg Parsont, a good-natured woman whose office at Simon & Schuster was across from his own. One night Letterman phoned the surprised publishing employee from the program, and enjoyed talking to her so much that he made her a recurring feature. But perhaps one of the show's funniest, most well-known, and most enduring segments is the Top Ten list, a popular routine that takes a topic, "the top ten nicknames cabbies give passengers" for example, and provides silly punch lines.

Letterman, who appears never to have lost a youthful enthusiasm and sense of excitement, often creates onscreen situations more or less just to see what will happen. Some of his signature events included donning a suit made of Velcro and flying off a trampoline toward a Velcro wall, wearing a suit covered in Alka-Seltzer tablets and diving into a tank of water, and covering himself with tortilla chips and immersing himself in yogurt dip. Other sight gags included inserting various objects like a can of pork and beans into a powerful hydraulic press. He has often brought the show's behind-the-scenes crew in front of the camera: he had stage manager Biff Henderson drive "The Golf Cart of Death" through pyramids of everyday objects, including a tower of plastic champagne glasses, and his obvious glee shone through during the numerous slow-motion replays he ordered throughout the night's broadcast. Audiences caught his infectious sense of fun and sent the show to the top of its ratings slot within a few years of its debut.

However, not everyone was enamored of Letterman's mischievous ways. To his detractors, some of his more lunatic antics are puerile and unfunny, and he appeared ill at ease hosting the 1995 Oscar ceremony where, in the opinion of many, his particular humor was out of synch with the occasion. More seriously, he quickly developed a reputation as a difficult host. Prone to openly insulting his top-name guests, he has insisted he is not mean-spirited and his wisecracks often slip out spontaneously and without malice aforethought, but many stars have taken great offense and have refused to appear on the program. Others, however, appreciate that he can equally be self-deprecating, and take his barbs in stride.

Rather than sidestepping tough questions and gushing over a person's accomplishments, Letterman has often put people on the spot. He once opened an interview with boxing promoter Don King by asking about his outrageous hairstyle, and he questioned the world's smartest woman, Marilyn Vos Savant, about why she was not doing something "important" with her life. He also scored a ratings coup when he got actor Hugh Grant to appear on the show after he was arrested for his much-publicized tryst with a prostitute. In addition, he has managed to get celebrities to reveal a down-to-earth side unusual on competing programs that tend to emphasize glamour. Letterman goaded Teri Garr, for example, into taking a shower during the program, and filmed Mariel Hemingway cleaning fish. Though many guests were good sports, others were known to leave the program in tears. Some, such as Cher, would agree to appear, but then go on the

offensive, which made matters worse and could inspire months of subsequent on-air ribbing from the slighted host.

Despite his stormy relationship with certain celebrities, Letterman's iconoclastic style was a hit with viewers appreciative of his ironic take on the television genre and the commercialism of contemporary society. His talent for taking ordinary cultural elements and pointing out their inherently funny nature was a refreshing change from prefabricated formula jokes, and brought him a heap of Emmy nominations and awards. Much to his dismay, Letterman's goal of taking over *The Tonight Show* was quashed when it was announced in 1992 that the position would go to comedian Jay Leno. Soon, rival network CBS enticed Letterman with a generous salary. After some insider dealings, NBC finally offered Letterman the coveted position, but with a number of stipulations and with a less attractive pay package than CBS had offered. Letterman ended up leaving NBC in 1993 and starting up *The Late Show with David Letterman* as a head-to-head competitor against Jay Leno and *The Tonight Show* in the 11:30 p.m. Eastern Standard Time slot. In spite of legal haggling with NBC over "intellectual property," the program carried over its same goofy personality and most of the old stalwart gags, such as the Top Ten list and the pet tricks, and was still going strong at the end of the 1990s.

—Geri Speace

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Levin, Meyer (1905-1981)

Jewish-American novelist, journalist, and filmmaker Meyer Levin contributed several books to the proletarian social fiction movement of the 1930s and early 1940s. His two best known literary works are the Chicago-based novels *The Old Bunch* (1937), about the Jewish Ghetto and *Citizens* (1940), which dealt with the killing of ten steel-mill strikers on Memorial Day in 1937. The latter earned him the praise of Ernest Hemingway who proclaimed it "a fine and exciting American novel." In his proletarian fiction, Levin eliminated the notion of the central character and adopted multiple viewpoints, holding that such a device was in itself an affirmation of democracy and allowed him to carry out a more complete social analysis. After the Second World War he directed the first full-scale feature film to be produced in Palestine—*My Father's House* (1947)—before going to Europe, where he filmed the underground Jewish exodus to Israel. In 1957, he published *Compulsion* (1957), one of the first examples of a

“nonfiction novel” based on the Leopold-Loeb murder case, which inspired the homonymous movie starring Orson Welles.

—Luca Prono

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Levi's

Levi's is the registered trademark of a kind of blue denim jeans made by Levi Strauss & Company of San Francisco. Other garments and accessories made by Levi Strauss, such as tailored slacks, jackets, hats, shirts, skirts, and belts, are sometimes also referred to as “Levi's,” but the trademark is properly applied only to the line of jeans with the designated style number “501” and distinguished by



A pair of old Levi's jeans.

the following unique features: a fly of metal buttons rather than a zipper, copper rivets on the pocket seams, a leather label sewn on the waistband, a stitched pattern of a double “v” on the back pockets, a red tag with the word “Levi's” sewn into the seam of the right back pocket, and the use of heavyweight cotton denim that will “shrink-to-fit” an inch or so at the waist and legs with the first laundering. After nearly 100 years of steady, though unremarkable, sales—almost entirely wholesale, to cowboys and agricultural workers in the West—the popularity of Levi's flourished after World War II when they became the fashionable attire of middle-class teenagers, spurred by a new marketing thrust in which the company abandoned wholesaling in favor of manufacturing garments under its own name.

Levi Strauss & Company takes its name from Levi Strauss (1829-1902), a Bavarian who emigrated to San Francisco in 1850, at the height of the California Gold Rush. He brought a store of dry goods with him in hopes of setting up a business supplying miners and prospectors in the gold fields. Discovering that what these consumers needed above all was a durable pair of trousers, Strauss hired a tailor to design a serviceable pair of pants. The original garment was made of tent canvas, which was changed after a few years to the now world-famous blue denim. The trousers sold so well that Strauss concentrated on their manufacture to the exclusion of all other merchandise. In 1853, he formed a partnership with his brothers Jonas and Louis, and they ran the company until Levi Strauss's death in 1902, at which time the executive control of the firm passed to four nephews. In 1918, the Haas family—part of the Strauss family by marriage—took over. After World War II, at the same time they decided to promote Levi's to retail consumers, the Haases also made a public offering of Levi Strauss stock. During the company's explosive growth in the 1950s and 1960s, the stock's performance matched pace. Other types of pants—work, casual, and dress—were added to the inventory, as were jackets, shirts, and various items of women's clothing. By 1985, when the Haases and other members of the Strauss family staged a leveraged buyout and returned the company to private hands, Levi Strauss & Company had become the largest manufacturer of pants in the world. In February of 1999, the company announced that it was closing down its manufacturing operations in the United States and moving them overseas.

The success of Levi's signals, among other things, the first flexing of the huge economic muscle of the postwar Baby Boom. How Levi's became *the* brand of blue jeans to wear—the *sine qua non* of membership in the inner circle in every American high school and junior high—provides a case study in demographics and aggressive marketing. The Levi's story also reflects the shifting, after 1945, of America's cultural center of gravity to the West coast. The unchallenged supremacy of Levi's—in which the brand name has become virtually the generic name for the product—also reflects the penchant of bourgeois youth to adopt the attire and the mannerisms of lower social classes.

—Gerald Carpenter

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Levittown

In 1946, developer William J. Levitt and his brother Alfred capitalized on the twin circumstances of enormous demand and unequalled opportunity of the post-World War II era by purchasing 1500 acres of potato fields in Nassau County, Long Island and then building 6,000 small, boxy houses there in little more than a year. By the time Levitt started building, America returned to a state of relative normalcy for the first time in over fifteen years. Although the end of the war produced a massive housing shortage, white working class Americans began to experience practically unprecedented levels of prosperity fueled, in large part, by comprehensive government programs designed to allay the social strife that many feared would accompany the war’s end. By 1948, Levitt named the new development for himself and offered what were originally rental units for sale. Potential buyers stood on long lines in hopes of an opportunity to land

a Levitt house of their very own. Within the next three years, over 15,000 homes were built and sold.

The white male soldiers who returned from Europe and the Pacific came back not to merely a warm welcome, but to a wide-ranging social program designed to lift them up from the dire economic circumstances so many experienced for so long during the 1930s. The G.I. Bill of Rights offered qualified vets job training, a paid year-long sabbatical, educational funds, and perhaps most importantly, the opportunity to buy their own inexpensive home even if they lacked savings. Many minorities were barred from enjoying these benefits due to housing discrimination, job and educational discrimination, and because 60 percent of African-American veterans were given dishonorable discharges from military service and were thus ineligible for benefits. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) also fueled the dual process of empowerment for the white working class, and the exclusion of minorities from suburban life by offering developers low-cost loans to build and encouragement to write restrictive racial covenants into the deeds of the new homes.

Using the same methods of mass production as were used to produce so many of the new “labor-saving” technological devices of the post-war period, Levitt’s small, two-bedroom, one-bath homes



An aerial view of Levittown.

turned out spare, plain, and box-like. The large kitchen “picture” window of the original homes, soon hailed as the central focus of suburban life, faced out to the front lawn, while the bedrooms and other more private areas were arranged toward the back. Eventually, Levitt built new plans that moved the living room to the back of the home. This layout encouraged women to greet one another during the day, while maintaining privacy for the nuclear family when the male breadwinner returned home at night. In this way, homeowners could keep some of the feeling of community that they remembered from their childhoods in the city. Children could play while their mothers watched. When dinner was finished (or when the oven bell clicked to signal that the “TV Dinners” were heated through and bubbling), mother could shout for her children to come in. The spaces for more intimate socializing, arguing, and the harsher 1950s-style discipline of children were designed for a new style of privacy previously unknown to working class urban dwellers.

Significantly, the homes had no basements, but were instead set down on concrete slab foundations, a technique Levitt borrowed from ancient Rome. While many had disdain for the technique (one older suburbanite declared simply: “Without a basement, it’s not a house!”), the method allowed for extremely rapid methods of construction: after the slabs were laid, crews with specific duties were dispatched to complete their work in assembly-line fashion, using pre-fabricated building materials. During one period, Levitt was starting and finishing approximately 150 houses a day.

In essence, a Levittown home was the first “easy-open, ready-to-use” home. Each home came complete with a washing machine and a television set at a time when these devices were still seen as wonders of technology available only to the upper middle classes. Now women who’d grown up in the poverty of New York City were free to explore new activities called “hobbies” which might include furniture refinishing, cake decorating, or playing “mahjong” with neighbors. Boys now played with real baseballs and bats on real playing fields instead of playing “stickball” on unsafe city streets. The first residents felt as though they’d entered paradise, and in many ways, they had. No longer would these former city dwellers be forced to live in the cramped, unhealthful conditions that characterize urban life in 20th century America. The Levittown experiment was certainly the most consequential, long-lasting, and just plain successful result of the G.I. Bill. And it wasn’t the last. Soon other inexpensive and federally subsidized new suburbs appeared in such places as Lakewood, California. Levitt himself followed up with new Levittowns in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

In the ensuing years, the new suburbanites truly knew the best of both worlds. Children drank clean, fluoridated water in Levittown, Long Island, and awoke in the mornings to the bright hues of sunflowers outside their bedroom windows. There was always someone to play with, and parents didn’t fear bad associations in the new suburb as they did in the city. Milk and bread were delivered fresh each morning to the side door of the home, so housewives weren’t stranded without vehicles. Men had shiny new tail-finned cars with which to drive into the city to work at prosperous factory, trade union, or white collar jobs. Real wages grew enormously during this time and everyone in the home soon had plenty of disposable income to spend on big ticket items such as “high-fidelity” equipment on which to play long-playing record albums, pricey bicycles for each child, and elaborate wardrobes for everyone in the family. In the new suburbs, status became very important: “keeping up with the Joneses” was a new catch phrase. If neighbor Jones had a new power mower, neighbor Smith now wanted one too.

The original community was not as ethnically homogenous as the more gentrified pre-war suburbs; the new residents were freed from the restrictions of “an all-inclusive nature” that prohibited Jews and other white ethnics from purchasing suburban homes in the pre-war period. Levitt himself was Jewish and clearly saw no reason to bar Jewish and Catholic vets from a chance at this new American Dream. With encouragement from the FHA, he did find plenty of reasons to maintain the restrictions barring African-Americans and people of Puerto-Rican origin from buying a home in Levittown. The deed to each of the original Long Island homes included a covenant barring such families from ever buying the home. If an owner later decided to sell his home to a “Negro family,” that owner could be sued by his neighbors. This was all perfectly legal until 1948 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled such covenants unconstitutional. Levitt fought the Court’s ruling for years afterward, culminating in a titanic battle in the late 1950s. Levitt held a press conference in New Jersey, insisting that his new Levittown there would be restricted to whites only. He claimed, perversely, that he did this for the benefit of minorities who had been harassed in Levittown, Pennsylvania. Levitt finally had to back down and make provisions for minorities to buy into New Jersey’s Levittown, but no new laws specifically criminalized racial covenants until the Fair Housing Act of 1968. Many houses retained such covenants for decades, and a few deeds still had them in the late 1990s.

As the new housing developments were in the process of rapid construction, the building of highways, expressways, and freeways boomed. Most of the existing interstate highway infrastructure was built after World War II and prior to 1971. This boom in construction, with its attendant “urban renewal” facilitated the movement of urbanites out of the working class and poor neighborhoods in which they’d grown up. Many apartment buildings were simply bulldozed to make way for the new transport corridors. Those left behind, the minorities who were not permitted entrance in the new suburbs were left with urban environments that were decimated by the construction of roads leading out of the cities and into the countryside. In an effort to house these displaced persons, the federal government financed crowded public housing facilities that soon fell into states of disrepair. These districts were then “red-lined” by banks as poor risks for home and business loans. Cities now became tolerable places to work and inhospitable or downright uninhabitable places in which to live.

At the same time, life in the suburbs flourished. Veterans not only took advantage of the new educational opportunities for themselves, but made sure that quality new schools were built in the new suburbs for their children, who would come to be known as “baby boomers” because so many of them were conceived between 1946 and 1964. The baby boom reached its peak in 1957, just before Levitt built Levittown, New Jersey.

The homes in the newer phases of Levittown, Long Island, and in the new Levittowns were considerably more spacious and carefully designed than the original boxy “capes.” Family and social life moved almost completely toward the back of the home and the “picture window” moved along with it. Neighbors now spent less time “coffee-Klatching” in the kitchen and more time on organized, more privatized socializing in the backyard and in the new “family rooms” of the homes. The original Levittown homes were also changed and expanded by their owners, and came to resemble the newer models. The seemingly limitless creativity of the original and new “Levittowners” gave the lie to the myth of suburban homogeneity so prevalent during the 1950s. Most of the original, simple

“Cape” style homes, built during the initial phase have been remodeled beyond all recognition; Levitt himself designed the houses with such extensive remodeling in mind. The attics were large and fit for habitation once “finished” and many homeowners quickly added “dormers” which seemed to jut out from the roofs of the houses. Carports became garages and backyards were screened in. In the days before “homeowner’s associations,” houses were painted all manner of shades and hues. A man’s “little box,” as the homes were dubbed by a critical popular culture, was truly his castle. It is now difficult to find an “untouched” original Levittown “Cape,” although the Smithsonian Institution is said to be looking for one for their museum in Washington, D.C.

—Robin Markowitz

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Lewinsky, Monica (1973—)

Monica Lewinsky has earned a permanent, unlooked for, and unwelcome place in the political history of the United States. Her naïve infatuation, at the age of 22, with American President William Jefferson Clinton, placed her at the center of a sordid White House sex scandal that dominated political news in 1998, plunged the American people into shock, confusion and disillusion, and culminated in the historic impeachment trial—only the second in American history—of the 42nd President.

The privileged daughter of affluent Beverly Hills parents (her doctor father and writer mother divorced when Monica was 13), she graduated with a psychology degree from Lewis and Clark College in May of 1995 and became an unpaid White House intern a month later. She met President Bill Clinton in November of 1995 and became an employee in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs in December 1995. When, at that time, the business of government was temporarily suspended, leaving the White House dependent on interns for routine errands, Monica Lewinsky had an encounter with the President which resulted in a covert sexual relationship. She was transferred out of the White House to work at the Pentagon, but she and Clinton remained in at least telephonic contact until shortly after the 1997 presidential election.

In late 1997, Lewinsky confided details of the affair to Pentagon co-worker Linda Tripp who had befriended her, but who secretly tape-recorded their incriminating conversations and passed them to the officers investigating the Paula Jones case. In early 1998, attorneys for Jones, the plaintiff in a sexual harassment suit against President Clinton, informed Lewinsky that she was on their witness



Monica Lewinsky

list. Lewinsky provided them with a sworn affidavit denying a sexual relationship with the President, but when the story of the affair, the Tripp tapes, and independent counsel Kenneth Starr’s expanded investigation into the matter became public on January 20, 1998, a political and media tumult exploded across America and the world.

Ms. Lewinsky’s legal jeopardy, based on her affidavit for the Jones attorneys, faded in July when her attorneys negotiated an immunity agreement with the independent counsel’s office. She was also ordered to turn over to Starr’s investigators a blue dress, notoriously bearing the stains of a sexual encounter with the President. On August 17, 1998, President Clinton, following four hours of videotaped testimony before a Federal grand jury, confessed to the world in a televised address that, contrary to his own earlier public denial, he had indeed had an “inappropriate relationship” with Ms. Lewinsky. A comprehensive report written by Kenneth Starr’s office and submitted to Congress and the American public gave intimate details of that relationship, each new revelation of which plunged the presidency into further disarray and disrepute, and visited successive humiliations on Ms. Lewinsky, who was secreted, ironically, in her Watergate apartment in between forays to face her own interrogation into the affair.

Charging the President with perjury before the grand jury and a pattern of obstruction of justice, on December 19, 1998 the U.S. House of Representatives passed articles of impeachment against him. The subsequent Senate trial was finally voted down on February 12, 1999, to the intense relief of Americans weary of the political circus. A chastened Clinton returned to the White House, his office tarnished but intact, while the British publishers of *Diana: Her True*

Story by Andrew Morton, negotiated a \$1.5 million contract with Ms. Lewinsky for Morton to write *her* story. On March 3, 1999, she gave an exclusive and searching in-depth interview to Barbara Walters for ABC Network television; on March 4, Britain's Channel 4 aired their exclusive interview, conducted rather less searchingly by Jon Snow, and hedged with legally imposed restrictions. She emerged, not as a depraved scarlet woman, but a pleasant 24-year-old, definitely sadder, possibly wiser; but it was evident that, for Monica Lewinsky, the consequences of her notorious love affair with the American president would resonate for some time to come.

—Philip L. Simpson

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Lewis, C. S. (1898-1963)

C. S. Lewis's *Chronicles of Narnia*, published during the 1950s, are the most widely read Christian fairy tales of the twentieth century.



C. S. Lewis

Children devour them, not realizing, in most cases, that they are reading religious morality tales in the guise of pagan fantasy.

Clives Staples Lewis (called "Jack") was born November 29, 1898 in Belfast, Northern Ireland. His mother died when he was nine, devastating him and his brother Warren. As a child, Lewis was bookish and precocious, and enjoyed writing of an imaginary world of talking beasts called "Animal-Land." In adolescence, he became an atheist; his education at Oxford and experience in the trenches in World War I did little to change his philosophy.

Between 1925 and 1954, Lewis was Fellow of English Language and Literature at Magdalen College, Oxford. When he was in his early thirties, as a result of his father's death and his intellectual friendships at Oxford, Lewis's religious beliefs changed drastically and he became a Christian apologist. From then on, he devoted much of his time to writing literary works that might convince others of the merits of Christian thought.

The Chronicles of Narnia, a series of seven children's books, fall into this category. Lewis peopled his imaginary country with fantastic creatures (fauns, witches, centaurs) usually associated with paganism—but had the great lion Aslan, a Christ figure, rule them. The author described the Christian meanings of the series thus: the first book, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, was about "the Crucifixion and Resurrection"; *Prince Caspian* dealt with the "restoration of the true religion after a corruption"; *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, "the spiritual life"; *The Silver Chair*, "the continuing war against the powers of darkness"; *The Horse and His Boy*, "the calling and conversion of the heathen"; *The Magician's Nephew*, "the Creation and how evil entered Narnia"; and *The Last Battle*, "the coming of Antichrist (the ape), the end of the world and the last judgment."

The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe is the best-known of the *Chronicles*. In the 1980s and 1990s, it was made into a feature-length cartoon and a live-action version for television. In the story, four children—Lucy, Edmund, Susan, and Peter—enter an old wardrobe and emerge in Narnia, a land caught in perpetual winter under the evil rule of the White Witch. Through the sinister influence of some magical Turkish Delight candy, Edmund betrays his brother and sisters; to save the boy, the great lion Aslan must sacrifice his life. Aslan is gloriously reborn through a "deeper magic," and seats the "sons of Adam and daughters of Eve" on four thrones at Cair Paravel. After many years of benevolent rule, the kings and queens of Narnia return through the wardrobe to find themselves children again.

Lewis insisted that the *Chronicles* were not Christian allegories, but "supposals." He explained the difference by saying that Aslan "is an invention giving an imaginary answer to the question 'what might Christ become like, if there really were a world like Narnia and He chose to be incarnate and die and rise again in THAT world as He actually has done in ours?' This is not an allegory at all. . . . Allegory and such supposals differ because they mix the real and the unreal in different ways."

The Narnia books were written, however, to familiarize people, especially children, with the Christian faith. Lewis said he was trying to get across "mere" Christianity, or "that which has been believed everywhere, always, by all": ecstatic love for the world. He said he wrote the stories to "set before our imagination something that has always baffled the intellect." They are not at all didactic—Lewis despised religious education as a child. He wanted to recreate the beauty and love he found in Christian stories, not teach about it. Lewis thus made Christianity palatable to agnostics and atheists. *The Chronicles of Narnia* appealed to Christians and non-Christians, and in most

cases children do not know they are getting bible stories through a pagan lens.

In addition to the *Chronicles*, Lewis was an author of science fiction novels including the *Space Trilogy* (which includes *Out of the Silent Planet*, in which the hero, Edwin Ransom, is roughly based on his friend and fellow Inklings member J.R.R. Tolkien; *Perelandra*, a retelling of *Paradise Lost* set on Venus; and *That Hideous Strength*). He considered *Till We Have Faces*, a retelling of the Eros and Psyche myth, to be his best novel.

Lewis was an articulate proponent of Christianity, arguably the most important Christian writer of the twentieth century. His most important theological works are *The Problem of Pain*, a defense of pain and the existence of Hell as evidence of an ordered universe; *The Screwtape Letters*, a correspondence between Screwtape and his nephew Wormwood concerning possession of the soul of an unsuspecting human; and *Mere Christianity*, a published version of the radio addresses he made during World War II as “the apostle to skeptics” in Britain and the United States. His spiritual autobiography, *Surprised by Joy*, is still widely read.

In 1956, Lewis married Joy Davidman, who had converted to Christianity from Judaism partly under the influence of Lewis’s books. Soon afterward, Joy became ill from bone cancer, and she died in 1960. Lewis died three years later, on November 22, 1963, the same day that John F. Kennedy was shot.

—Jessy Randall

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Lewis, Carl (1961—)

The son of two Willingboro, New Jersey, teachers, Carl Lewis went from being an awkward teenager to winning ten Olympic Gold medals before he retired in 1997, setting numerous world records along the way. Qualifying in the long jump for the first of his American record five Olympic teams in 1980, Lewis missed the Moscow Games because of the United States boycott ordered by President Jimmy Carter as a response to Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. He then won four gold medals at the 1984 Los Angeles Games in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 4 X 100 meter relay, and long jump, matching Jesse Owens’s feat at Berlin in 1936. In the process, Lewis not only tied Owens’s record for track and field gold medals at a single Olympic Games but also revived popular appreciation for Owens’s achievements.

Lewis went on to win gold at the 1988 Seoul Games, the 1992 Barcelona Games, and the 1996 Atlanta Games. In winning the long jump in Atlanta, he became only the second track and field athlete (after Al Oerter) to win gold in an event in four Olympiads. (He remains the only track and field athlete to have qualified for five Olympic teams.) Lewis aggressively controlled his own career and



Carl Lewis in the 1992 Summer Olympics in Barcelona, Spain.

marketing; with his agent, Joe Douglas, he used both his individual success and that of his tremendously popular Santa Monica Track Club to professionalize track and field, allowing runners to support themselves through athletics. He also agitated for increased testing to end the use of performance-enhancing drugs in track. (While some observers considered it simple jealousy when Lewis claimed that Canadian sprinter Ben Johnson’s victories over him were due to steroid use, Lewis’s sentiments were vindicated after Johnson tested positive for steroid use at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul.) While Lewis held no individual world records at his retirement in 1997, he had recorded numerous performances that were among the ten best all time in the 100 meters, 200 meters, 4 X 100 meters, and long jump. Despite never setting the world record in the long jump, with his consistency over seventeen years of competition at the highest level, he is most certainly the greatest long jumper in world track and field history.

Despite Lewis’s success, however, he has failed to win the acclaim and endorsements in the United States that have greeted him elsewhere. While the fact that track and field has long been more popular in Europe and Asia partially accounts for this failure, other factors must be taken into account as well. Media portrayals of Lewis as aloof have most likely contributed to the American public’s lukewarm feelings. Of perhaps more significance, though, have been

persistant rumors about Lewis's sexuality (which he has refused to address in public). British decathlon champion Daley Thompson's decision, at the 1984 Los Angeles Games, to wear a T-shirt which asked "Is the World's Second Greatest Athlete Gay?" to a press conference after his victory—a pointed and unsubtle reference to Lewis—brought this controversy into the public. Since then Lewis has received less public attention than other athletes far less successful, in far less visible sports. Despite these questions about Lewis's public acceptance, however, he has not only been a successful competitor but he has also served as an articulate ambassador and advocate for his sport.

—C. John Smolenski

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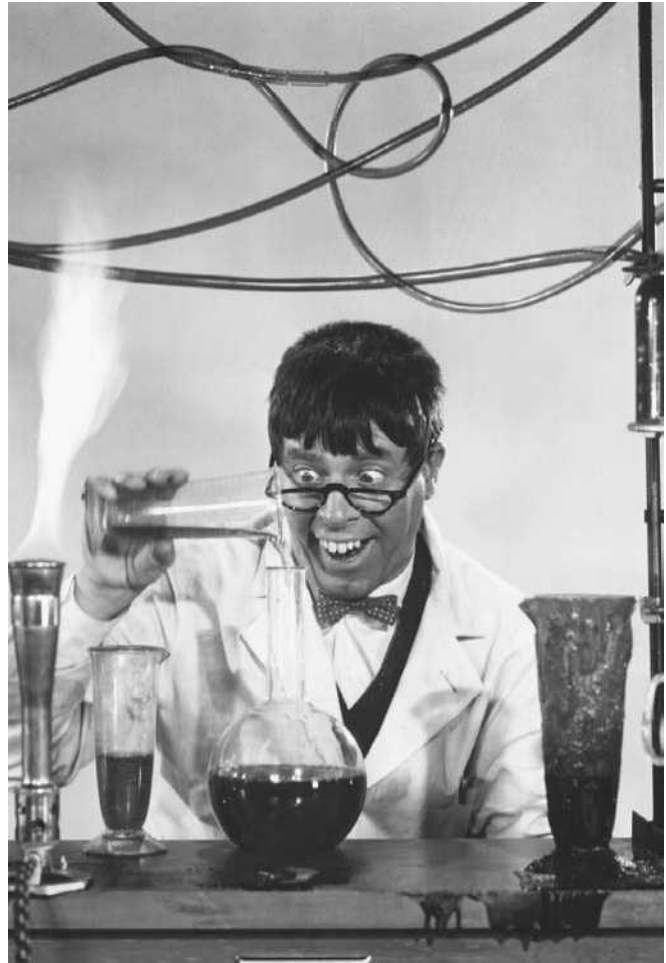
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Lewis, Jerry (1926—)

For more than half a century comedian Jerry Lewis has been entertaining audiences around the world with his unique style of exaggerated mugging and heavy-handed sentimentality. A national presence since the mid-1940s, when he teamed up with crooner Dean Martin to create one of show business' legendary comedy acts, Lewis has been hailed by some as a comic master equal to Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton and reviled by others as self-indulgent and grating. Author Tim Brooks best captures the intensity of the contrasting opinions of Lewis when he writes, "He is perhaps the most controversial performer in show business; depending on whom you read, he is either the greatest comic genius of the Western world, or the most idiotic no-talent to ever foul the screen." After a decade as entertainment's hottest comedy team, Martin and Lewis broke up in 1956. Each went onto successful solo careers, with Lewis writing and directing a series of popular films. As his film work diminished, he remained in the public eye as the host of his annual Labor Day Muscular Dystrophy Telethon. Lewis overcame a series of personal problems in the 1980s to enjoy a resurgence of popularity on both film and stage. However, despite his international acclaim, he remains an acquired taste for many Americans.

Born Joseph Levitch, on March 16, 1926, in Newark, New Jersey, Lewis was destined to a life in entertainment from birth. His parents, vaudevillian Danny Lewis and pianist Rae Lewis, were veteran performers who encouraged their son to follow in their footsteps. Jerry Lewis made his professional debut at the age of five in New York's Borscht Belt singing "Brother Can You Spare a Dime." As a teen, the young comic was noted for his manic stand-up routine in which he impersonated popular singers. His career was stalled until 1946 when Lewis decided to form an act with an Italian singer named Dean Martin. Their partnership began on July 25, 1946 at the 500 Club in Atlantic City, when Lewis suggested his friend replace another entertainer who had quit the bill. The pair originally worked separately, but later began to join forces on stage, where they traded insults, improvised jokes, and embodied a sense of lunacy. Martin's handsome, romantic persona made him the perfect straight man for the goofy Lewis. Many of their routines revolved Lewis' attempts to



Jerry Lewis as "The Nutty Professor."

break-up Martin's musical numbers with his childish antics. The team was soon discovered performing at the Copacabana by film producer Hal Wallis, who signed them to a long-term contract with Paramount Pictures. They made their screen debut in *My Friend Irma* (1949), in which they essentially performed their nightclub routine. Audiences quickly embraced the pair, who went on to star in more than a dozen highly successful comedies. Along with their movie work, Martin and Lewis appeared frequently in nightclubs, on radio shows, and on television. In the mid-1950s, relations between the performers soured and they made national headlines with their decision to break-up the act. Martin and Lewis made their last regular appearance together at the Copacabana on July 25, 1956, ten years to the day after they became a team.

Many believed the split of Martin and Lewis would doom both of their careers. However, the pair proved doubters wrong as Martin achieved solo success in film, television, and recordings. Lewis emerged from the break-up as a comedy auteur. During the 1960s, he produced, starred, and directed a number of successful comedies. His most noteworthy films of this period are *The Bellboy* (1960), *Cinderfella* (1960), *The Patsy* (1964), and *The Nutty Professor* (1963). In this last film, a take-off of *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, Lewis plays a nerdy chemist who transforms himself into a cool lounge lizard named Buddy Love. Some critics saw this performance as a send-up of Dean

Martin. French critics viewed Lewis' 1960s films as proof that he was a true comic master. In fact, they deemed *The Nutty Professor* the best picture of the year. While many Americans found Lewis' work overly broad and sentimental, Europeans viewed him as the successor to Chaplin and Keaton. In 1984, he was inducted into the French Legion of Honor and praised by the French Minister of Culture for his humanitarian work and comic genius.

Despite praise from Europe, Lewis' popularity in America declined in the 1970s. His self-indulgent films that offered little more than Lewis mugging through tired plots alienated U.S. audiences. Lewis' career reached its nadir with his unreleased film *The Day the Clown Cried* (1972), in which he portrayed a clown named Helmut Doork, who attempts to entertain Jewish children while imprisoned in a Nazi concentration camp. To offset his career setbacks, he devoted most of his attention to raising funds to fight Muscular Dystrophy. He raised millions of dollars each Labor Day and was nominated for the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. It was on his 1976 telethon that Lewis was stunned by the surprise appearance of Dean Martin. Frank Sinatra reunited the pair, who had remained distant for decades, in one of TV's most memorable moments. The following years saw Lewis face several health crises and overcome a long-time Percodan addiction.

Lewis saw his career take an upswing in the 1980s with his acclaimed dramatic performance as a talk show host kidnapped by Robert De Niro in Martin Scorsese's *The King of Comedy*. He appeared infrequently thereafter in films, but made strong showings on the TV crime drama *Wiseguy* and on Broadway in the 1995 revival of *Damn Yankees*. For his role as the Devil he became the highest paid performer in Broadway history. As the millennium approaches, Jerry Lewis remains a prominent figure on the American landscape as several of his 1960s comedies, like *The Nutty Professor*, are being remade for a new generation. Still, Lewis remains a controversial figure. When asked to discuss the ambivalent feelings he generates Lewis replied: "People hate me because I am a multifaceted, talented, wealthy, internationally famous genius." Such statements reveal why Lewis has not been completely embraced by the American public. However, his unique comic style and voluminous amounts of charity work have won him a spot in the hearts of millions of others around the globe.

—Charles Coletta

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Lewis, Jerry Lee (1935—)

Self-taught pianist and singer Jerry Lee Lewis is an original artist who, along with Elvis Presley, personifies the popular cultural ethos



Jerry Lee Lewis

of the 1950s when rock 'n' roll emerged and rose to popularity, but forged his own unique and uninhibited style within the genre. A pianist and vocal stylist since the age of nine, Lewis began playing professionally at the age of 15 and rapidly developed into a consummate showman, enjoying a commercially successful career punctuated with a long spell of disfavor arising from the conduct of his personal life. His songs have made both the pop and country singles charts, and his rise to stardom from his humble beginnings is a tribute to his creativity, tenacity, and originality.

Born on September 29, 1935 in the Northern Louisiana town of Ferriday, Lewis grew up in grinding poverty, the son of subsistence farmer Elmo Lewis, whose meager living depended on the price of cotton. The family switched from the Baptist denomination to the Assembly of God Church, where the young Jerry Lee sang. He and his cousin, later the notorious evangelist Jimmy Lee Swaggart, would sneak into Haney Big House in the so-called "colored" section of town and listen to the blues men play. Lewis, a poor student, attended school only sporadically, and occasionally stole from the local merchants. The piano became an early focus in his life and he spent hours practicing on a neighbor's piano and those in the church until 1945 when his father borrowed against his belongings and bought an upright Starck piano for his ten-year-old son.

The youthful Lewis felt an affinity for the percussive sound of boogie-woogie blues, and his favorite songs in 1940s were the popular boogie hits "House of Blue Lights" and "Down the Road a Piece." He also sang Jimmie Rodgers and Al Jolson songs that he picked up from listening to his parent's records and, in 1948, first

heard Hank Williams on *The Louisiana Hayride*, a radio program patterned after the Grand Ole Opry and broadcast from Shreveport, Louisiana. Lewis idolized Williams and learned his songs from the local radio broadcasts. Thus, Rodgers, Jolson, and Williams, along with boogie-woogie, were the influences that shaped his own style. In 1949, a hillbilly band played at the opening of a Ford dealership in Ferriday. The Lewis' were present, and Elmo Lewis urged the owners of the dealership to permit his 14-year-old son to sit in on piano. They consented, Lewis performed Stick McGhee's "Drinkin' Wine, Spo-Dee-O-Dee," and the people loved him. Thereafter he quit school entirely to play for the local community on his upright piano that Elmo would load onto a pickup truck.

His religious upbringing in the Assembly of God Church caused conflict for Lewis, whose lifestyle was at odds with the church teachings, and he periodically hesitated at the crossroads of whether to serve God or Mammon. At the age of 15 he thought he might pursue the ministry and was sent off to attend Southwestern Bible Institute in Texas, but soon developed a taste for the Dallas night life and tired of the Institute's routine and discipline. He was eventually expelled from the Institute for playing the gospel song "Yes, God is Real" in a boogie-woogie style. His spiritual struggles tended to resolve themselves in favor of the secular when he needed money, and in 1954 he was hired by Johnny Littlejohn, a local Mississippi disc jockey and bandleader. From time to time, his conflict between God and the so-called devil's music would surface, and Littlejohn would have to plead with him to continue in the band.

Lewis continued to play professionally in Louisiana and Mississippi in "bucket of blood" clubs with the Johnny Littlejohn band. In the course of auditioning for *The Louisiana Hayride* program on KWKH in Shreveport, he recorded two songs, "I Don't Hurt Anymore," and "I Need You Now." The Memphis-based Sun Records, which had become the premier label of white rock 'n' roll by 1954 with Elvis Presley on their label, was a good prospect for an aspiring performer, and Lewis's family gathered 33-dozen eggs and sold them to the local supermarket to finance a trip to Memphis with his father to audition for Sun. A few country and rock 'n' roll sides were cut for Sun. On Lewis's second trip to Memphis, he recorded "Crazy Arms," a country hit by Ray Price that convinced Sun owner Sam Phillips that his music was commercially viable. While the record failed to make any charts, the response to "Crazy Arms" was ecstatic.

From 1954 to 1957, Lewis worked as a session pianist for Sun singers Warren Smith and Billy Lee Riley and continued to tour professionally. In 1957 Sun released "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On," which was followed by a long tour with Johnny Cash in Canada, during which Lewis honed his stage act with antics such as kicking back the piano stool and playing the piano with his foot, and closed each performance with "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On." He also earned the nickname "Killer" for his knockout performances. "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" and "Great Balls of Fire" peaked at number three and number two respectively on the pop singles chart, and both reached number one on the country singles chart by the end of July, while "Breathless" reached number seven on the pop chart. Lewis's performance of "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" triggered a backlash among people who perceived the song and its singer as a pernicious influence on young teenagers.

The power and sway of rock 'n' roll was too strong for the small backlash against Lewis's music, and his popularity surged. He

enjoyed a number of important bookings that exposed him to a national audience, including appearances on *The Big D Jamboree* (a country-and-western show from Dallas), the *Steve Allen Show* in New York, Alan Freed's television show *The Big Beat*, and Dick Clark's *American Bandstand*. Lewis also performed at the Apollo Theatre in Harlem for a predominantly black audience and was well received. A 12-day engagement booked by Alan Freed at the Paramount Theatre in New York, where Lewis shared the headline spot with Fats Domino, broke attendance records.

A number of women came to play a significant role in Lewis's life. At the age of 16, while toying with the idea of becoming a minister, he married and divorced Dorothy Barton; in 1953, at the age of 17, he met and married Jane Mitcham and was a father by age 19. Before the breakup and divorce of that marriage, he fell in love with his second cousin, 13-year-old Myra Gale. Lewis and Gale were married and soon after, accompanied by Myra, Lewis embarked on a 37-day, 30-show tour engagement in England. A media frenzy and public animosity over his child-bride's age ensued, and forced the cancellation of the tour after three performances. He returned to the United States amidst a storm of controversy, and despite issuing an apologetic response to *Billboard* readers upset by his marriage, the media was unrelenting and moral outrage continued. Jerry Lee Lewis's career went into decline for ten years.

In addition to concert engagements, Lewis had appeared in a handful of movies, including *Jamboree* (1957), a low-budget Warner Bros. excuse for featuring rock 'n' roll artists in which he sang "Great Balls of Fire," and *High School Confidential* (1958). He was also in *Be My Guest*, a low-budget pop stage musical in London, and played Iago in a Los Angeles production of *Catch My Soul*, a rock opera version of Shakespeare's *Othello*. While theater critics were negative about the show itself, Lewis's performance as Iago was deemed sensational.

The musician finally made a comeback, as a country star, in 1968. His contract with Sun records had ended in 1963, after he had cut more than 160 titles, and he signed with Smash Records, a subsidiary of Mercury Records. In 1968, Lewis recorded "Another Place, Another Time" for Smash, and for the first time in ten years, found himself with a Top Ten country hit, which crossed over to the pop charts. By 1969, Jerry Lee Lewis was one of the hottest country singers in the South and made a successful appearance at The Grand Ole Opry in 1973. A string of hit records, including "Another Place, Another Time," "What's Made Milwaukee Famous (Has Made a Loser Out of Me)," "There Must Be More To Love Than This," and "Chantilly Lace," helped to raise his concert fee to \$10,000 per performance. In 1973, he recorded the last sides for Mercury and then signed with Elektra.

Lewis's music can be divided into two stylistic periods: rock 'n' roll period from 1957 to 1968 and country from 1968 onwards (although he was also continuing to play revival and "oldies" bills, performing numbers from the rock 'n' roll repertoire). Lewis's early musical influences included African-American blues and gospel, as well as the popular music heard on records and the radio. His early piano style is basically a simple rhythmic boogie left hand, with excessive use of glissando (rapid running of the thumb across the keys) and a distinctive percussive pounding in the right hand; his characteristic vocal style makes use of yodeling, upward bends with occasional falsetto breaks. The combined result is frenetic, entertaining, sometimes moving, and intensely musical.

Controversy and tragedy have dogged Jerry Lee Lewis. Both his sons died, triggering his return to the pills and alcohol that he had been addicted to since his teens. He accidentally shot his bass player in the chest, and in 1976 was arrested for waving a gun outside Elvis Presley's mansion, Graceland. The circumstances surrounding the deaths of his fourth and fifth wives have been viewed with suspicion. His fourth wife died in a swimming pool, and his fifth was found dead at his home following a methadone overdose. By 1979, the IRS took possession of his property in lieu of \$274,000 in back taxes. He has been hospitalized several times, reportedly close to death, and was alleged to have suffered a mild heart attack in 1996.

Jerry Lee Lewis was one of the first inductees to the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame in 1986 and, despite the shadows hanging over his life, the "Killer" was still performing—resolutely upbeat in body and spirit—as the twentieth century drew to its close. In 1989 *Great Balls of Fire!*, a biographical movie, was released, starring Dennis Quaid as Lewis and charting the rocky road with Myra (Winona Ryder) in dramatic detail.

—Willie Collins

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Lewis, Sinclair (1885-1951)

Born in 1885 in Sauk Centre, Minnesota, Sinclair Lewis would become one of America's most forceful social critics during the 1920s. After attending Yale, he had held an assortment of editorial and journalistic positions by his mid-twenties, including the dubious honor of selling short-story plots to Jack London. Lewis wrote seven fairly pedestrian novels, notable for their bourgeois sentiments, before he struck literary gold in 1920 with *Main Street* and the novels of social criticism that followed in its wake: *Babbitt*, *Arrowsmith*, *Dodsworth*, and *Elmer Gantry*. Finally Lewis felt free to express his radical self, his feelings of dissatisfaction with American complacency, mediocrity, and moral narrowness. In 1930, his honesty earned him the first Nobel Prize for literature awarded to an American. Sadly, of the ten novels that followed until his death in 1951, only two—*It Can't Happen Here*—caught further significant attention. Lewis had lost his moorings as a writer once the world of the 1920s, about which he had written so searingly, receded behind the Great Depression and World War II.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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Liberace (1919-1987)

As "The Rhinestone Rubinstein" or the "Las Vegas Liszt," pianist-entertainer Liberace created his own sequined niche in the American popular imagination. He fashioned himself to appeal to the middlebrow masses as a latter-day reincarnation of the 19th-century Romantic grand pianist, and dazzled millions of (mostly female) fans with his flamboyant performances of showy and accessible music. As America's first television matinee idol, Liberace capitalized on the then new technology during the 1950s. His popular appeal brought him appearances in Hollywood films and television series, mention in songs (the Chordettes' 1954 hit "Mr. Sandman," among others), and he was parodied (as "Loverboynik") in a 1956 episode of Al Capp's comic strip *Li'l Abner*. Liberace's stardom sprang from a highly marketable and carefully packaged conflation of high and low cultural ingredients, and his model of musical spectacle influenced subsequent stars from Elvis Presley to Michael Jackson. Though he was ridiculed for his fey mannerisms, attacked for his closeted homosexuality, and lambasted for his glib and sentimentalized musicianship, Liberace's famous comeback still silences his critics: "I cried all the way to the bank."

Wladziu (called Walter) Valentino Liberace was born on May 16, 1919, near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. His father, a former member of John Phillip Sousa's concert band, played French horn in the Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra. His mother, of Polish descent, chose his middle name after her favorite film idol, Rudolf Valentino. Legend has it that in 1923 the young Walter, a child prodigy, met Jan Paderewski, the acclaimed Polish pianist and statesman, who praised his playing. Liberace began performing professionally as a classical pianist during his high school years, but Depression-era hardships prompted him to earn money playing in nightclubs, movie houses, and at social events. Engaged to perform with the Chicago Symphony in 1939, he was persuaded to use the stage name "Walter Busterskeys" for his other "low-class" performing ventures. After one recital, audience members called for a rendition of the popular song "Three Little Fishes," which the pianist paraphrased in the style of various classical composers as an encore crowd-pleaser. This "crossover" intersection of classical and popular material became a significant characteristic of his future career.

Escaping military service in World War II on account of a back problem, Liberace went to New York in 1940, where he served as an intermission pianist at fashionable venues such as the Waldorf-Astoria's Persian Room, and later moved to Los Angeles with the hopes of furthering his career. During this period, he experimented with various attention-getting techniques such as encouraging audience participation in his act (the "Chopsticks" duet routine, for



Liberace

example), and playing “duets with the masters” by accompanying recordings of the great classical pianists. He also introduced his trademark on-stage candelabra (apparently an idea he took from the 1945 hit Hollywood biopic of Chopin, *A Song to Remember*). When his violinist brother George returned from war service in 1945, the two formed a supper-club act and toured the country under contract with the Statler and Radisson hotel chains. Around this time Liberace was inspired by a motivational self-help book by Claude Bristol, *The Magic of Believing*, and eventually contributed an introduction to the 1955 edition, writing, “To attain success, one must positively think success.”

That success came to Liberace in the 1950s through his innovative television program, *The Liberace Show*, which first aired in 1951 and rapidly became a hit in the Los Angeles area. Through syndication in 1953 the program reached nationwide, rivaling even the *I Love Lucy* series in popularity. At its peak, the show commanded a weekly audience of 35 million, and was carried by 219 television stations in the United States. This recognition generated recording opportunities for Liberace, and in 1953 alone he sold two million records—albums and singles. His 1953 engagement at Carnegie Hall sold out and was followed by a 1954 success at Madison Square Garden. A Hollywood Bowl appearance prompted another important innovation in his presentational style: as the distant audience would be unable to

distinguish him, in his black evening clothes, from the similarly clad orchestra, he wore a white tuxedo. From then on his stage outfits only increased in ostentatious flair.

Liberace made attempts to translate his television appeal into Hollywood stardom, but his few films were flops. He starred in the syrupy *Sincerely Yours* (1955) as a concert pianist afflicted by deafness who turns to anonymous acts of goodwill to regain his belief in life. The movie was essentially a vehicle for 31 of Liberace’s renditions at the piano. He also had a minor pianist role in *South Sea Sinner* (1950), and a cameo as a camp casket salesman in *The Loved One* (1965). Guest spots on television series included *Batman* (1966), *Kojak* (1978), and *The Muppet Show* (1978).

Las Vegas was the city most suited to the style and content of Liberace’s musical act. During the 1950s and 1960s, Vegas audiences relished the kitsch appeal of his spectacular shows with their outrageous costumes and the star’s coy banter, and he was that city’s highest-paid entertainer in 1955. In 1956 Elvis Presley joined Liberace for a historic show at the Riviera Hotel, during which the two stars traded outfits and instruments. In 1979 the pianist opened the Liberace Museum, which occupies one corner of a Las Vegas shopping mall, and houses his costumes, custom-designed automobiles (including a 1962 Rolls Royce covered with mirrored tiles), antique pianos, and the world’s largest rhinestone. During the high-rolling 1980s, Liberace’s

aristocratic illusions and extravagant style appealed to younger audiences once again, and his shows at New York's Radio City Music Hall in 1984, 1985, and 1986 broke all box-office records in that landmark theater's history.

Although he toured abroad extensively, everywhere lionized as a celebrity, Liberace was particularly proud of his three Royal Command Performances in England, but the British tours were problematic for the furor of speculative gossip they unleashed about his private life. In 1957, he successfully sued *Confidential* magazine for libel when it insinuated that he was homosexual. Two years later, he also won a suit against Britain's *Mirror* newspaper group over an article by columnist "Cassandra" (William Connor), who had written that Liberace was "the summit of Masculine, Feminine, and Neuter . . . the biggest sentimental vomit of all times. Slobbering over his mother, winking at his brother, counting the cash at every second. . . ." While men may have scoffed at his exaggerated effeminate mannerisms, women fans defended Liberace, citing in his favor his oft-displayed love and concern for his own mother. Fan disapproval, however, greeted the announcement that he planned to marry actress-dancer Joanne Rio in 1954; in one week, 6,000 letters were received, 80 per cent of which opposed the marriage. In 1982, Scott Thorson filed a \$113 million "palimony" suit against the entertainer, claiming that he had been not only Liberace's bodyguard and chauffeur, but also his long-term lover. Liberace settled out of court for close to \$1 million.

Among the enduring images of Liberace's campy appeal are his 1976 Bicentennial red-white-and-blue hot-pants outfit, his extravagantly expensive (and long) fur and bejeweled capes, his on-stage arrival in chauffeur-driven luxury cars decorated with mirrors and rhinestones, and his Peter-Pan-style gimmick of flying across stage at the close of a performance. When asked how he could play with so many large rings on his fingers, Liberace answered, "Very well, thank you." Liberace's showmanship has provided ample material for academic treatments of spectacle, sexuality, and other topics of cultural study. Marjorie Garber regards Liberace's outrageous displays as an example of "unmarked transvestism." Margaret Drewal sees his capes as invoking Bela Lugosi as Count Dracula, and Kevin Kopelson examines the homophobia surrounding his reception in light of the "queer" connotations of his pianism and performance mannerisms. The unique showman-pianist died from AIDS on February 4, 1987, a sad ending that failed to end contentious speculation about his sexuality.

—Ivan Raykoff

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Liberty

At least three American magazines since the late nineteenth century have called themselves *Liberty*. The most commonly known is the mass-circulation pulp magazine that reached a circulation of 2.4 million during the 1930s, when it was controlled by the eccentric publisher Bernarr Macfadden. *Liberty* was, however, also the name appropriately chosen by philosophical anarchist Benjamin Ricketson Tucker (1864-1939) for the organ he published from 1881 to 1908. In more recent years, a small libertarian periodical that advocated tax reform and government non-interference in personal freedoms was also called *Liberty*.

The first issue of Benjamin Ricketson Tucker's *Liberty* made its appearance in Boston in August of 1881; the magazine moved to New York in 1892 where it was based until a fire put it out of business 16 years later. Its statement of purpose as expressed in the first issue was a militant one: "Monopoly and privilege must be destroyed, opportunity afforded, and competition encouraged. This is *Liberty's* work and 'Down with Authority' her war-cry." Tucker himself wrote many of the screeds advocating freedom of the individual from domination by the state, and promoting radical causes of the day such as birth control, free love, and women's suffrage. He believed that the state should eventually be dissolved through nonviolent means, which was to him the only way of ending the inequities of the capitalist system; he thus railed loudly against the banking and monetary system for its enslavement of labor. He also urged Americans to refuse to exercise their right to vote, believing that by participating in elections, they were implicating themselves in politics designed to maintain the power structure. In the pages of *Liberty*, Tucker also espoused the self-reliant philosophy of Emerson and Thoreau and defended Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* against critics who deemed it obscene. When the magazine's offices were destroyed by fire in 1908, Tucker moved to Nice in the south of France, and later to Monte Carlo in Monaco.

The second and most prominent magazine bearing the name of *Liberty* was ranked as one of America's three major weeklies at the beginning of the 1930s, along with *Collier's*, *Literary Digest* and *The Saturday Evening Post*. *Liberty* claimed a circulation of 2.4 million when it was purchased by Bernarr Macfadden in 1931 from its previous owners, Robert McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune* and Joseph Patterson of the *New York Daily News*. Macfadden, who made a fortune in publishing somewhat seamy pulp magazines of the true-confession and detective variety, was also publisher of the notorious *New York Graphic*, a sensation paper that was a prototype of the later "supermarket tabloid." Macfadden first placed *Liberty* at the service

of Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 presidential campaign and then, under editor Fulton Oursler, turned it into a cheap, sensation magazine with a focus on adventure stories, sex, and scandal, printed on low-quality newsprint. Each article was accompanied by a "reading time" note to inform supposedly busy readers how many minutes and seconds they could expect to spend on the piece. Macfadden's escapist magazines were popular during the Depression, reaching a combined circulation of seven million by 1935, but *Liberty* began to decline soon afterwards, a victim of its fuzzy editorial focus, its "little bit of everything" approach, and its failure to define its readership. Even Macfadden's practice of donning a leopard-skin loincloth to lead his employees in morning calisthenics could not save *Liberty*, which folded in 1942. After leaving the publication, Oursler underwent a well-publicized religious conversion and became a senior editor of the *Reader's Digest*, to which he contributed inspirational pieces. He remains best known today as the author of *The Greatest Story Ever Told*, about the life of Jesus Christ.

—Edward Moran

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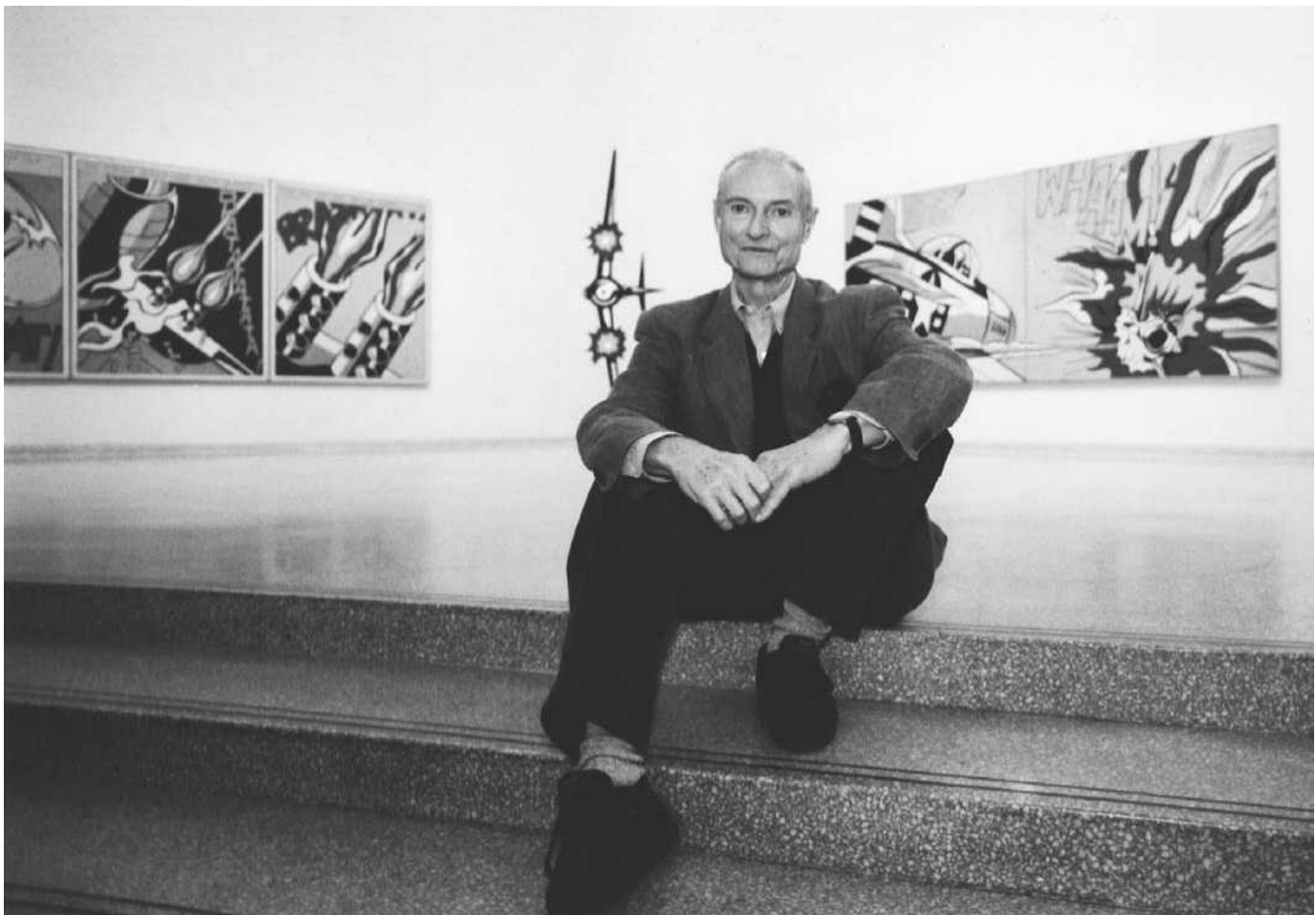
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Lichtenstein, Roy (1923-1997)

Artist Roy Lichtenstein was one of the foremost members of the Pop Art movement which challenged traditional definitions of art in the 1960s. Lichtenstein's trademark style, developed by 1962, was painting in the form of a comic-strip frame. In famous works like *Hopeless* (1963) and *Whaam!* (1963), he borrowed the bright colors, flat forms, simple scenes, and printing processes of the newspaper comic and expanded them to the large canvas, right down to the "Ben Day" dots and dialogue balloons. In the mid-1960s, Lichtenstein used the style to depict images from historical art styles like Abstract Expressionism and De Stijl. While De Stijl's work seemed to critique the vapid world of everyday life and the secularization of high culture, Lichtenstein's remained ambiguous—he never explained whether he



Roy Lichtenstein

was mocking the banality of modern culture or finding beauty in the ordinary.

—Dale Allen Gyure

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Liebovitz, Annie (1949—)

From her first assignments for *Rolling Stone* in the early 1970s to her defining images of celebrity found in *Vanity Fair* since 1983, Annie Liebovitz has changed the way Americans see the twentieth century. Capturing both the glamorous and the banal sides of celebrity, she has also transformed the way other photographers have captured the twentieth century on film. For three decades, Liebovitz has crafted an image of the twentieth century as the American century, indelibly marked by a fascination with celebrity.

Liebovitz purchased her first camera while studying painting at the San Francisco Art Institute in the late 1960s. Early on, family photographs—her own and others—were strong influences on her work. The power of the camera to encapsulate and communicate family histories drew her to documentary photography and to the work of, among others, the great American photographers Margaret Bourke-White and Robert Frank.

While a student, Liebovitz spent a semester in a work-study program on a kibbutz in Israel. During her stay, a friend gave her a subscription to *Rolling Stone* magazine and, upon her return to San Francisco, she met with art director Robert Kingsbury to show him her photographs. Kingsbury was enthralled with her images of ladders in the kibbutz's fields and equally impressed with pictures of an anti-war demonstration she had shot in San Francisco the day before. In 1970 he published some of Liebovitz's kibbutz images in *Rolling Stone*'s photo gallery. Later in the year he published the anti-war pictures and began to give Liebovitz regular assignments. In 1973, Liebovitz was named *Rolling Stone*'s chief photographer.

Liebovitz learned her greatest lesson about photographing celebrities during her first out-of-town shoot for *Rolling Stone* with John Lennon. She was a young, green magazine photographer with a deadline. He was a legend, a musician whose melodies had given him everlasting fame, but he was also normal, just an everyday guy asking her what she'd like him to do. From that moment on, as Liebovitz remembers in the introduction to her 1990 book, *Portraits*, she got involved with a photo, allowing her own point of view and experiences to shape the picture's gut.

As Lennon shaped Liebovitz's approach to celebrity photography, Liebovitz shaped our enduring memory of Lennon. On December 8, 1980, she returned to New York to again shoot Lennon for *Rolling Stone*. She posed him nude, curled up in the fetal position next to his wife Yoko Ono. We sense his love for Ono and his attachment to her. Only hours after this shoot, John Lennon was assassinated

outside his apartment building. Suddenly, Liebovitz's picture, published in the January 1981 issue of *Rolling Stone* became imbued with deeper meaning and resonance.

A year later Liebovitz photographed Ono at Strawberry Field, Central Park, New York City. Dwarfed by trees in a field named after one of the Beatles' most famous songs, a black clad Ono appears small and alone. It is as if Ono and Liebovitz had to create another image together in order to bring closure to the events of December 1980. The photograph is haunting. Moreover, it is haunted by our memory of the picture of Ono and Lennon, perhaps one of the most enduring images of the 1980s.

When the Rolling Stones invited Liebovitz to photograph their concert tour in 1975, Liebovitz created the original "behind-the-scenes" show-all. Her images revealed the working world of rock and roll: Mick Jagger on stage, so thin as to be nearly transparent (Liebovitz told an interviewer in 1990 that Jagger lost about 10 pounds during each performance and she had wanted to capture not only the energy on-stage, but also the way spent energy looked); Jagger in make-up; Jagger in a terry cloth robe with his hair wrapped in a turban; Jagger, Keith Richards, and the rest of the band, traveling, playing, resting, and working. Rock and roll, we learned, is not all high living. Massive performances require strenuous efforts to produce. Seeing the inner workings of a Stones concert enabled readers to see less glamorous parts of the legendary group's success.

When Condé Nast Publications reintroduced its glamorous *Vanity Fair* in 1983, Annie Liebovitz became the magazine's first contributing photographer. In a milestone year, Liebovitz also published her first book and had her first exhibition. She became one of an elite club—a magazine photographer accepted by the art world, herself a celebrity due to her photographs of celebrities.

In her tenure at *Vanity Fair*, Liebovitz has continued to define celebrity and portraiture. Her images are among the most memorable in the magazine's history, including Whoopi Goldberg in a bathtub full of milk (1984), Diane Keaton dancing around Liebovitz's studio (1987), and Demi Moore's elegant pregnant, nude cover (1988). Liebovitz has immortalized Hollywood's stars, often showing their more private side. In her pictures of Arnold Schwarzenegger (June, 1997), Leonardo di Caprio (January 1998), and Brad Pitt (February 1995 and November 1998), for instance, Liebovitz shows vulnerable men and handsome hunks. She has also immortalized other celebrities, including President Bill Clinton (March, 1993, and November, 1997). Liebovitz's time at *Vanity Fair* has been punctuated by her annual December Hall of Fame, which highlight Americans (celebrities and not) who made the year special. And, since 1995, she has created Hollywood covers and portfolios each March that are perhaps more eagerly awaited than the Academy Awards they honor.

Liebovitz's celebrity portraiture has appeared in advertising, first in a campaign for American Express—with unforgettable, seemingly candid shots of Ella Fitzgerald and Sammy Davis, Jr., among others—and for the Gap, featuring black and white portraits of celebrities wearing their favorite staples from a retailer that defines American popular fashion.

Liebovitz is a magazine photographer, shooting commissioned photographs on a deadline. She has, unlike some of her contemporaries, worked within the conventions of magazine photography, rarely testing limits, except perhaps those of the imagination. And yet, her commercial photography always bears her personal mark, her distinct vision of celebrity and of our world. She is a fan of her subjects, but in the 1990s, she is also one of them—a celebrity photographer of celebrities. However, Liebovitz, again unlike her contemporaries,

rarely photographs herself. She feels so personally defined by the way she sees the world through the camera, that she cannot imagine herself on the other side of it. This modesty, settled comfortably amidst the power of her art and the fame of her images, makes Liebovitz an uncommon celebrity at the end of the twentieth century.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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Rolling Stone, 1973-83.

Vanity Fair, from 1983.

Life

Two of the most prominent magazines ever published in the United States have borne the name of *Life*, each vastly different in style and content but both unique mirrors of the tastes and images of their respective eras. The first, published from 1883 to 1936, offered polished humor and satire, and was renowned for the “Gibson Girl” (and “Gibson Man”) illustrations of Charles Dana Gibson that embodied the standards of the turn-of-the-century young sophisticate. As this magazine foundered in the 1930s, publishing mogul Henry Luce purchased, for \$96,000, its “name and good will” for his own *Life*, a slick, photo-oriented magazine published weekly from 1936 to 1972 and less frequently thereafter. During the peak of its influence from the 1940s through the 1960s, this second *Life*, a visual companion of sorts to *Time*, Luce’s weekly newsmagazine, exalted the art of photojournalism to unprecedented levels by offering a graphic snapshot of American manners and morals to millions of readers—and helped shape public opinion on issues ranging from the role of America in world affairs to the role of the “Negro” at home, and from the perils of fascism and communism to the realities of an affluent postwar society. For the first 36 years of its existence, Henry Luce’s *Life* was arguably America’s most influential mass magazine, one whose generalized approach gave it an advantage in successfully negotiating many of the contradictions that more specialized publications could not. It advanced the cult of the celebrity without resorting to tabloid sensationalism or gossip; it extolled the can-do attitudes of the homespun war hero without glorifying militarism; it presented an image of a more homogeneous America without neglecting the plight of the poor and racial minorities; it sent a Republican message of order and authority without treading on the Democratic predilection for the common man. *Life* did not aspire to be either as highbrow as the *Saturday Review* or as specialized as the *Literary Digest*, but it did bring to its multifaceted readers a commendable grab-bag of visually outstanding articles on, say, medieval architecture, or on Hemingway or grand opera, albeit often side-by-side with pieces depicting amusing farm animals or eccentric folk artisans.

The earlier of the two *Life* magazines was founded in New York City by John Ames Mitchell, a recent Harvard graduate, who appointed as its first editor Edward Martin Sandford, a classmate who had founded the *Harvard Lampoon* in 1876. Combining satire, verse, and criticism with advertisements for luxurious products, this original *Life* became, as Christopher Gray wrote in the *New York Times* (November 5, 1996): “sophisticated and satirical, something like the

old *Spy* magazine without the nastiness.” Publisher Mitchell later commissioned the architectural firm of Carré and Hastings to erect an elaborate Beaux-Arts headquarters for its editorial offices, helping authenticate New York City’s new role as the nation’s nerve center of publishing and image-making in the Gilded Age. For a while, illustrator Charles Dana Gibson occupied the building’s atelier, from which issued the “Gibson Girl”—and “Man”—illustrations that defined the look of his generation.

By the mid-1930s, Henry Luce, who had founded *Time* magazine in 1922 and *Fortune* in 1931, had established a work-group within his publishing empire to develop plans for an American “Picture Magazine” based on the model of European periodicals like the Parisian *Vu* or the *Illustrated London News*. Working from offices in New York’s Chrysler Building, the group included John Stuart Martin, a *Time* editor, Natasha von Hoershelman, a researcher, and a recent Yale graduate named Dwight Macdonald, later to achieve renown as an essayist and critic. But much of the concept for the new magazine came from an employee of a rival publisher, Clare Boothe Brokaw, an editorial staffer at *Vanity Fair* magazine who would become Luce’s second wife in 1935. When the two met for the first time, Brokaw proposed an idea she had been unsuccessfully trying to sell to her own publishers at Condé Nast, one that would report “not all the news nor, necessarily, the most important news, but the most interesting and exciting news,” in photographs, and interpreting it editorially through accompanying articles by capable writers and journalists. Luce had been especially fascinated with what he termed the “picture-magic” capabilities of photography, especially in the new German miniature cameras such as the Leica that were enabling photojournalists to expand the limitations of candid photography that would later be in such *Life* features as “*Life Goes to a Party*.” Luce had already been convinced of the power of the visual image in journalism through his experience as producer of the popular *March of Time* newsreels that reached millions of American moviegoers. His hiring of Kurt Korff, a German, as picture consultant, underscored his commitment to produce a magazine “designed to capture and occupy the position of No. 1 look-through magazine of America . . . the damndest best non-pornographic look-through magazine in the United States.”

An early working title for this proposed ten-cents-a-copy “look-through magazine” in its first prospectus was *Dime: The Show-Book of the World*, a designation greeted with derision by colleagues who feared the name would be confused with that of *Time*. Before the first issue of *Life* hit the newsstands on November 23, 1936, other of the dozen or more names considered but rejected for the fledgling periodical included *Album*, *Eye*, *Flash*, *Go*, *Nuze-Vuze*, *Scan*, *See*, *Snap*, and *Wide Awake!* In the meantime, Dwight Macdonald had been soliciting dossiers from the world’s leading photographers, including Henri Cartier-Bresson, who had to turn down a request for more work due to other commitments.

The original *Life* photographers were Margaret Bourke-White, Alfred Eisenstaedt, Tom McAvoy, and Peter Stackpole. Robert Capa, another early cameraman whose work was often published by *Life*, remained an independent contractor for most of his career. Arguably the most famous and instantly recognizable photograph *Life* ever ran was Eisenstaedt’s shot of an exuberant sailor and nurse lost in a kiss in Times Square during V-J celebrations in the summer of 1945. Loudon Wainwright, who edited *Life* when it became a monthly in the 1980s, suggested that it was this interest in the lives of ordinary people that made *Life* such a powerful medium. As he wrote in his memoir *The Great American Magazine: An Inside History of Life*: “Whatever its

preoccupations with royalty and politics and the high and low jinks of the famous . . . *Life's* greatest resource for its best picture stories would always be the lives of ordinary people, their work, their pleasure, their follies, their anguish. Such stories touched virtually every reader."

The first volume of *Life*, published on November 23, 1936, featured on its front cover Margaret Bourke-White's dramatically lit photograph of Fort Peck Dam, a proud artifact of the Works Progress Administration's (WPA) contribution to public works in Depression-era America. Inside, a famous editorial photograph of a doctor in a surgical mask holding the newborn George Story upside down, with the double-entendre caption "Life Begins." The florid caption capsulized what the magazine was to be about, and set the florid style that other captions would imitate over the next 37 years. "The camera records the most vital moment in any life: Its beginning. A few hours ago, the child lay restless in its mother's womb. A second ago, its foetal life was rudely ended when the surgeon snapped its umbilical cord . . . Suddenly the baby's new and independent life begins. He jerks up his arms, bends his knees and, with his first short breath, gives out a red-faced cry." For *Life's* 25th anniversary in 1961, Story was pictured holding his own son; he was also featured in *Life's* 50th birthday issue in 1986 and in its 60th ten years later.

From the first issue, the magazine's cover bore the familiar red rectangle in the upper left corner with the word "Life" in white sans-serif capitals, a logo that would, with one exception, appear on every one of the more than 2000 issues for the next six decades. The logo was dropped entirely for the cover of April 26, 1937, which bore a leghorn rooster, and it was printed twice in black instead for issues memorializing the slain president Kennedy in 1963, and once in green for an Earth Day cover in 1990. Until 1963, the cover of *Life* also featured a distinctive red border along its bottom. For the next 36 years, until December 29, 1972, *Life* appeared weekly. From 1973 through 1978, it appeared only as a twice-yearly special issue. In 1978, it began monthly publication, with occasional special single issues making it a "fourteenthly" (as in 1989) or even "fifteenthly" (as in 1988 and 1990). In 1991, during the Persian Gulf War, it resumed weekly publication for the duration of the conflict, for a total of twenty issues that year. From its earliest days, *Life* relied on a tried-and-true formula of outstanding photographs presented in a wide variety of departments, ranging from in-depth reportage on breaking news to features that relied on clever juxtapositions of text and image, or on homely photo spreads of children and animals, singly or in tandem.

Despite its generally conservative stance on many social and cultural issues, *Life*, from its earliest days, published material that occasionally made it a target for censors. One of its first issues, that of April 11, 1938, was banned in many localities for its quite nonprurient portrayal of scenes from the educational film *The Birth of a Baby*. Charges were quickly dropped, with many public figures, including First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, backing *Life's* stance. Another controversy erupted in 1955 when *Life* published photographer Lennart Nilsson's images of the human embryo, which some anti-abortionists later used to justify their argument that life begins at conception. "Maybe . . . it starts with a kiss," remarked Nilsson. Also in the early 1950s, *Life* published a reproduction of Tom Kelley's 1949 calendar shot of a nude Marilyn Monroe.

Life quickly sold out its first press run of 250,000 newsstand copies and within a year reached a circulation of 1.5 million, which cost the magazine much revenue because its initial advertising rates were pegged to a smaller circulation. Within four years, it was

claiming an audience of nearly 20 million readers each week with a total annual revenue of \$11 million from circulation in 1940 dollars. Over its 36-year span as a weekly, *Life* would, in the words of Loudon Wainwright, become "the most successful weekly the world has ever known," reaching a circulation of 8.5 million at its peak. *Life* came into its own with its extensive coverage of World War II, both on the battlefield and on the home front. *Life* photographers sought and found hazardous assignments on the front lines, preferring this direct journalism to the practice of some other publications in accepting staged handout photographs by the War Department. *Life's* weekly portrayal of the horrors of war and of the grit and determination of Americans and their allies helped create a sense of national unity and purpose far beyond that of earlier eras before spot-news photography had been developed. Although Mathew Brady pioneered the use of the camera on the battlefield some eighty years earlier, he did not portray the home front as carefully and as craftily as did *Life*, as in its "Day in the Life of . . ." feature, in which photographers and reporters covered simultaneous events in different parts of the country, helping readers take comfort in seeing a national pattern emerge through the mosaic of local color. This was particularly effective in home-front reporting during World War II, as in its feature "American Sunday." Describing it, Wainwright wrote: "In this somewhat grandiose and typical cornball effort, sixteen photographers from coast to coast took pictures on a single day that would emphasize our sturdy unanimity. . . . What it all added up to was a forgivably dull exercise in patriotism by photography, a sort of Norman Rockwellism in pictures that was supposed to make the readers feel powerfully joined together in a common cause—which, in fact, they already did." In a sense *Life* was using its photographers to replicate what Rockwell was creating by pen and ink for the rival *Saturday Evening Post*: a homespun, motherhood and apple-pie version of America whose very guilelessness in the face of militarism and fascism became one of the strongest weapons in its arsenal.

Luce himself, the son of Presbyterian missionaries in China, brought a secular evangelicalism to his role as publisher. On February 17, 1941, when isolationism was in fashion among many American political leaders, Luce reserved five photo-free pages in *Life* for his famous essay, "The American Century," in which he pontificated on the role he believed the United States was destined to play in the world arena. He had earlier warned his *Time-Life* colleagues that "The country is in danger. Danger. Danger" and urged them to "cultivate the Martial Spirit" and to be "hawk-eyed in our observation of Preparedness." In "The American Century," Luce articulated several points that would indeed describe the American presence in the postwar world, with the nurturing of free enterprise and human progress among its most important national goals. Presaging the Marshall Plan and other examples of American humanitarian and economic aid, Luce declared "We must undertake now to be the Good Samaritan of the entire world. It is the manifest duty of this country to undertake to feed all the people of the world who as a result of this worldwide collapse of civilization are hungry and destitute." Luce's formative years in Asia gave him a lifelong sympathy for China, and he became an ardent supporter of Chiang kai-Shek, a policy that Americans came to support in part because so many of them learned about Asian affairs through *Life's* lens.

Luce's idealistic sermon struck a sympathetic chord with the masses of the American people—many of whom were subscribers to *Life*—who emerged from World War II with a heightened sense of purpose about their national identity. With echoes of "The American Century" in their heads, *Life's* editors and photographers gave a tacit

blessing to the new consumer society being created by newly affluent readers as they moved to the suburbs in the 1950s and 1960s, since Luce, a Calvinist at heart, had essentially anointed their affluence as a sign of election and an opportunity for national benevolence. Even in the arena of domestic life, *Life* emerged as a powerful if unconscious player in bridging some of the nation's divisions over class and race. While Luce and the power elite he represented would naturally recommend a more gradualist approach to social change, the graphic immediacy of the photographs in the pages of *Life* helped call attention to the ills of American society. In the decades following World War II, side-by-side with its frivolous stories on show business and fads, the magazine gave prominent though dispassionate coverage to the plight of blacks in the South, whites in Appalachia, native Americans on reservations. *Life* was not at all a muckraking magazine, but by permitting its camera's eye to rove across the nation's psychic landscape, it played a role in dissolving stubborn sectionalisms and replacing them with a greater sense of national civic purpose. Photographs in the 1940s and 1950s of black children in dingy and overcrowded segregated classrooms helped fuel the nation's determination to end Jim Crow. As early as 1938, *Life* published an in-depth fourteen-page feature titled "Negroes: The U.S. Also Has a Minority Problem" that went beyond what other mass-circulation periodicals had done. Despite a tone that sounds patronizing by later standards, the feature was praised by black leaders, including Duke Ellington, who declared his belief that it was "one of the fairest and most comprehensive articles ever to appear in a national publication." In the 1960s, when Hedley Donovan was editor, *Life* supplemented the role of the television networks in publishing graphic pictures of American casualties in Vietnam, though one of its most moving issues, that of June 27, 1969, published thumbnail portraits of most of the 242 Americans killed in Vietnam in the week beginning May 28. The spread personalized the conflict for millions of Americans who recognized their kinfolk and neighbors in those pages.

Always striving for an exclusive scoop, *Life* quickly purchased rights to the classic Abraham Zapruder movie of the Kennedy assassination, and published all but the goriest shots in its next available issue. In 1971, however, it was the victim of a hoax when it acquired what it believed was the "autobiography" of billionaire recluse Howard Hughes purportedly written by Clifford Irving. But already it was becoming clear that the mass audience that was once *Life*'s mainstay (and that of *Look* and the *Saturday Evening Post*) was vanishing, casualties of television and other sources of information and entertainment. Besieged by overwhelming production costs and the withdrawal of some large advertisers, *Life* ceased weekly publication with its December 29, 1972 issue. It re-emerged as a semi-annual from 1973 through 1977 before rebirth as a monthly in 1979, with occasional special editions each year.

—Edward Moran

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The Life of Riley

The 1950s family television program *The Life of Riley* offered one of situation comedy's original "dopey dads" as a protagonist, and was successful in laying the foundation for later working-class sitcoms such as *The Honeymooners* and *Roseanne*. Unlike his counterparts on such shows as *Father Knows Best* and *Leave It to Beaver*, the blue-collar family man Chester A. Riley was constantly befuddled by life's minor inconveniences, and his frequently uttered exclamation, "What a revoltin' development this is!" after creating confusion for his long-suffering family, became a catchphrase. William Bendix had originated the Riley role on radio in 1944, but it was Jackie Gleason who first brought the popular character to the small screen for the DuMont Network in 1949. This initial series lasted only one season, but NBC revived Riley in 1953, starring William Bendix in a return to his signature role. The show ended a successful six-season run in 1958.

—Charles Coletta

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Like Water for Chocolate

Both in style and content, *Like Water for Chocolate* (1993) represented a highwater mark in the late twentieth-century renaissance of the Mexican cinema, and became the highest-grossing Mexican film of all time. Described by one critic as "a feel good" drama, it captivated American audiences and grossed \$8.5 million at the U.S. box office—unprecedented numbers for a foreign-language film. The screenplay, adapted from her own novel by Laura Esquivel, focuses on a woman who, as the youngest daughter of a family, is condemned by long tradition to a life of spinsterhood and domestic servitude, caring for her mother. Utilising the artistic freedoms of Magic Realism, director Alfonso Arau's film reveals the ferocity of love too long withheld and the power of a woman with the will to defy fate and convention.

The kitchen in the home of Mama Elena (Regina Torne) is the literal and allegorical center of *Like Water for Chocolate*. There, Tita (Lumi Cavazos) is born, and there she grows up to master the culinary arts. Frustrated in her passionate desire for the handsome rancher Pedro (Marco Leonardi) whom she is forbidden to marry—he marries one of her sisters and moves into the house in order to be near her—Tita buries her problems in her cooking and becomes a veritable sorcerer, creating imaginative and delicious dishes that induce bizarre physical and emotional reactions in those who partake of them. A series of cataclysmic events arise from this, and in a romantic climax

Tita and Pedro, many years on, finally consummate their passion. Pedro dies of ecstasy and Tita, deciding to follow him, eats matches and perishes in the flames of a self-induced conflagration. At once dramatic, sad, joyous, and moving, the film encloses a message about the power of women to rise above the constraints of home and hearth, and to liberate themselves from the oppressive shackles of hidebound tradition.

—Sandra Garcia-Myers

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Li'l Abner

The *Li'l Abner* comic strip was a child of the Great Depression of the 1930s, a period when kidding country bumpkins, poverty, and rural lifestyles were perfectly acceptable subjects for a comic strip. Its creator, Al Capp, was a raucous and audacious humorist, capable of mixing barnyard humor with, increasingly perceptive social satire. He and his assorted assistants were also very good at drawing pretty young women. Launched by the United Feature Syndicate in 1934, the newspaper strip was an immediate success and by the 1940s Capp and Abner Yokum were nationally famous and being written up in *Life*, *Time*, and various other popular publications. By that time the strip was appearing in about 900 newspapers. The strip lasted until 1977 and gave America an unofficial national holiday and quite a few catch phrases and memorable characters.

Abner Yokum, who dwelled in the benighted rural community of Dogpatch, remained steadfastly naïve and obtuse, a sort of bucolic Candide, throughout the long run of the feature. He lived in a cabin with his Mammy, who was the boss of the family and possessed assorted mystical powers, and Pappy and their pig Salomey. Clueless when it came to romance, it took him a long time even to realize that he was being pursued by the lovely, blonde, and sparsely clad Daisy Mae. In order to give the maiden ladies of Dogpatch a chance with the other obtuse, or just downright reluctant, bachelors, Capp introduced Sadie Hawkins Day in the late 1930s. During this annual ritual, the eligible bachelors got a running start and then the unmarried women took off in pursuit. Any woman who caught a man was allowed to keep him and drag him immediately to the local preacher, Marryin' Sam. This festivity caught on with the public and high schools and colleges all across the country staged similar events.

Among the many odd and eccentric characters that Capp concocted were Moonbeam McSwine, Earthquake McGoon, Evil Eye Fleagle, Hairless Joe and Lonesome Polecat (brewers of Kickapoo Joy Juice), Lena the Hyena (who lived in the country of Lower Slobbovia, somewhat of an icebound Dogpatch, "where the favorite dish of the natives is raw polar bear and vice versa"), General Bullmoose (the epitome of ruthless and swinish business tycoons), Senator Jack S. Phogbound, the Schmoos and the Kigmies. These last two creatures he used to kid, respectively, consumer greed and

prejudice. The strip made fun of a wide range of contemporary fads and foibles, including Frank Sinatra, zoot suits, beauty contests and superheroes. Capp spoofed Chester Gould's *Dick Tracy*, too, by making Abner a dedicated fan of an even more brutal and invulnerable sleuth named Fearless Fosdick. Both Fosdick and his creator Lester Gooch were *Li'l Abner's* "ideels."

Although Abner steadfastly refused to become any brighter, he did give in and marry Daisy Mae in 1952. The nuptials, commemorated with a *Life* cover featuring Abner, Daisy Mae, and Marryin' Sam, garnered Capp a good deal of publicity. But he eventually came to regret the move, blaming the strip's decline from the 1950s to the 1970s on the fact that a married *Li'l Abner* didn't seem as interesting as a single one. Equally important, though, to the strip's loss of popularity was Capp's perceived shift from liberal to conservative. "My politics didn't change," he insisted. "I had always been for those who were despised, disgraced and denounced by other people." He also asserted that conservatives hated him right to the end. Be that as it may, readers, especially younger ones, weren't especially amused by the attacks on campus demonstrations and the antiwar movement. Caricaturing activist folk singer Joan Baez as Joanie Phonie didn't inspire sufficient laughter. An ailing Capp finally decided to shut down the whole operation in November of 1977. The circulation of *Li'l Abner* had by then dropped to about 300 papers.

In its prime the strip had branched out into several areas. First came *Li'l Abner* Big Little Books, then the strip was regularly reprinted in *Tip Top Comics* and *Comics On Parade*. There was a short-lived radio show, starring John Hodiak, a movie that featured Buster Keaton as Lonesome Polecat in 1940 (and another movie in 1959), and a lackluster series of five animated cartoons out of Columbia Pictures in the middle 1940s. In November, 1956, a *Li'l Abner* musical opened at the St. James Theatre on Broadway with Peter Palmer as Abner, Edie Adams as Daisy Mae, Stubby Kaye as Marryin' Sam, and Tina Louise as Appassionata Von Climax. It ran for just under 700 performances and later became a successful movie musical. Capp died in 1979.

—Ron Goulart

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Limbaugh, Rush (1951—)

The undeniable king of conservative talk radio during the 1990s, Rush Limbaugh spread his vituperative conservative agenda across



Rush Limbaugh

the airwaves, making him one of the most controversial and talked-about public figures of the decade. A new era of talk radio—when programs devoted to commentary (as opposed to the traditional mixture of music and news) dominated radio programming—was ushered in through satellite technology, which allowed an AM radio program to be broadcast live across the United States (or even the world), enabling listeners nationwide to call in to a show and participate on the air. Some of these programs were devoted to sports (The Fabulous Sports Babe), while others practiced a mixture of crude sexual titillation and outrageous social commentary (Howard Stern, Don Imus). But the most popular genre of talk radio involved political commentary, and the czar of this milieu was undeniably Rush Limbaugh.

Rush Hudson Limbaugh III was born in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where he developed an interest in radio at a young age, working as a deejay at a local station while still in high school. Admitted to Southeast Missouri State College, he dropped out after his freshman year. He then held a number of jobs at small radio stations around the country, followed by five years as a public relations assistant for the Kansas City Royals baseball team. Limbaugh returned to radio in 1983, when a Kansas City station hired him as a talk show host and

commentator. It was in this job that he first began to manifest what would become his characteristic style, though apparently neither his audience nor his employers found Limbaugh's approach appealing, since he was fired after ten months.

Limbaugh's career began to turn around the following year, however. In 1984, he was hired by KFBK, a San Diego station that was in dire financial trouble and whose owners were willing to gamble on something new. They gave Limbaugh a three-hour morning show, along with free rein to be as outrageous as he wished. This time, the "Limbaugh style"—a blend of conservative politics and acid humor directed at liberals—was more successful. Limbaugh's show soon became the most popular radio program in the city.

In 1988, Limbaugh's reputation (and ratings) came to the attention of Edward McLaughlin, who had just founded the Excellence in Broadcasting Network—a radio syndicate with fifty member stations. Limbaugh was relocated to New York City and turned loose on a national audience for the first time. He was a hit almost instantly. His audience (largely white, male, conservative, and young) apparently delighted in Limbaugh's characterization of liberals as, variously, "feminazis," "environmental wackos," and "hustlers for the homeless." Since Limbaugh takes calls while on the air, many of his

fans have taken to expressing their agreement with him by uttering a single word: “dittoes,” thus joining the army of self-proclaimed “dittoheads.”

Limbaugh’s popularity—he was, within four years of going national, the most popular radio talk show host in the United States—did not only stem from his verbal jabs at the left. He often combined the words with the ironic use of audio effects. A regular segment entitled “AIDS update” featured as background music Dionne Warwick’s “I’ll Never Love this Way Again,” and a report on liberal efforts to protect endangered species was accompanied by the Andy Williams song “Born Free,” interrupted by automatic weapons fire and the sound of animals screaming. Many critics believe that Limbaugh reached his nadir when he began subjecting the rare hostile phone call to a “caller abortion,” wherein the unfortunate individual on the line (and the radio audience) was subjected to the sound of a vacuum pump before the call was disconnected.

Rush Limbaugh’s influence went beyond his ability to bring in vast audiences and big bucks. He is widely believed to have played a role in the 1994 off-year elections, when the Republicans recaptured the House of Representatives. Limbaugh’s on-air advocacy was supplemented by numerous personal appearances at Republican fund-raising events. He has also been known to affect legislation. President Bill Clinton’s lobby reform bill initial had bipartisan support when he sent it to the House in 1995, but Speaker Newt Gingrich decided at the last moment to oppose it after he faxed his views to Limbaugh, who strongly criticized the plan on the air. The result: Members of Congress received a deluge of phone calls opposing lobbying reform, and the bill’s support evaporated.

For a period of time during the mid-1990s, Limbaugh was a multi-media phenomenon. In addition to his three-hour radio show, he had a one-hour television program in syndication around the country. Further, his book, *The Way Things Ought To Be*, was a bestseller in both hardcover and paperback. Loyal dittoheads could subscribe to a monthly newsletter, *The Limbaugh Letter*, which also told them how to purchase videotapes of their hero’s personal appearances.

But Rush Limbaugh’s star began to fade by the end of the decade. His second book, *See, I Told You So*, sold considerably fewer copies than his first. In 1996, Limbaugh decided to cancel his television show after a four-year run, because of declining ratings. At about the same time, a few radio stations stopped carrying Limbaugh’s program, just as comedian Al Franken’s tongue-in-cheek book, *Rush Limbaugh Is a Big Fat Idiot* began to climb the bestseller lists. It may be that the same shift in public opinion that led to the Democratic victories in the 1998 elections was also reflected in Rush Limbaugh’s declining ratings, sales, and fortunes.

—Justin Gustainis

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Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts

At the inception of its initial fundraising campaign, President Dwight D. Eisenhower hailed the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts as the “great cultural adventure” that would transform twelve deteriorated acres on the west side of New York City’s Manhattan into a magnificent complex of auditoriums. Instead, following its groundbreaking in 1959 Lincoln Center served as an unofficial referendum on how the new rich, as well as the masses, perceived the performing arts at the height of America’s Imperial Age.

In the mid-1960s the media announced that a “cultural explosion” was at hand. *Fortune*’s futurist, Alvin Toffler, argued that “millions of Americans have been attracted to the arts, changing the composition of the audience profoundly.” Judging by consumer activity, he was right. At the end of the 1950s Americans spent \$425 million annually on phonograph records pressed by 1500 companies that sold in 8000 record stores to 26 million customers. Just three decades earlier only three companies had shared a \$7.5 million dollar market.

The other side of the coin was that in the mid-1950s, at the peak of our Imperial Age, auditoriums in New York City were demolished in favor of parking lots (Carnegie Hall was to be replaced by a skyscraper), and no opera company, symphony orchestra, or repertory theater company anywhere in the country had a 52-week season. Ballet companies came in and out of existence with bewildering rapidity and based their finances on the whims of wealthy patrons, one of whom, Rebekah Harkness, danced along with the troupe. Loud protests to the overall depressing situation of the performing arts came mainly from performers. The public seemed indifferent.

The bright, shining example of what *might* be was the New York City Center of Music, Drama, and Art. In 1943, after the Shriners failed to pay city taxes for a Mecca Temple in mid-town Manhattan, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia encouraged the building’s use for artistic purposes. In an amazingly short time, it housed a symphony orchestra led first by Leopold Stokowski and then by Leonard Bernstein, a ballet company directed by Lincoln Kirstein and choreographer George Balanchine, a drama company directed by José Ferrer, and an opera company whose performers would include Beverly Sills.

The *New York Times* advised that “with 43 percent of patrons recording annual incomes under \$5000 and another 43 percent with incomes under \$10,000, the Center is an undertaking for the ‘Common Man.’” Better yet, 40 percent had college degrees and more than a third were either working toward a graduate degree or already had one. Many could not afford tickets for Carnegie Hall or the Metropolitan Opera. But regardless of age or circumstance, attendees all projected enthusiasm and willingness to support experiments in the arts.

The Center replaced an idea La Guardia had had in the 1930s for a “Municipal Arts Center” near Manhattan’s Rockefeller Center. The enormous structure contemplated was to house the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Opera, and the New York Philharmonic. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his sons grasped the value of such an assemblage of world-famous arts organizations near their majestic real estate development; Nelson Rockefeller, recently graduated from Dartmouth, volunteered as a fund raiser. But the Great Depression was a bad time to test public opinion, and the plan was dropped.

Accounts of how Lincoln Center came to be and its significance in America’s cultural history usually begin with John D. Rockefeller

III's chance discussion at a September 1954 Council for Foreign Relations meeting in the Poconos. Two other board members brought him news that Carnegie Hall would soon be demolished and further told him that the Metropolitan Opera House should be demolished. Rockefeller formed an "Exploratory Committee" and traveled to Europe for a reconnaissance of concert halls and opera houses.

Fully persuaded that America must have equal or superior auditoriums to those in Europe, Rockefeller announced that he would head a permanent group seeking to construct a New York City arts center. He was not known to have an interest in the performing arts, so his willingness to lead what would be the largest single private-sector fundraising campaign to date in American history (initially with a \$55 million goal, finally with \$184 million needed for completion), on their behalf, was surprising. It was suspected that reasons other than popular yearning for the performing arts had influenced him.

And in fact they had. Rockefeller, who had presidential ambitions, wanted to ingratiate himself with the intelligentsia—voters like those who attended City Center performances. Furthermore, William Zeckendorf, a real estate developer, wanted to build a competing version of Rockefeller Center in Manhattan's Lincoln Square area. And not least, Robert Moses, New York's most astute political insider and then a Rockefeller ally, had access to federal and city funds for what promised to be the largest "coordinated Title I [urban redevelopment] project in the country," also earmarked for the Lincoln Square area. Ostensibly to replace the slums, Moses offered the public (and Rockefeller) a package that would include the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, Fordham University's Law School, the Juilliard School of Music, and public housing.

Unfortunately, the campaign for Lincoln Center proved a great many pundits wrong. Rockefeller family members despairingly put \$60 million into the facility because no other way could be found to end the fundraising effort. The repeated refusals by both New York's old and new commercial aristocracies to contribute to the campaign demonstrated that they would attend performances but not if they had to do more than buy tickets. Unless benefactions were tax-deductible and/or immense sums in public funds were invested in facilities, the very rich preferred hearing performances in existing structures or in Europe.

The most staggering findings of all related to the reactions of the masses to a "cultural explosion." John D. Rockefeller III, a dignified and reserved man, had middle-brow artistic tastes, at best. The vast expenditures of time and money that he directed did not produce anything near in imagination or in appeal to what had been created at the City Center for a fraction of the cost. The masses did not flock to Lincoln Center.

What Lincoln Center demonstrated for the American commonweal was that a giant bell curve operated in the performing arts, just as it did in every other field of human activity. A minority of the population—not a mass audience—demanded quality in the performing arts. Another minority was totally disinterested in them. And the overwhelming majority between the two might be interested if celebrities performed or playing a musical instrument was a hobby. Otherwise, the "cultural explosion" did not exist.

—Milton Goldin

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Lindbergh, Anne Morrow (1906—)

Although Anne Morrow Lindbergh catapulted into the headlines with her 1929 marriage to celebrated aviator Charles Lindbergh, she has achieved widespread recognition for her own writings in the fields of aviation and conservation. Lindbergh recounted her journey with her husband to China in *North to the Orient* and told of their 30,000-foot-above-the-ground survey of Atlantic air routes in *Listen! The Wind*. These works attracted critical attention for their sensitive literary style; they also made Anne Lindbergh's travels the subject of public interest. It was with the publication of *Gift from the Sea* (1955), however, that Lindbergh earned her place as one of the leading advocates of the nascent environmental movement. The work, often described as a "love letter" to nature, became a national best seller. The public awareness generated by *Gift from the Sea* primed the public for the writings of Rachel Carson and helped make conservation palatable to mainstream America.

—Jacob M. Appel

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Lindbergh, Charles (1902-1974)

Charles Lindbergh's 1927 nonstop solo flight across the Atlantic, the first of its kind, instantly transformed the twenty-five-year-old aviator into an international celebrity. The "Lone Eagle," a shy and uncomfortable youth, found himself at the center of history's first "media blitz" as journalists from across the globe tried to profit from the public's insatiable demand for Lindbergh news and gossip. Although Lindbergh's popularity peaked in the fad frenzy of the 1920s, he continued to be the subject of tabloid headlines throughout his life. He gained public sympathy after the kidnapping and murder of his son in 1932, then fell victim to widespread condemnation for



Charles Lindbergh

his German sympathies in the wake of World War II and finally rehabilitated himself as an early voice in the environmental conservation movement. Lindbergh's diverse accomplishments ranged from the invention of a prototypic artificial heart to the publication of a Pulitzer Prize-winning memoir. Yet while "Lucky Lindy" contributed immensely to the field of aeronautics, his lasting significance is as one of the first—if not the first—popular celebrities whose private life in all its details became a matter of public interest and record.

The future aviation pioneer was born into a wealthy Minnesota family on February 4, 1902. His father, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Sr., represented Little Falls and the surrounding area in the United States Congress and the young Lindbergh divided his childhood between the family farm and the drawing rooms of Washington's inner circle. He showed exceptional promise as a teenager and enrolled in an engineering program at the University of Wisconsin at the age of eighteen. Two years later, having learned to fly, he ended his formal education without taking a degree to pursue the rugged, hand-to-mouth existence of an airmail pilot and barnstormer. He attended army flight school (1924-25), then became a regular on the Robinson Aircraft Corporation's Chicago-St. Louis postal flight route. Here he attracted the attention of a group of Missouri businessmen who agreed to sponsor Lindbergh in his bid for the Orteig Prize—a \$25,000 bounty offered by New York hotel magnate Raymond Orteig to the first aviator to fly nonstop from New York to Paris.

The preparations for Lindbergh's flight drew limited media coverage as other aviators had previously attempted the solo transatlantic voyage without success. Those in the media who took notice of

this new venture dubbed Lindbergh "the flying fool." Meanwhile, his backers purchased a specially designed aircraft from the Ryan Aircraft Company of San Diego, California. Lindbergh dubbed it *The Spirit of St. Louis*. The plane itself would later become a celebrated artifact of American lore—the subject of countless books and an immensely popular display at the Smithsonian Institute's National Air and Space Museum. Lindbergh captained the monoplane on a test run from San Diego to New York with an overnight stop in St. Louis; the 20-hour, 21-minute trip set a transcontinental record. Then, on May 20, 1927, at precisely 7:52 a.m., Lindbergh departed from New York's Roosevelt Field on the 3600 mile journey that would make him famous. Thirty-three and a half hours later he landed at Le Bourget Field on the outskirts of Paris. More than 100,000 Parisians came out to welcome him. Similar receptions followed in London and Ottawa as millions of fans struggled to catch a glimpse of the overnight hero. He also became the darling of the upper classes as King George of England presented him with the Air Force Cross and King Albert of Belgium honored him as a Knight of the Order of Leopold. After grand parades in New York City and Washington, President Calvin Coolidge personally pinned the Distinguished Flying Cross to Lindbergh's lapel. Myron Herrick, the United States Ambassador to France, expressed the sentiments of millions when he wrote to the president, "Had we searched all America we could not have found a better type than young Lindbergh to represent the spirit and high purpose of our people."

Promoters offered Lindbergh lucrative theatrical and movie contracts worth almost \$2 million. He rejected them outright, to popular acclaim. The young pilot instead offered his services to the Daniel Guggenheim Fund for the Promotion of Aeronautics and toured all forty-eight states as part of a campaign to promote aviation. His travels also took him to Latin America where he fell in love with Anne Morrow, the daughter of American Ambassador Dwight Morrow. The couple wed in 1929. Lindbergh devoted the next five years of his life to various scientific causes. He promoted the research of rocket pioneer Robert Goddard, then a professor at Clark University, and convinced the Guggenheim family to bankroll the physicist's work; Goddard's discoveries later proved to be highly instrumental in the development of space travel and satellite technology. Lindbergh also invented a prototype of the "artificial heart" with French surgeon Alexis Carrel. Although the device could not yet be implanted in humans, it demonstrated that human tissue could be kept alive outside the body. Despite these accomplishments, Lindbergh quickly tired of incessant media attention and sought to avoid the limelight. He and his wife "retired" to a 390-acre compound in Hopewell, New Jersey.

Personal tragedy returned Lindbergh to the public eye in 1932 when his twenty-month-old son, Charles Augustus, Jr., was kidnapped from the family's New Jersey estate. Ten weeks later, after Lindbergh paid a \$50,000 ransom, the boy's body was found in the nearby woods. Suspicion quickly fell upon Richard Bruno Hauptmann, a German-born carpenter with a record of petty criminal offenses. The subsequent trial developed into a media circus. Critic H.L. Mencken echoed popular sentiment when he termed the event "the biggest story since the Resurrection." More than 60,000 curiosity seekers and 750 reporters converged on Flemington, New Jersey, in the hope of seeing the kidnapper. Vendors sold models of the ladder used to climb into the child's bedroom and specious "locks of the child's hair." In the courtroom, Attorney General David Wilenz capitalized on pre-vailing anti-German sentiments and depicted the accused as "the filthiest and vilest snake that ever crawled through the grass." The

prosecution also pioneered the use of scientific experts, calling on specialists in handwriting and even a wood technologist to demonstrate that Hauptmann had written the ransom notes and constructed the ladder discovered near the crime scene. The jury convicted Hauptmann of kidnapping and felony murder. He was executed in 1936. In response to the case, Congress passed the "Lindbergh Law" making kidnapping a federal offense. The Lindberghs, now the recipients both of widespread public sympathy and renewed media attention, retreated to Europe to escape from the scrutiny of the press.

While in Europe, Lindbergh toured the aircraft industries of France and Germany. Hitler's Nazi regime feted the aviator and impressed him with the technological superiority of its Luftwaffe. Lindbergh was reported to claim that "the German air fleet could whip the Russian, French, and British air fleets combined." In 1938, Luftwaffe Commander Hermann Goering presented Lindbergh with the Service Cross of the German Eagle. Three weeks later, Hitler's S.S. perpetrated the *Kristallnacht* massacre of Germany's Jews. Lindbergh's refusal to return the medal and his subsequent anti-Semitic remarks tarnished his previously untouchable reputation. He attracted additional notoriety when, after his return to the United States in 1939, he advocated American neutrality in World War II. He became a prominent spokesman for the America First Committee, an isolationist lobby, and publicly attacked President Franklin Roosevelt's foreign policy. Although Lindbergh halted his antiwar activities following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and attempted to serve his country, his efforts to enlist in the Army Air Corps were rebuffed. He did fly fifty combat missions as a civilian advisor to the United Aircraft Corporation. However, this service did little to repair his tarnished reputation. The aviator retired to Connecticut and Hawaii where he served as a part-time advisor to several private airlines and the Department of Defense. President Dwight Eisenhower appointed him a brigadier general in the Air Force Reserves in 1954.

The final decades of Lindbergh's life were devoted to travel and environmental causes. He lobbied for the protection of the blue whale and opposed supersonic air travel on the grounds that it might harm the earth's atmosphere. He also devoted himself to the study of the indigenous cultures of Southeast Asia and Africa. His memoir, *The Spirit of St. Louis*, won the Pulitzer Prize in 1954. Charles Lindbergh died of cancer on August 26, 1974 at his family retreat on the Hawaiian island of Maui.

The Lindbergh craze of the 1920s continued to influence American culture long after its subject had faded from the public view. Prior to the 1920s, the press generally honored the privacy rights of public figures. Yet Lindbergh's combination of personal reserve and public celebrity made him the victim of one of the darkest episodes in the history of the American free press. For years after his flight, reporters pestered his family and stalked his home to provide the public with such coveted details as Lindbergh's tastes in food and cinema. The media frenzy surrounding the "Lindbergh Baby" kidnapping paved the way for the sensational trials of such figures as Sam Sheppard, Candace Mossler, Melvin Powers. While the publicity-shy Lindbergh turned down efforts to exploit his fame financially, other popular figures capitalize on the celebrity craze that Lindbergh started. For Charles Lindbergh unwittingly did as much as any other figure to open the private lives of public figures to mass scrutiny. After 1927, "The Lone Eagle" discovered to his chagrin that America would no longer leave its heroes alone.

—Jacob M. Appel

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Linkletter, Art (1912—)

For more than sixty years, Art Linkletter has performed before radio microphones and television cameras, first becoming widely known for two long-running shows: *House Party*, on CBS TV and radio for 25 years, and *People Are Funny*, on NBC TV and radio for 19 years. During his career he has received four Emmy nominations



Art Linkletter

and two Emmy Awards. His book, *Kids Say the Darndest Things*, remained number one on the non-fiction best-seller list for two consecutive years and is one of the top fourteen best sellers in American publishing history.

Born in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, Canada, Linkletter graduated from San Diego State College in 1934 and became program director of local radio station KGB. In 1935 he directed radio activities for the California International Exposition, followed by similar positions with the Texas Centennial Exposition (1936), and the San Francisco World's Fair (1937-39). From 1940-55, he was president of Linkletter Productions, writing, producing, and starring in West Coast radio shows such as *House Party* and *What's Doin', Ladies?*

Art Linkletter's House Party, which became television's longest-running daytime variety show, began on radio in 1944, originating from the West Coast. In 1952 his blend of audience participation and easy-going conversation made a smooth transition to television, where it remained a popular fixture until 1969. Audiences looked forward to a special daily feature of the show when Art interviewed four young school children, who sat on a raised platform. He had a talent for eliciting comical reactions and humorous remarks from the kids, providing material for his series of books, *Kids Say the Darndest Things*.

In 1954 Art began hosting television's *People Are Funny*, one of the earliest audience participation quiz shows. Contestants were chosen from the studio audience and involved in stunts to prove that "people are funny." The stunts were designed to test such things as memory, level of greed, or decision-making, with contestants being doused with water or hit with pies as penalties. Others would be asked to complete a task during the following week, tasks such as trying to cash a check written on a forty-pound watermelon, and report back to the results. A computer-dating segment was added to the show during the 1956-57 season: a couple matched by a Univac computer became acquainted while answering questions in a quiz-show format.

In 1965 Art became the host of *Hollywood Talent Scouts*, a variety show featuring young unknowns who had been discovered by celebrities. Tom Smothers introduced a young comedian named Pat Paulsen (who later worked on the Smothers Brothers show); Bob Crane presented a singer named Marilyn McCoo (later to become lead singer with the Fifth Dimension); and Carl Reiner brought along a writer from *The Dick Van Dyke Show*, Garry Marshall, to try his luck as a stand-up comic. Marshall later became producer of two of television's brightest sitcoms, *Happy Days* and *Laverne & Shirley*.

Linkletter has not confined his talents to show business; he has become well known in the world of business, serving as CEO of Linkletter Enterprises and on the boards of directors of MGM, Western Air Lines, and Kaiser Hospitals, to name a few. In addition, his book, *Old Age Is Not for Sissies*, became a national bestseller, and he frequently appears on the public speaking circuit to discuss the foibles of old age as well as the darn things kids say.

—Benjamin Griffith

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The Lion King

The Lion King, the Walt Disney Company's 1994 animated feature about a young lion cub in Africa, ranks among the most popular and most profitable films of all time. When it came out in the summer of 1994, *The Lion King* set off a craze among Americans young and old alike, eventually becoming the third-fastest film to earn over \$100 million dollars at the box office, and bringing in millions more through creative marketing tie-ins. Combined with a massive marketing campaign, the film's dramatic plot, stunning animation, and lively score attracted audiences of all ages. Several of the film's themes—family responsibility, interconnectedness, inner direction—seemed to resonate with 1990s audiences, making the film one of the most revealing cultural documents of the decade.

Although Disney presented *The Lion King* as the first of its thirty-plus animated features to be an original work, the script owes artistic debts to numerous classic literary works, including *Hamlet*, *The Adventures of Huck Finn*, and Disney's own animated film *Bambi*. As in *Bambi*, *The Lion King* traces the travails and triumphs of a young prince—named Simba—from "holy" birth to mature adulthood. As a young child, Simba (voiced by Jonathan Taylor Thomas, and Matthew Broderick as an adult) learns of the delicate balance of predators and prey within his kingdom, the "pridelands." In a Shakespearian turn, the young prince's evil, stereotypically gay uncle Scar (Jeremy Irons) dupes him into believing that his practice-roar has caused the death of his father, Mufasa (James Earl Jones). Guilt-ridden, Simba foregoes his royal inheritance in favor of self-exile among a merry bunch of jungle-dwelling, bohemian misfits, whose motto, "hakuna matata"—meaning "no worries"—became a hit song. Eventually, however, after intense soul-searching, Simba realizes that he, like Huck Finn before him, cannot run from his social obligations. Upon returning to the pridelands, Simba finds that Scar and his hyena henchmen have upset the delicate "circle of life" that holds the kingdom together. A climactic struggle with Scar leads to his restoration to the throne as well as ecological and social renewal. The film concludes as it begins, with the birth of a new heir.

Comparing *The Lion King* to Disney's 1942 classic *Bambi*—also the most profitable film of its decade—illuminates exactly where Disney's father-son story stands in American cultural history. Whereas in *Bambi*, Walt Disney selected an innocent deer to be king of the predatorless animal realm, in the 1990s, perhaps reflecting American acceptance of its own power in the post-Cold War world, Walt Disney's heirs make a predatory lion into the ruler of an animal kingdom full of predation. *The Lion King's* vision of the family also differs from *Bambi's* in significant ways. *Bambi's* parents represented the ideal of mid-century parents: he the classic military father, awesome and aloof yet reliable and protective; she the consummate feminine nurturer, demure and self-sacrificing. In *The Lion King*, however, Simba's father Mufasa epitomizes the sensitive 1990s "dad"—the loving, involved father who wakes up early on the weekends to spend quality time with his son. Simba's mother, as many feminist critics have pointed out, barely plays a role in the

family. Few audiences missed *The Lion King*'s messages about family and responsibility—the most vexing issues of the decade, according to one critic.

As in *Bambi*, the world in *The Lion King* divides into two camps—one clearly pure and good, the other wicked. But as opposed to *Bambi*'s gun-toting hunters, in *The Lion King* it is evil gangs of unmannered hyenas from just outside the realm who threaten the security of the “pridelands.” In the context of the Los Angeles uprisings of 1992, the O. J. Simpson case of 1994, and a decade-long debate over welfare reform, many critics saw a racial subtext to the villainous outsiders, noting that the racialized voices of the hyenas hewed to hackneyed stereotypes of African American and Hispanic threats to nice kids from the suburbs who stray too far from home.

The Lion King also ignited a lively debate among newspaper columnists, educational pundits, and parents around the nation about the role of violent death in children's films. While some argued that *The Lion King* included no more violence than the six o'clock news, other critics, most notably Terrence Rafferty in a much-quoted *New Yorker* article, argued that Disney's latest film would traumatize those children who could not easily distinguish between fiction and reality. *The Lion King* also received numerous complaints about its representation of nature. As *Bambi* did before it, critics like Ted Kerasote of *Audubon* magazine argued, the film eliminated any acceptable human role in nature, except perhaps as “passive ecotourists watching an Eden in which we play no part.” Given its popularity despite these criticisms, *The Lion King* is well on its way to becoming the classic family story for post-Cold War America.

—Thomas Robertson

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Lionel Trains

For generations of Americans, Christmas just wouldn't be the same without the sight of a Lionel train click-clacking along the tracks beneath the tree. Above all other toy train manufacturers, Lionel stands for genuine quality and craftsmanship. Founded in 1903 by Joshua Lionel Cowen, this New York-based company had assumed dominance of the toy train market by 1926. Focused almost exclusively on O-gauge electric trains, the firm's carefully painted reproductions of diesel locomotives and earlier metal die-cast models of steam engines have become coveted collector's items. For the cars behind this motive power, a wide variety of rolling stock, embracing both passenger and freight cars, were made by the company. Moreover, the trademark Lionel layout was typically an animated affair, with a generous supply of operating accessories. The company's direction and fortunes were revitalized during the 1990s, when rock musician Neil Young assumed part ownership.

—Robert Kuhlken

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Lippmann, Walter (1889-1974)

Renowned twentieth-century American journalist and political analyst, Walter Lippmann, championed a responsible press in a time when, beneath the posture of detachment, elite journalists were deeply involved in the mechanics of the government. Lippmann was one of the chief architects of a professional journalism characterized by independence and objectivity. At the same time, however, he also



Walter Lippmann

renounced the ideals of citizen-based democracy as unfeasible. His column appeared in hundreds of newspapers as a syndicated feature from 1931 into the 1970s. He won two Pulitzer Prizes, the Medal of Freedom, and three Overseas Press Club awards. In addition to authoring several books, he was the founding editor of *New Republic* and director of the editorial page at the *New York World*.

Lippmann was born in New York City to Jacob and Daisy Baum Lippmann. His father was a successful clothing manufacturer who provided his son with exposure to the high culture of New York and summer travels to European and American resorts. By the time he enrolled at Harvard, in 1906, Lippmann had already toured Europe extensively. His privileged upbringing was reflected throughout his career: in his friendships, in his political philosophies and, perhaps most conspicuously, in his skeptical view of the public.

Set against the soaring rhetoric of democracy flourishing in America at the time, Lippmann's *Public Opinion*, written in 1922, outlines the limitations of the media in performing the function of public enlightenment. In this widely influential tome, Lippmann argues that the vast majority of citizens are unable to comprehend, let alone synthesize, complex national and international political issues, thus an informed and engaged public is an illusion. Journalists, he claims, are of little help because they cannot produce a complete image of the political scene, offering instead an inadequately selective series of glimpses. Describing this limited view of complex subjects, Lippmann coined the expression "stereotype," borrowing the term for a printer's mold. John Dewey called *Public Opinion* "perhaps the most effective indictment of democracy as currently conceived ever penned."

To relieve the public of the burden of participation in government, Lippmann advocated the establishment of a class of experts, which would shape the public mind and character. The press would serve to transmit the judgements of these well-informed opinion leaders, thereby considerably reducing the role of the public. In addition news would expose the experts to publicity in order to keep them honest and focused on public rather than private interests.

Throughout his career Lippmann enjoyed prestige, access to heads of state and royalty, and the confidence of "insiders," whom he decided early on were the truly important people in society. Many believed he helped author Woodrow Wilson's famous Fourteen Points which shaped the Versailles Peace treaty, and he was advisor to numerous political figures, including President John F. Kennedy and his successor Lyndon Johnson.

Yet he maintained what he felt was a professional distance as a journalist. He criticized the United States-supported invasion of Cuba despite his ties to the Kennedy administration and he disagreed in his columns with President Johnson's decision to send troops to Vietnam. Offended by Johnson's later attempts to sway his coverage, Lippmann resigned from writing his column, which was syndicated in over 275 papers.

Although Lippmann's views on the press still reverberate in the writing of mass media scholars and critics, he is often quoted out of context in a way that emphasizes his concerns with professionalism while down-playing his largely elitist opinions. His ideas endure because debates regarding the role of the mass media in democracy remain unsettled. While his views regarding the limitations of the press have profoundly influenced the way journalism is practiced today, Lippmann's powerful work as a columnist, reporter, and

philosopher suggest that he neither accepted these restrictions for himself nor imposed them on his readers.

—Adrienne Russell

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Lipstick

Lipstick has become one of the most widely used cosmetics since Cleopatra first stained her lips with carmine in 69 B.C. "Even women who don't wear makeup wear lipstick," write Meg Cohen Ragas and Karen Kozlowski in *Read My Lips: A Cultural History of Lipstick*. Often referred to as hope in a tube, lipstick has captivated women (and men) since the earliest rosy stains forever linked lipstick and women's lips with femininity and sexuality.

First mass-produced in 1915 when American Maurice Levy designed a metal case for the waxy tube, lipstick was one of the few luxuries purchased by Depression-era women. Lipstick hit its stride commercially in the 1950s, and despite the creation of numerous formulations, lipstick trends have proven cyclical throughout the twentieth century. Honored in 1997 as one of only 12 objects included in an exhibition entitled "Icons: Magnets of Meaning," lipstick has transcended its decorative roots and become culturally indispensable as a quick and affordable way to transform one's image.

—Alison Macor

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Liston, Sonny (1932?-1970)

Charles "Sonny" Liston is best remembered as the man who lost the heavyweight title to Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay), in 1964. A fearsome slugger, Liston captured and terrified the American consciousness in the early 1960s. His criminal past and his stint in prison were well publicized, as were his ties to organized crime. However, the single most well-known item about Liston was his baleful stare, which often petrified opponents even before the bell for the first round sounded.

In the early 1960s, the heavyweight champion of the world was clean-cut Floyd Patterson. Patterson's manager and trainer Cus



Sonny Liston (right) in a 1959 bout with Willi Blomanoff.

D'Amato had spent the better part of his life fighting the influence of organized crime in boxing and was intent on protecting the heavyweight title from the mob. Realizing that his charge would have little chance against the fearsome Liston, D'Amato refused to allow Patterson to defend his title against the man many in boxing were already referring to as the uncrowned champ. Liston, meanwhile, was busy flattening the heavyweight division, waiting for what he hoped would be his inevitable title shot. Eventually Patterson, a proud champion, relented and took Liston on against the advice of D'Amato. On September 25, 1962, in a fight that was widely seen as good versus evil, Liston knocked Patterson out in one round to win the heavyweight title. Liston then repeated his performance with another one round demolition of Patterson the following year. At that point there were many among the hard-to-impress boxing media who considered Sonny Liston the best heavyweight ever to lace on a pair of gloves.

Enter Cassius Clay, soon to be known to the world as Muhammad Ali. Clay was the light heavyweight gold medalist in the 1960 Olympic games in Rome. The outspoken young fighter was fast becoming the sport's number one star, despite the fact that most boxing experts did not envision a world title in his future, especially not with the unbeatable Liston sitting on the heavyweight throne. Nevertheless as the outstanding contender to the title in 1964, Clay earned a try against Liston. Sonny Liston, the overwhelming favorite

at 7-1 odds, was totally bewildered by the young challenger's hand and foot speed, and after six rounds of fighting, Liston refused to answer the bell for the seventh, insisting that he had damaged his shoulder during the bout and was unable to continue fighting as a result. The following year, Clay again defeated Liston, this time with a one-round knockout courtesy of a "phantom punch" which many attributed to Clay's faster-than-the-human-eye hand speed but many others saw as a fraudulent punch in a fixed fight. The controversy surrounding this fight has never been resolved, and the "phantom punch" remains a favorite topic of argument for boxing fans to this day.

Liston's last fight was in 1970 against Chuck Wepner, the fighter who nearly lasted the distance against Muhammad Ali and in doing so inspired a young actor in attendance named Sylvester Stallone to write the screenplay for the movie *Rocky*. Liston won the Wepner fight with a tenth round technical knockout. Later that year, Liston was found dead in his home, reportedly from a heroin overdose. Those who knew him personally insist that Sonny did not use heroin and that his death was actually a mob execution. Charles "Sonny" Liston, a man who did not know where he was born or how old he was, died as he lived—under a shroud of mystery and controversy.

—Max Kellerman

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Little Black Dress

The little black dress, a simple yet timeless fashion innovation first popular in the 1920s, has been called the foundation of any woman's wardrobe, and the one style item that makes every woman both look and feel great. Author Edna O'Brien has called it "both chic and armor," though the black dress was originally considered something of an anti-fashion statement when it first appeared after World War I with its "less is more" concept inspired by the simple lines of the chemise and the functional uniforms of French shopgirls and waitresses.

The little black dress has been promoted by many designers throughout the twentieth century, but most couture authorities credit its origin to famed French designer Gabrielle Bonheur "Coco" Chanel (1883-1971). Chanel opened her first dress shops between 1912 and 1914 in Paris and Deauville, where she was the first to create women's clothing to be worn without corsets, and fashions that emphasized comfort, ease, and practicality, with no loss of elegance. She introduced a number of influential and enduring fashion trends, such as the chemise dress, tweed skirts and sweaters, and feminized male items such as trousers and pea jackets. Chanel was advocating the little black dress as a new uniform for afternoon and evening as early as 1915. As Caroline Rennolds Milbank noted: "Deceptively simple, these dresses were wizardries of cut and proportion. Chanel used traditional elegant material—lace, tulle, embroideries, or soft, weightless silks—in a newly tailored way. The little black dress made women wearing anything else seem overdressed, and during the first years of her career—the war years—overdressing was severely frowned upon." Countless other designers, including Edward Molyneux, Jean Patou, and Balenciaga, carried Chanel's original concept into the future.

Writers on fashion have lauded both the essentiality and the versatility of the little black dress. Originally designed for the afternoon cocktail hour, it was soon lauded for the relaxed mood it first brought to feminine evening wear. Its basic simplicity made it easily accessorized, and it has been called an entire wardrobe in itself when worked with scarves, purses, and real or faux pearls and other jewelry. Smart working women are still advised to keep a small black evening bag at the office for transforming the workaday black dress into instant elegance after hours.

The versatility of the little black dress is key to its popular success. Appropriate for formal and informal wear in both winter or summer, the dress has been praised by fashion writers for the way it focuses on the face, looks great with a tan, can stand out or blend in, and both intrigue and seduce. On a purely functional level, it hides stains, and, best of all, slims the figure—enthusiasts swear it can appear to take off ten pounds. The little black dress really owes a great deal of its durability to its color. Black soon shook its long association with mourning to become the most basic of fashion colors, by turns elegant, classic, sexy, or funky. Impeccable fashion precedents for basic black include Audrey Hepburn in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, Anita Ekberg in Fellini's *La Dolce Vita*, where she wore a clerical variation of the little black sheath dress fashioned after an Italian priest's garb, and also nuns, beatniks, and Morticia Addams.

The durable fashion staple was further, if bizarrely, immortalized in Richard O'Brien's *Shock Treatment*, a 1981 film sequel to the cult smash, *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*. In it, *Rocky Horror's* now married and somewhat taken-for-granted heroine, Janet Majors, performs an aggressive rock number, "Little Black Dress," while in the process of a fashion makeover geared to instantly transforming her into the chic and attention-grabbing woman of the hour, courtesy of a "minimal, criminal, cynical Little Black Dress." Throughout the twentieth century, the little black dress has never gone out of fashion, echoing Coco Chanel's observation that fashion fades, but style remains the same.

—Ross Care

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Little Blue Books

Little Blue Books—compact, cheap, often carrying alluring titles or topics—became immensely successful in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. Because they cost only a nickel apiece, the books represented the true reading taste of Americans, according to their publisher, Emanuel Haldeman-Julius (1889-1951), who referred to the thousands of titles he published in a small town in southeastern Kansas as "a university in print" and a "democracy of literature." Many of his best-selling books promised frank discussions of sex for an American public that was still deemed bashful about the question. But the chapbooks also gave thrifty readers a broad range of literature at practically no cost: ancient and modern works, essays, fiction, philosophy, humor, biography, self-improvement manuals, and a variety of other works.

Haldeman-Julius, son of a Russian Jewish immigrant bookbinder in Philadelphia, worked at Socialist newspapers in New York and elsewhere before marrying Anna Marcet Haldeman in 1916. Daughter of a prominent banking family in Girard, Kansas (population 2,500), and a niece of the prominent social worker Jane Addams, she supplied him with half of his last name and funds for his purchase of a financially struggling Socialist newspaper called the *Appeal to Reason*, which he eventually was forced to close although he continued with other journalistic efforts.

Haldeman-Julius said he first thought of printing cheap books for the masses after reading a copy of Oscar Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* when he was 15. In 1919, he introduced his concept with 25-cent paperbacks, beginning with *Reading Gaol* and *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Various called Pocket Classics, People's Classics, and Pocket Series, they sported covers of different colors. Two years later the publisher spurred sales by cutting the price to a nickel apiece, adopting blue covers (although some later came with covers in yellow and other colors), and naming the series Little Blue Books. Cheaply bound and printed on inexpensive newsprint,

the books measured three-and-one-half by five inches and usually contained 64 pages, though they could run from 32 to 128 pages. Haldeman-Julius advertised them widely in newspapers and magazines at 20 for a dollar postpaid and they became enormously popular. By 1927 he reported he had sold 21 million and it has been estimated that he sold more than 300 million in his lifetime. The publisher boasted he could provide the information and entertainment found in hardcover books at one-hundredth the price.

Although books with sexy titles or topics became Haldeman-Julius's most popular category, strict laws prohibited distribution of material relating to sexual subjects through the mails, and the texts, some by authors like Margaret Sanger, an early public advocate of birth control, were not as saucy as some readers perhaps hoped. "Sex hygiene" manuals employed euphemistic titles to avoid embarrassment to customers, Haldeman-Julius said. *What Every Young Woman Should Know*, *What Every Young Man Should Know*, and *How to Be Happy Though Married* were several top sellers.

Though he could be coy about titling the sex manuals he published, Haldeman-Julius did not hesitate to spice up titles of slow-moving books. Sales of Theophile Gautier's novel *Fleece of Gold* jumped from 6,000 copies in 1925 to 50,000 the next year when Haldeman-Julius retitled it *The Quest for a Blonde Mistress*. Sales of a book about Henry II rocketed from 5,000 to 300,000 after Haldeman-Julius renamed it *The Story of a Lustful King*.

The entire series catered to Americans' quest for self-improvement and self-education. Although Haldeman-Julius boasted that his reprints included "all the famous authors from Aesop to Zarilla," he also hired freelancers to write original books, including his perennially popular line of self-help chapbooks that promised to make readers smarter, stronger, more attractive, and better in practically every way. His most productive writer, a former priest in London, pumped out 10,000 words a week and 7.5 million words in all. The publisher also picked liberally from older works with expired copyrights. He estimated in 1928 that one-quarter of his books fell in the latter category. Authors of the 2,000 titles on his list included Edgar Allan Poe, Clarence Darrow, Will Durant, Upton Sinclair, Bertrand Russell, and William Shakespeare, among many others. Books extolling socialism were common.

Besides editing the Little Blue Books, Haldeman-Julius wrote many himself, including fiction and essays. One of his favorite themes was atheism (*The Church Is a Burden, Not a Benefit*, *In Social Life: Is Theism a Logical Philosophy?*; *The Meaning of Atheism; Studies in Rationalism*), although he also offered his customers versions of the Bible and other religious material. He claimed he wanted only to provide readers a range of subjects and philosophies and to let them draw their own conclusions. He wrote a number of books with his wife, who also wrote some by herself, including *What the Editor's Wife Is Thinking About*, which jumped from annual sales of 1,000 to 16,000 when it was retitled *Marcet Haldeman-Julius' Intimate Notes on Her Husband* in 1927.

Cheap and portable, the books remained popular even during the Great Depression, but their popularity began to decline after World War II as greater prosperity made the books less appealing. Haldeman-Julius carried on the business until he died in his swimming pool on his ranch outside Girard in 1951, shortly after being sentenced to six months in prison and a \$12,500 fine for income tax evasion. (The death was ruled an accidental drowning). His son, Henry J. Haldeman, continued to publish the books until the mid-1970s, tempting readers with titles like *Your Sex Life After 80*, *Pin-Ups of Now Magazine*, and

Rupture and Hernia, but they never regained the popularity of their early years.

—Daniel Lindley

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Little League

From its inception in 1939 to the present, Little League has evolved into the primary outlet for youngsters to participate in baseball—America's National Pastime. Today, well over three million boys and girls from across the globe between the ages of five and eighteen partake in Little League programs. Those who coach in the League, which is incorporated as a not-for-profit organization, do not simply teach children how to swing a bat, toss a curve ball, or steal a base. The essence of Little League is clearly stated in its official Pledge: "I trust in God. I love my country and will respect its laws. I will play fair and strive to win. But win or lose, I will always do my best."

Little League was founded in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, by Carl Stotz and George and Bert Bebble. The initial league consisted of three teams; a year later, a second league was added, with ten more coming on board during World War II. In 1947, the first non-Pennsylvania league—located in Hammonton, New Jersey—became an official Little League, and the initial Little League World Series, the organization's showcase event, was held. The victor was Williamsport's Maynard Little League. By the following year, 94 youth baseball programs had become official Little Leagues, and in 1950 there were 307 leagues spanning the United States. Little League went international in 1951, with the establishment of a program in British Columbia, Canada. Six years later, the team from Monterrey, Mexico, became the first foreign squad to win a World Series title. When it repeated the following year, Monterrey became the first back-to-back Little League champions.

In 1952, the organization had its initial full time president in Peter J. McGovern, and there were over 1,500 Little Leagues in and outside the United States. In 1953, CBS first televised the Little League World Series with Howard Cosell behind the microphone. By 1955, there was at least one Little League in all 48 of the United States, and by 1959 the organization had grown to over 5,000 leagues. That year, which was the twentieth anniversary of Little League, President Dwight Eisenhower announced that the week following the second Monday in June of every year will be designated National Little League Baseball Week.

Throughout the 1960s, Little League continued to develop. Senior League Baseball was established for 13-to-15-year-olds, as was Big League Baseball for those 16-to-18. A summer camp was inaugurated in Williamsport, and the League was granted a Federal Charter of Incorporation by the United States Congress. The World



Eric Campesi, U.S. East champion, from the Tom's River Little League in New Jersey, sits during practice before the Little League World Series in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, 1998.

Series was broadcast on ABC's *Wide World of Sports*. Teams from Spain and Venezuela made it to the series—and one from West Tokyo, Japan, became the initial Asian squad to win a championship.

The 1970s saw the introduction of the aluminum bat, the evolution of which came in conjunction with the League. Girls began taking part in League softball programs, and Junior League was inaugurated for 13-year-olds. By the end of the decade, there were 6,500 Little Leagues, 2,850 Senior Leagues, and 1,300 Big Leagues. In the 1980s, the Peter J. McGovern Little League Museum commenced operation in South Williamsport; Vice President George Bush threw out the first pitch in the League championship contest, and the original 1947 World Series winners, the Maynard Little Leaguers—now all grown, and well into middle age—were honored on the fortieth anniversary of their triumph. In the 1990s, Little League continued evolving as a Challenger Division was established for physically and mentally impaired youngsters.

Many major leaguers began their baseball careers in Little League. Boog Powell and Ken Hubbs played in the 1954 Little League World Series. Rick Wise and Hector Torres did so in 1958. In 1971, Lloyd McClendon belted five dingers in five World Series at bats. Tom Seaver was the inaugural inductee in the Hall-of-Excellence, located in the Peter J. McGovern Little League Museum. Other alumni include Carl Yastrzemski—the first Little Leaguer to make

the Baseball Hall of Fame—Jim Palmer, Mike Schmidt, Nolan Ryan, Cal Ripken, and Dale Murphy.

Yet not all-star Little Leaguers were fated to make the major leagues. In 1956, Fred Shapiro, playing for Delaware Township, New Jersey, tossed the initial perfect game in the Little League World Series. The hero of the 1964 competition was Danny Yacarino of the Staten Island, New York, Mid Island Little League, who hurled a no-hitter and belted a home run in the championship contest against Monterrey. One notable Little League graduate is National Football League quarterback Brian Sipe, who participated in the 1961 series, with his team, hailing from El Cajon, California, winning the championship. Among the Little League Museum Hall-of-Excellence honorees are National Basketball Association (NBA) Hall-of-Famer Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, a member of New York City's Inwood Little League; NBA star and United States Senator Bill Bradley of the Crystal City, Missouri, Little League; George Will, the nationally syndicated columnist and political commentator who played Little League ball in Champaign, Illinois; actor Tom Selleck, a graduate of the Sherman Oaks, California, Little League; and former Vice President Dan Quayle of the Huntington, Indiana Little League.

The official goal of Little League is to “promote, develop, supervise, and voluntarily assist in all lawful ways, the interest of those who will participate in Little League Baseball.” Its true

purpose, however, is not simply to train youngsters in baseball fundamentals and then send them out on the field to win at all costs. Beyond athletic competition and the enjoyment inherent in learning and playing baseball, the primary objective of Little League is to build within all participants character and loyalty, a solid work ethic, and a sense of identity as a citizen of their home country. Indeed, the emphasis in Little League is on developing exemplary world citizens, instead of outstanding ballplayers.

—Rob Edelman

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Little Magazines

The origin of American little magazines can be traced back to the radical pamphlets of the American Revolution, but it was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century that little magazines came into their own. By the early part of the twentieth century, little magazines were recognized as an important outlet for literary works. The "little" in little magazines refers not to the physical size of the periodical but to the circulation, which numbers from approximately 200 to 2,000 or more subscribers, a mere fraction of commercial counterparts. Typically, little magazines have provided a place for writing that could find no other home, and have often been used as an entry vehicle for new writers to get published. The magazines exist primarily for writers, though all readers are welcome. Their editors have often founded them for personal reasons, and there is a significant relationship between self-publishing and little magazines; *Deanotations*, for example, is a magazine of poems by the editor and drawings by his wife. The magazines usually have small staffs of one or two persons, or they may reflect the efforts of a writers' cooperative; for example, *First Draft* is based on works of a writers' group. A

number of little magazines are associated with a college or university, especially an English Department, such as *Cream City Review* from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Sometimes a little magazine will serve as a springboard to a small book press, for example, *CAYLX: A Journal of Art and Literature for Women* engendered CAYLX Books.

The exact number of little magazines is difficult to track because of the many that do not make it past their first year of publication; still others have erratic publication schedules. Promotional budgets are nearly nonexistent, and most have trouble attracting advertising revenue. Most lack a profit motive, and few break even financially. The effort is largely based on passion. In contrast, most commercial magazines are part of a larger profit-based corporation. These mainstream magazines aggressively seek advertisers, have large budgets for promotion, employ large staffs, and circulate to thousands, if not tens of thousands, of subscribers. The writing and topics are usually homogenized and stylistically uniform. While on occasion they may be thought provoking, they are rarely thought disturbing, a trend more common to little magazines. Commercial magazines appeal to a mass market, rather than a select group of kindred spirits, and purposefully pursue the acceptably correct and publishable verse. Many little magazines derive from a need to say things that commercial magazines reject. Little magazines need editorial freedom and are willing to remain little, non-profit, and independent of corporate control in order to have this.

The 1930s through the 1950s were a vibrant time for little magazines. The content was largely focused in the areas of the arts and literature with writing that was edgy, peculiar, and asocial. Many of these little magazines served the interests of the bohemian and Beat generations. The works were unfettered and represented eclectic interests and literary experimentation, for example, ethnopoetics and experimental language. During this time there was an outgrowth from the literary genres into areas of fantasy literature and science fiction, a subset of little magazines that came to be called fanzines—a term that was later shortened to zines as the phenomenon grew. The line between little magazines and zines is not easily distinguished. Each has an independent spirit and an idiosyncratic nature, and both are adversaries for free expression; however, zines are not predisposed to any type of category. Little magazines are traditionally literary.

In the early 1960s, there were reputed to be approximately 600 little magazines, and by the mid-1970s, approximately 1,500. This growth was a result of technology, beginning with the so-called mimeo revolution based on the duplicating capability of the mimeograph machine. This capability accelerated through inexpensive and easy access to photocopy services and machines. Continued growth came as the result of an increase in grant monies through public and private agencies, which was facilitated by organizations such as the Coordinating Council of Literary Magazines. As little magazines grew in number so did their interests. Another subset of little magazines evolved as a result of political unrest during the 1960s and went underground, creating the term "underground press." Though the term is still occasionally used, radical magazines are more commonly called "progressive" and focus on alternative music and lifestyles, critiques of politics, sociology, the environment, culture, and current events.

There is a significant core of little magazines that are concentrated in the areas of art and literature encompassing poetry, prose, fiction, short stories, plays, photography, collages, satire, art, criticism, and reviews. The magazines may be primarily literary, but their

interests are peripatetic, such as *Hammers*, a geographic-based magazine stressing Chicago area poets; *Primavera*, a gender-based magazine expressing the perspectives and experiences of women; *The Connecticut Poetry Review*, a genre-based magazine that publishes only poetry; *The Crescent Review*, a genre-based magazine that publishes only short stories; *Italian Americana*, a magazine that reflects aspects of the Italian experience in America; *City Primeval*, which addresses the nature and activity of men and women contending in, and with, the evolving urban environment; *City Lights Journal*, a magazine edited by Beat writer and poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti; *Bathtub Gin*, a magazine that looks for work “that has the kick of bathtub gin”; and *The Dirty Goat*, a magazine that will consider anything.

To maintain independence and survive, many little magazines have found it necessary to concentrate on the business end. Many writers got into the magazine business accidentally, for no other purpose than to edit and distribute good writing, not to develop marketing plans and balance books. To assist these individuals and writers cooperatives, nonprofit agencies have been formed, such as the Committee of Small Magazine Editors and Publishers, Independent Press Association, and a number of distribution companies that specialize in distributing little magazines to bookstores and libraries. The purpose is not to make a mark on Wall Street, but to remain solvent so that ideas and values outside of the commercial mainstream magazines may have a voice. When a little magazine becomes big, something unique is lost.

—Byron Anderson

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Little Orphan Annie

Little Orphan Annie, America’s most popular hapless waif for over three score and ten years, first showed up in U.S. newspaper comic sections in 1924. The brainchild of cartoonist Harold Gray, Annie was inspired in part by the sort of feisty orphans America’s Sweetheart Mary Pickford had been playing on silent movie screens for over a decade as well as by the pluck-and-luck lads Horatio Alger, Jr. had introduced in his novels in the previous century. The conservative and eccentric Gray sent his redheaded, blank-eyed, little orphan on a relentless odyssey through America, commencing in the Roaring Twenties, continuing through the Great Depression of the 1930s, into the grim years of World War II, through the Cold War, and into the restless 1960s. Along the way he created scores of memorable

characters, all drawn in his bleak, shadowy, and highly individual cartoon style. Chief among them were the avuncular Daddy Warbucks, the almost supernatural Punjab, and Sandy, one of the most faithful and long-lived dogs in comics history. Sandy’s frequent “Arf” became a national catchword and was even quoted in a song about Annie.

A former assistant to Sydney Smith on the popular *The Gumps*, Gray had learned a good deal about melodrama and suspense. Gray began his own strip in the traditional style for that sort of tale, showing the plucky Annie leaving a bleak orphanage when she was adopted by a wealthy business tycoon named Oliver “Daddy” Warbucks. As Dickens helped establish nearly a hundred years earlier, an orphan’s lot is often not a happy or stable one, and Annie didn’t remain happily secure in the Warbucks household for very long. Soon she was on the road, unjustly separated from her benefactor and accompanied by the loyal Sandy. The pair roamed the country, encountering both kindly souls who took them in and consummate scoundrels who set them on the run again. During the Depression of the 1930s, Gray was one of the few comic strip artists who dealt directly with life among those who were hard hit by the economic woes of the period. Despite his long-term dislike for President Roosevelt, Gray was not the sort of conservative who blamed the poor and homeless for their plight. Annie spent considerable time in the lower depths, never losing her belief that hard work and honesty would win the day. Unlike most of the unemployed and homeless she encountered, the admirable orphan was frequently rescued and returned to upper class comfort by Daddy Warbucks. One of Gray’s greatest challenges was to come up with new and plausible ways for the moppet to become parted once more from her surrogate parent.

During World War II, Daddy Warbucks turned his factory over to the government and became a lieutenant colonel in, for some reason, the British Army. On the home front Annie organized the Junior Commandos, who kept an eye out for spies and saboteurs but also, more practically, collected waste paper and scrap metal. “This is war, kids,” Annie told her young colleagues, “our war, just as much, or more maybe, than anybody else’s—we’re givin’ all we can to help those who are givin’ ever’thing for us!”

Little Orphan Annie branched out into other media soon after its inception. The Cupples & Leon Company began issuing hardcover reprint books of the strip in 1926. In the 1930s came Big Little Books and various comic book appearances. A kids’ daily radio serial took to the air in the spring of 1931, broadcast initially out of NBC’s Blue Network studios in Chicago. Ovaltine sponsored the show for nearly a decade and sold many thousand shakeup mugs for just a dime and the aluminum seal from inside a tin of their product. There were several styles of mugs, but all had a decal of Annie, usually accompanied by Sandy, on the side. Annie hit the movies in 1932, when RKO made *Little Orphan Annie* with Mitzi Green in the title role and slow burn comedian Edgar Kennedy as Daddy Warbucks. In all these venues Annie frequently uttered her favorite, and famous, exclamation—“Leapin’ lizards!” 1977 saw the unsinkable orphan on Broadway in the hit musical *Annie*, which was later turned into a movie.

Gray died in 1968, thus never getting to see his little monster, as he often called her, sing and dance on the stage. His longtime assistant, Bob Leffingwell, carried on the strip for a short time and was then replaced by a series of others. Longest on the job were artist Tex Blaisdell and writer Elliot Caplin. In 1974 reprints of old Gray continuities began running. Finally at the end of 1979, and due to the popularity of the musical, Leonard Starr was brought in to write and draw a new version. Now titled simply *Annie*, it continued to run at

the end of the twentieth century, although not as many newspapers carry the strip as when Harold Gray was in his prime.

—Ron Goulart

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Little Rascals, The

See Our Gang

Little Richard (1932?—)

Singer and pianist Richard Wayne Penniman, better known as Little Richard, is one of the most audacious, seminal, and hysterical performers of 1950s rock 'n' roll. With his flamboyant costumes, a six-inch high pompadour, and feral stage antics, Richard's performances unleashed the ecstasy of his gospel roots coupled with sexual innuendo, giving rock 'n' roll its first zany artist. His intensity strongly impacted his audience. Black and gay, Richard was uncompromising in his image, with its roots in drag-queen revues, travelling medicine shows, church, and clubs. A symbol of rebellion, Richard became one of the first black artists to have enormous crossover appeal in both the American and British pop audiences and to foster the transformation of black R&B to rock 'n' roll. His songs have become staples in the rock 'n' roll repertoire. Richard's recording output for Specialty, in slightly more than a two year span, produced his most noteworthy recordings as well as the greatest number of hits, including three number one songs that peaked on the R&B chart and four songs in the Top Ten pop chart.

Richard was born December 5, 1932 (some sources give 1935 as his birth date) in Macon, Georgia, to Charles, a bricklayer, and educator Leva Mae Penniman. His upbringing was religious, conservative, and strict. His effeminacy and the physical defect of his right leg being shorter than his left set him apart from the rest of his peers. His mother put Richard in a charismatic Baptist church in Macon in the hopes of changing his homosexual behavior though he was raised Seventh Day Adventist. At the age of 13, Richard was banished from his home because of his homosexuality and became estranged from his parents. Richard constantly struggled with piety and profaneness in his professional career.

His early musical influences were primarily gospel. Richard wanted to become a gospel singer like Brother Joe May, one of his early influences, but singing for the Lord was shortlived. He then appeared at the local Tick Tock club. By the ninth grade, he had dropped out of school and joined a travelling medicine show, where he sometimes wore a dress and danced with the chorus girls. In 1951, at the age of 15, Richard recorded several blues sides for RCA in the style of bluesman Billy Wright, his mentor. He then moved to Houston and recorded with the Tempo Toppers (a vocal group) and the Duces of Rhythm (an instrumental back-up group) and with the Johnny Otis band. At the suggestion of Lloyd Price, Richard sent a demo to Specialty Records. Specialty teamed Richard with producer

Robert "Bumps" Blackwell, who was conscious of current audience's musical taste.

Blackwell was successful in producing a sound that had not been heard on records previously. Richard became one of the first rock 'n' roll artists to take songs consisting of senseless sounds, disjointed phrases, and images and make them into commercially viable songs. Richard also used the technique of scatting (singing wordless syllables to improvised melodies) in his songs. On "Tutti Frutti," Richard whooped and scatted, demonstrating his gospel roots. The song climbed to number two on the *Billboard* R&B chart and number 17 on the pop chart. Several seminal hits followed, including "Long Tall Sally," "Slippin' and Slidin' (Peepin and Hidin')," "Rip It Up," "Lucille," and "Good Golly Miss Molly." Richard appeared in three films—*Don't Knock the Rock*, *The Girl Can't Help It*, and *Mr. Rock & Roll*.

In late 1957, at the very pinnacle of his career and in the midst of a tour of Australia, Richard shocked the musical world by announcing that he was abandoning music to pursue theological studies and would never sing rock 'n' roll again. He enrolled in Oakwood College, a Seventh Day Adventist school in Huntsville, Alabama, and from 1958 to 1962, recorded only gospel music. In 1962, Richard toured the United Kingdom with Sam Cooke; initially singing gospel that did not go over well with the audience, he switched to rock 'n' roll and was a smashing success.

In 1963, Richard worked with the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. He recorded rock 'n' roll between 1964 and 1976 with mixed results on several labels including VeeJay, Modern, and OKeh. In the mid-1970s, Richard returned to the church again, becoming an evangelist and Bible salesman. He once again relinquished his strict religious adherence and in 1986 was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. He resumed performing secular music in a more subdued fashion and had a successful part in the film *Down and Out in Beverly Hills*, which included the MCA single "Great Gosh A'Mighty." Richard is a rock 'n' roll personality who has garnered acceptance from the mainstream and appears on chat shows, and videos and as a presenter of music awards. Richard is honored with a star on the Hollywood Walk of Fame, and his hometown of Macon has named a boulevard in his honor. While having uncompromisingly exposed himself and vacillated between God, rock 'n' roll, and sex, Richard leaves an outstanding legacy of music and performances that assures him a prominent place in rock 'n' roll history.

—Willie Collins

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Live Television

Unique to television, live broadcasting—the ability to record and broadcast the sounds and images from events as they occur—endures as one of the industry's most debated, inflated, and promoted terms. Although the majority of television programming has been filmed (or taped) since the early fifties, live broadcasting—from the Superbowl to the Academy Awards, from presidential debates to



Little Richard

international coverage of wars and “low-speed” car chases—plays a central role in the identity of the television industry, representing its technological potential, if not the essence of the medium.

The prominent role that live broadcasting plays is not surprising when one considers that television as a technology emerged from the interests and investments of corporations responsible for radio, which was itself developed as a form of wireless point-to-point, or live, communication. From the beginning, television producers and critics pointed to live broadcasting as a way of differentiating television from other media. Jack Gould, television critic for the *New York Times* during the fifties, went so far as to describe the difference between watching a film and viewing a live program on TV as “the difference between looking at somebody and being with somebody.” Live programming in the 1950s included the great variety spectaculars like *The Colgate Comedy Hour*, sporting events, and anthology dramas such as *Studio One* and *The Alcoa Hour*.

Still in its infancy from a technological perspective, live television during this period—the Golden Age of Television—consisted of events staged before several large and static cameras. Unlike today’s

coverage, live broadcasting in the 1950s required a stable physical location and an event that was either scheduled or long enough in duration to justify the movement of studio cameras. This limited the types of event that could be covered live, but the attraction to these broadcasts and their impact on the country was tremendous. In 1949, three-year-old Kathy Ficus captured the hearts and minds of the country as rescuers in California attempted to free her from the well she had fallen into. In 1951, the Kefauver hearings on politics and organized crime mesmerized a nation that watched the American political process in action on TV. The routine coverage of breaking stories and international events we now associate with live broadcasting would not arrive on the airways until technology advanced to allow for more portable cameras. As networks recognized the value of broadcasting live events, live television coverage increased during the 1960s, and the list of most-watched programs and events from that decade is dominated by live broadcasts. Coverage of the Nixon-Kennedy debates (viewed by 91.8 percent of all homes with televisions), Kennedy’s assassination and funeral coverage (viewed by 96.1 percent of all television homes), and the Apollo XI moon landing

(viewed by 93.9 percent of all television homes) demonstrates not only the popularity of the medium, but how live television events came to function as defining cultural moments for an entire generation.

Although the presentation of live special events increased during the 1960s, regularly scheduled live programs began to disappear from the prime-time schedule. By the early 1950s, television had moved from a real time (9:00 EST and 6:00 PST) to a TV time schedule that made the presentation of live programs more difficult. Further complicating the situation was the fact that kinescopes of live shows (a copy of the program filmed off the television screen) looked flat, which made them unattractive to viewers in other time zones and limited the programs' usefulness in syndication as reruns. The high cost of producing live television programming also contributed to its gradual disappearance.

The networks nonetheless recognized viewer attraction to this type of broadcast and searched for new models that could incorporate qualities of live broadcasting. During the 1960s and on through the 1970s, networks employed techniques such as "live on tape" in an effort to capture the feeling of live television. Media critics have noted that the ideology of liveness functions to create a feeling of a viewing community that overcomes the physical distance separating viewers. Presenting programs as if they were live suggests a shared experience with television functioning as a site of national unification. The fact that very few programs actually unite viewers in even the minimal sense of all watching the same thing at the same time is not nearly as important to the networks as the impression of a shared viewing experience. Morning news programs such as *Good Morning America*, network nightly news, and various talk shows work diligently to create the impression that one is viewing up-to-the-minute news and events along with millions of other viewers around the country. The truth is, of course, that these programs are taped, and though they may indeed be broadcast live for parts of the nation, they are broadcast to most viewers several hours after taping. The sensation of experiencing these programs as a live broadcast is created through the use of stylistic conventions associated with live broadcasting: the placement of graphics—such as the temperature or time of day—by local affiliates on the television screen, and the speakers' use of language, in phrasing such as "we take you NOW. . . ."

The television industry has become increasingly sophisticated in its ability to blur the visible boundaries between live and taped programming while at the same time exhibiting an increased ability to meet the demand for coverage of live events. Occurrences taking place anywhere, at any time, are now instantaneously beamed into living rooms and public spaces around the world. Whether it is a bombing in the Gulf War, police pursuit of a celebrity murder suspect moving slowly along the Los Angeles freeway, a bank robbery, or school violence, television brings it to us live. Duration and location are no longer barriers to live coverage, as helicopters and mobile units scour the world in an effort to break the stories that will capture our attention. What was once reserved for the occasional and unusual occurrence, live breaking stories have now become so commonplace that they appear as mere interruptions. The exception is, of course, the live televising of sporting events. Sports, along with important political speeches and some ceremonies, seem to demand a live presentation; and the coverage and presentation of these types of events has grown dramatically during the last twenty years.

With the simplicity of early broadcasting behind us, terms like "live" have become complicated and difficult to define. In fact, the definition of live—"broadcast directly at the time of production instead of from recorded or filmed material"—does not apply to

many of the programs which one might generally think of as "live." Contemporary broadcasting practices regularly present news programs as live even though they are primarily produced from taped material and broadcast (for most of the country) hours after they are taped. Live sporting events include filmed segments which are planned to illustrate predetermined points within the broadcast and include pregame and half-time shows constructed from taped materials. Even special events like the Olympics mix filmed biographies, taped events, and live coverage.

While the boundaries between live and taped programming remain blurred, and broadcasts often include portions of both, the attraction to witnessing an event live, with millions or even billions of other viewers, as it occurs has by no means diminished at the turn of the century. From the monumental to the mundane, live coverage of breaking events has become such an attraction that recently in Los Angeles two breaking stories—occurring simultaneously—were both presented live on local television at the same time via split screen.

—James Friedman

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L.L. Bean, Inc.

The history of L.L. Bean, Inc., founded in 1912, really begins with the quintessential rags-to-riches story of the company's founder, Leon Leonwood Bean. Born in 1872 to Benjamin and Sarah Bean, L.L. was the fourth of six children. Orphaned at the age of 12, he was taken in variously by friends and family, although he mainly fended for himself, eventually becoming an avid outdoorsman who loved hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities. In an effort to create a hunting boot that would allow his feet to remain dry while walking through the woods, Bean stitched a leather shaft to rubber bottoms, creating what he called at the time "Bean Boots." Convinced that other woodsmen would appreciate his footwear, Bean began selling his boots through the mail with a money-back guarantee. As the story goes, however, of the 100 pairs he sold, Bean made good on his guarantee for 90 of them when their stitching gave way.

Undaunted, Bean made improvements to his design and continued selling the boots along with other outdoor equipment and sporting goods, establishing his mail-order business in Freeport, Maine, where it remained headquartered in the late 1990s. In 1917 Bean opened a retail store, located next door to the mail-order offices, to accommodate those customers who invariably stopped by his workshop to make purchases. Over the years, a reputation for quality products and

good customer service helped the business prosper; it was announced in 1951 that the retail store would stay open around the clock, 365 days-a-year; the product line was expanded in 1954 and women's items began to be sold.

After L.L. Bean's death in 1967 at the age of 94, his grandson Leon Gorman took over leadership of the company. Leon was at the helm in the late 1970s and early 1980s when the "preppie" fad helped to fuel demand for L.L. Bean products. Preppies were characterized by their style, which incorporated well-tailored and conservative-yet-casual clothing, including their "uniform" of polo shirt, khaki pants, and leather and rubber footwear—all staples in the L.L. Bean catalog.

Although the preppie craze faded, L.L. Bean did not. The trend toward healthier lifestyles that began in the 1980s and lasted into the 1990s boosted sales of the company's outdoor and sporting equipment. By the late 1990s sales had topped \$1 billion; and with 3.5 million visitors each year, the retail store was one of Maine's most popular tourist attractions. Staying true to the values of its founder as it moved ahead into the new millennium, L.L. Bean, Inc. seemed assured of remaining a fixture in its industry, certain to celebrate its 100th anniversary.

—Mia Consalvo

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Lloyd Webber, Andrew (1948—)

Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber has written some of the most commercially successful musicals of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Among his most popular shows are *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (1967), *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971), *Evita* (1974), *Cats* (1981), *The Phantom of the Opera* (1986), and *Sunset Boulevard* (1993). Lloyd Webber's gift for melody has spawned such classic musical theater songs as "Memory" and "Music of the Night."

Lloyd Webber was born in London on March 22, 1948. His father was a faculty member at the Royal College of Music and his mother was a piano teacher. Andrew showed musical aptitude at a very young age, and, while still a youth, composed short musical entertainments for his family.

His first musical was *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat* (1967). With lyricist Tim Rice, Lloyd Webber created an eclectic score to accompany the Old Testament story of Joseph and his brothers. Musical numbers ranged in style from Elvis-style rock to calypso and soft rock ballads. Joseph's two big songs, "Any Dream Will Do" and "Close Every Door," became hit singles.

Jesus Christ Superstar (1971), another collaboration with Rice, began life as a double album. Concert tours of the "rock opera" followed, and ultimately, a stage version emerged. *Superstar*, the story of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ as seen through the eyes of Pontius Pilate, garnered seven Tony Awards, including Best Musical



Andrew Lloyd Webber

and Best Score. Mary Magdalene's song "I Don't Know How to Love Him" became a pop standard. The 1973 film version starred Ted Neeley and Carl Anderson.

Evita (1974), based on the life of Eva Peron, also began as a concept album. Patti LuPone and Mandy Patinkin starred in the Broadway version. The show received numerous Tony Awards, including Best Actress (LuPone). For the 1996 film which starred Madonna and Antonio Banderas, Lloyd Webber wrote a new song, "You Must Love Me." The song earned an Academy Award for the composer.

Cats (1981), based on T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, is Lloyd Webber's longest running show in both London's West End and on Broadway. It continues, at the end of the century, to play in both cities. Like *Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat*, *Cats* contains songs written in a variety of musical styles. "Memory," the show's climactic number, is a sentimental ballad which has been championed by singers Elaine Paige and Barbra Streisand, among others.

Song and Dance (1982) consisted of two parts: *Tell Me on a Sunday*, a one-woman show, and *Variations*, a set of variations on Paganini's famous caprice for cello and rock band. *Variations* was written for Andrew's cello-playing brother Julian.

Starlight Express (1984), a train epic with music, followed. The cast of the high-tech fantasy dash around the ramp-enhanced theater on roller skates. Rock, blues, and country elements are apparent in the amplified score. A ninety-minute version of *Starlight Express* opened in 1993 at the Las Vegas Hilton, the first major legitimate stage production to play in the famed gambling city.

The Phantom of the Opera (1986) is perhaps Lloyd Webber's best-known work. Based on Gaston Leroux's novel, the musical included the songs "Music of the Night," "All I Ask of You," "The Phantom of the Opera," and "Think of Me." Michael Crawford and Sarah Brightman, then Lloyd Webber's wife, starred in the original production. *Phantom* is indicative of a trend in the late 1980s toward a "sung-through" musical—one in which spoken dialogue is limited and often replaced by operatic recitative (speech-singing). The lavish sets, impressive special effects, and hauntingly beautiful musical score have made the show one of the most popular musicals worldwide.

Aspects of Love (1989) launched the career of its male lead, Michael Ball. The sung-through musical was an adaptation of David Garnett's tale of intergenerational love and included the ballad "Love Changes Everything." The show played for over three years in London, but its 1990 Broadway run lasted only 377 performances.

Sunset Boulevard (1993), based on the film of the same name, included some spectacularly romantic music. Two songs, "With One Look" and "As if We Never Said Goodbye," both of which are sung by the lead character Norma Desmond, have entered the repertoires of singers as diverse as Kiri TeKenawa and Barbra Streisand. As with *The Phantom of the Opera*, *Sunset Boulevard* includes elaborate and impressive sets. John Napier's grandiose staircase is as much a character in the musical as are any of the humans. The London production starred Patti LuPone, while the Los Angeles and New York productions featured Glenn Close. Betty Buckley succeeded both LuPone and Close in their respective runs.

Whistle Down the Wind (1998), inspired by the film of the same name, is set in Louisiana in 1959. A collaboration with Jim Steinman, the score includes typically romantic love songs and explosive rock music.

In addition to his musical theater works, Lloyd Webber has also written concert works. *Variations* also exists in a version for cello and orchestra. *Requiem* (1985), written for Lloyd Webber's father, included the memorable duet "Pie Jesu."

With his impressive array of commercially and artistically successful shows, Lloyd Webber is one of the most important composers for the musical theater in the last decades of the twentieth century. Both his innate gift for melody and his ability to create music, which live up to the dazzling special effects characteristic of so many of his shows, have contributed immensely to his worldwide success.

—William A. Everett

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Loafers

America has had a love affair with the moccasin-style shoe known as the loafer for some decades. In the 1950s and 1960s, loafers—particularly Bass "Weejuns"—were the rage, especially among students, who slipped coins into the slits on their tops, creating so-called "penny loafers." While slip-ons had been around for years before, their "preppy" style was extolled in a 1960 editorial in *The Daily Tarheel*, the newspaper of the University of North Carolina, which asked: "What are Bass Weejuns?" The answer: "The thing on the feet of those who are with it." Many firms, including the high-style Gucci company, manufactured slip-on shoes, but it was G.H. Bass & Co., based in Maine, that launched the classic penny loafer style in 1936, duplicating a Norwegian design. According to Bass archivist Carol Paolino, the company named their shoes Weejuns from a contraction of Norwegian and "injun," the crude slang for Indian. Soon, the shoes, and all successive makes of similar design, became known as "loafers," a label that signifies their easy-to-wear comfort and casual style.

—Michael L. Posner

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Locke, Alain (1886-1954)

In 1925, Alain Locke, a relatively obscure 39-year-old professor of philosophy at Howard University, transformed the American literary landscape when his special issue of the *Survey Graphic* familiarized the nation with the literati of the Harlem Renaissance. Later expanded into the anthology *The New Negro*, Locke's sampling of the best African American literature of the 1920s helped launch the reputations of poets Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes. After the publication of *The New Negro*, Locke joined James Weldon Johnson as one of the two elders of African American literature. He encouraged black writers to address themes relating to their own culture and

history in their works, and to strive for artistic perfection. His efforts significantly influenced the leading black authors of the day, including Nella Larsen, Zora Neal Hurston, and Wallace Thurman. Later in life, Locke became one of the chief interpreters of the movement he helped to launch, and his 1936 publications, *Negro Art—Past and Present* and *The Negro and His Music*, were seminal works in the field of cultural pluralism.

—Jacob M. Appel

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Lolita

Penned by Russian émigré turned American novelist Vladimir Vladimirovich Nabokov (1899-1977), *Lolita* ranks high among twentieth-century fictional works that have achieved literary acclaim as a result of controversy and censorship. Indeed, the initial rejection of this book by international and American readers produced so much focus on *Lolita* that rather than being abandoned as obscene pornography, its ideas and theme have survived and continue to influence American popular culture through the millennium.

Briefly, the novel details the tragic yet amusing tale of Humbert Humbert, a dubious European émigré who harbors an obsession for young girls. Upon receiving an inheritance from an uncle, he moves to a small New England town to accept an academic position. Seeking lodging, Humbert rents a room from Charlotte Haze after he encounters her twelve-year-old daughter, Dolores. In time, consumed by his secret passion to be near Dolores, or Lolita as he affectionately calls her, Humbert marries Charlotte. Shortly thereafter, Charlotte dies in a car accident after reading Humbert's diary entries revealing his obsession for Lolita. Relieved at this turn of events, Humbert takes Lolita on an extended journey across America during which time she seduces him and they become lovers. Eventually, Lolita becomes weary of Humbert's possessiveness and leaves him for another, whom Humbert later seeks out and murders.

As noted in his essay, "On a Book Entitled *Lolita*," Nabokov was aware that his treatment of incest in *Lolita* was one of three themes considered taboo by American publishers. In order to maintain his tenured status as a professor at Cornell University, he initially elected to publish the novel anonymously. After being rejected by

American publishers Simon & Schuster, The Viking Press, New Directions, and others because of its alleged pornographic content, *Lolita* was finally published under Nabokov's own name in late 1955 by the Olympia Press in Paris. The initial printing of 5,000 copies sold immediately and brought Nabokov recognition in Europe. A December 1955 article written by Graham Greene in England's *Sunday Times* soon focused international attention on the novel. Greene's praise of the novel as "one of the three best works of 1955" aroused members of the British press to obtain copies and to proclaim alarm about the safety of young girls. Subsequently, a heated debate among British literati concerning the novel's immorality in May 1956 captured the interest of G. P. Putnam & Sons of New York, who later published the first American edition in August 1958.

Once *Lolita* became available in American bookstores, its commercial success soared due to book reviews read by a more literate public as well as censorship practiced by a moral, conservative public. Within book reviews the repetitive use of words such as obscene, immoral, pornography, scandal, and incest, among others, likely nurtured the public's focus on the perceived lurid or immoral theme of the novel. Moreover, in September 1958, the Public Library of Cincinnati, Ohio, banned *Lolita* from its bookshelves, and other libraries and school systems nationwide followed suit. In a much-publicized event, the citizens of Lolita, Texas, (named after resident Lolita Reese in 1910), debated whether to change the town's name to avoid the scandal associated with the book. Collectively, these and other incidents focused attention on *Lolita* such that it maintained the number one position on the *New York Times* Bestseller List for the last eleven weeks of 1958 and well into 1959. Additionally, in 1962, the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer film version of the novel (screenplay by Nabokov) produced a renewed interest in *Lolita* and subsequently increased its profits from book and movie ticket sales. A few decades later, in 1996, an updated film version was made that attracted more publicity than the 1962 version due to its purported sexual content.

The fact that *Lolita* has had uninterrupted publication since 1958 provides ample evidence of its longevity and popularity. Its theme, language, and commercial value continue to impact American and international culture. For example, in psychoanalysis such phrases as the "Lolita Syndrome" and "Lolita Complex" have been used to describe a middle-aged male's secret lust for prepubescent females or the unhealthy desire for young females. In Sweden, an opera based on the novel was produced and Lund University's electronic library was named Lolita. During the 1996 Summer Olympic Games in Atlanta, Georgia, an article in the *Washington Post* referred to a young female gymnast as "Lolita of the balance beam." Moreover, an Olympia Press first edition copy of *Lolita*, priced high at \$12.50 in 1956, is valued in excess of \$4,000 in 1998.

—Marlena E. Bremseth

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Lollapalooza

The alternative rock traveling circus Lollapalooza began in 1991 as the brainchild of Perry Farrell, then frontman of Jane's Addiction. The summer festival brought together seven alternative rock acts and their respective loyal followings for afternoon and evening concerts at large outdoor venues across the United States. Likened to 1969's Woodstock festival, Lollapalooza expanded each year, with acts playing several stages simultaneously and with circus tents set up on the grounds to house such "sideshow" attractions as tattooing and body-piercing vendors, voter registration tables, free Internet surfing, presentations by proponents of marijuana legalization, exotic foods, and the requisite (and profitable) Lollapalooza merchandising booths. In subsequent years, the show included as many as 19 bands that played on as many as three stages.

The tour was canceled in 1998, reportedly so Lollapalooza planners could regroup and ensure that the next edition of the tour was better integrated. Critics generally agreed that each new tour seemed less coherent and that the quality of the acts as a packaged whole suffered, with disparate fringe bands taking the place of 1991's relatively mainstream selection of alternative rock groups. The commercial success of Lollapalooza encouraged the creation of other

outdoor rock festivals, including the less esoteric H.O.R.D.E. (Horizons of Rock Developing Everywhere) festival (est. 1992) and the gynocentric Lilith Fair (est. 1997), named for Adam's apocryphal first wife, which featured all-female acts.

—Tilney Marsh

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Lombard, Carole (1908-1942)

The quintessential comedienne of the 'screwball' comedy, Lombard starred in many film classics of the 1930s and early 1940s, such as *Nothing Sacred* and her Oscar-nominated performance in *My Man Godfrey*. Known offscreen as much for her coarse language as her beauty, during her short life she married two motion picture superstars, William Powell and Clark Gable.

Born Jane Alice Peters in Indiana, she was discovered by director Allan Dwan at the age of twelve. She became one of Mack



The Lollapalooza concert in Pownal, Vermont, on July 9, 1996.

Sennett's bathing beauties and later made the transition to sound motion pictures. She was popular with the Hollywood community, particularly the film crews. Her costar in the *Twentieth Century*, the legendary John Barrymore, called her the greatest actress he ever worked with. She was active selling war bonds during World War II. She died in a plane crash near Las Vegas on the way home from a bond-selling tour.

—Jill A. Gregg

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Lombardi, Vince (1913-1970)

No individual meant more to the rise of the National Football League during the 1960s (with the possible exception of league commissioner Pete Rozell) than the legendary coach of professional football's most legendary team, Vince Lombardi of the Green Bay Packers. The 1960s ushered in a new era in professional football: Armed with its first national television contract and rising attendance, the National Football League went from regional curiosity to the most popular sport in America within a decade.

Lombardi's success coaching the Packers from 1959 to 1967 is unparalleled in pro football history. In seven seasons, Lombardi never had a losing season, and he led the Packers to five NFL championships, including the first two Super Bowls. These achievements, coinciding with the NFL's rising popularity, turned Lombardi and the Packers into national celebrities. Lombardi, who sometimes used harsh methods to instill discipline, became a beloved but controversial figure, caught in the crossfire of the cultural battles of the late 1960s. To some, his coaching represented the best of American leadership; to others, the worst.

Vincent Lombardi was born June 11, 1913 to the children of Italian immigrants in Brooklyn, New York. His father Harry, who owned a wholesale meat business, was a stern disciplinarian who presided over a proud, close-knit household. The Lombardis' love of family, the Catholic Church, and their Italian ancestry led young Vince to prepare for the priesthood in 1929. But after three years at Cathedral School of the Immaculate Conception, for reasons he never revealed, Lombardi left to attend St. Francis Academy in Brooklyn on a football scholarship. Lombardi played on both offense and defense, winning both a reputation as a punishing player and another football scholarship, to Fordham University.

At Fordham, Lombardi was often injured and didn't play much until his senior year. In the meantime, he met Marie Planitz, the New Jersey-born daughter of a Wall Street stockbroker. Planitz was the only girlfriend Lombardi ever had, and they married in 1940. Lombardi



Vince Lombardi

played both offensive and defensive guard his senior year; he was an anchor of the famed "Seven Blocks of Granite," a defense that gave up only 33 points in eight games.

Despite his reputation as a punishing and emotional player, Lombardi's dreams of a playing career floundered. After two seasons playing semipro football, Lombardi began planning for law school. Instead he accepted an offer to teach and coach sports at St. Cecilia High School in Englewood, New Jersey, a decision that would change his life. Coaching eight years of football at St. Cecilia, Lombardi found his calling. His system, a rigid, organized style that stressed fundamentals, found success on the field. After St. Cecilia, Lombardi became a college coach, first as an assistant at Fordham for the 1947-8 season, then at the United States Military Academy from 1948 to 1954.

Lombardi's career thrived, but he was passed over for many university head-coaching positions, a fact Lombardi attributed to anti-Italian discrimination. In 1954, he accepted a position as assistant coach with the NFL's New York Giants. In four years as New York's masterful offensive coordinator, Lombardi pioneered coaching techniques, especially the use of film to teach players. In 1958, three years after CBS had signed the first contract to show NFL games nationally, Vince Lombardi was named head coach of the Green Bay Packers.

Lombardi inherited a team with eleven consecutive losing seasons, one plagued by a lack of leadership, poor organization, and undisciplined players. But the new head coached awakened the Packers instantly when, at his first team meeting, he announced that anyone unwilling to work hard enough to win should leave the team. Talented players who were once either too timid (like Bart Starr) or temperamental (like Paul Hornung) thrived under Lombardi's unchallenged authority, and in Lombardi's first season the Packers finished 7-5.

But that was only the beginning. From 1960 to 1966, Lombardi's Packers went 103-20-3 and won five world titles. They were a highly disciplined team that won with toughness, not flash. In their signature

play, the sweep, offensive linemen pulled away from the line of scrimmage and formed a wall of blockers, smashing open holes for the following ball carrier. The Packers' tough play quickly gained fans across the nation, and their success catalyzed the NFL's advances in the popular consciousness.

During this time, Lombardi became the face of professional football around the world. His book, *Run to Daylight*, was a bestseller. He became extremely popular on the lecture circuit, espousing not only his theories on football but also society and politics. Lombardi was lavished with praise by some, including many in business, for his intelligence, character, leadership, and commitment to God and family. During the late 1960s, when so many institutions and leaders were under fire, Lombardi was perceived as evidence that old notions of authority remained tenable and desirable. But critics condemned Lombardi as blunt, rude and dictatorial, an antiquated symbol of an outmoded leadership style. This dual public image followed Lombardi for the rest of his life.

Lombardi, however, was not so easily pigeonholed. Scarred by his experiences with prejudice, he was a strong supporter of the Civil Rights movement and insisted all of his players be treated equally while traveling in the South. Lombardi also supported gun control. But the coach found the 1960s counterculture and antiwar activists antithetical to the values of order and loyalty he held dear, and spoke

out vehemently against them. Like many Americans, Lombardi was trying to make sense of the changing world around him. His complicated evaluation of that world undoubtedly contributed to his popularity across the ideological spectrum, a popularity that allowed both Hubert Humphrey and Richard Nixon to consider Lombardi as a running mate for vice-president.

In 1968, Lombardi retired as coach of the Packers, but restlessness led him back to football, and he became coach and general manager of the Washington Redskins in 1969. Lombardi soon fell ill, however. Ravaged by cancer, he died with wife Marie by his side on September 3, 1970 at the age of 57. After his death, the NFL renamed its championship trophy after Lombardi, honoring the man whose gridiron success and public persona defined the modern era of professional football.

—Alexander Shashko

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Guy Lombardo

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Lombardo, Guy (1902-1977)

For 48 years band-leader Guy Lombardo and his Royal Canadians, featuring the lead saxophone and singing of his brother Carmen and the lead trumpet of brother Lebert, continued the tradition of New Year's Eve broadcasts on radio or television from New York City. They presented programs of easy-listening, low-key dance music that climaxed with "Auld Lang Syne" at the ringing in of the New Year. Jazz music buffs labeled Lombardo "the king of corn," but loyal fans of his music, billed as "the sweetest music this side of heaven," bought more than 250,000,000 of his recordings.

Pop music critic George T. Simon explains the band's phenomenal success: "It hits superb tempos, and though it doesn't produce a rhythmically inspiring beat, it produces a succession of steady, unobtrusive beats that make it a pleasure to take your girl out on the floor and move around to the best of your ability. If you can dance at all, you can dance to Lombardo's music." He added that "Lombardo, with his years and years of experience, knows how to select tunes that create a mood, an intimate, cozy mood." In fact, Guy Lombardo claimed to have introduced more than three hundred songs to the public.

From its beginning in 1923 in their home town of London, Ontario, the band was a close-knit group, with brothers Guy, Carmen, and Lebert sharing ownership. Two other siblings, Rose Marie and Victor, joined the band later. Though the original three brothers had an equal share in the orchestra's profits, Guy was, as Decca Records producer Milt Gabler remarked, the "complete boss. No matter what anybody else says or thinks, if Guy feels strongly about something, that's it." He apparently used his authority tactfully, for Larry Barnett, a top talent agency executive, said: "Guy Lombardo is the nicest man that's ever been in the music business."

One of the band's engagements in Cleveland caught the eye of the then-new Music Corporation of America (MCA), and the career of the Royal Canadians was well launched, leading to their first national broadcast in 1927, from Chicago. By 1929 the orchestra was the winter attraction at Manhattan's Roosevelt Grill, where they were booked perennially for 30 years. When the Grill closed, the band moved to the Waldorf-Astoria, which became the annual site of its famous year-ending broadcasts.

Already selling more recordings than any other band, through the years the orchestra continued to add other superlatives: It played more Presidential Inaugural Balls than any other big name dance band. It also introduced more hit songs: "Boo Hoo," "Coquette," "Sweethearts on Parade," "Seems Like Old Times" (all four written by Carmen), "Give Me a Little Kiss," "You're Driving Me Crazy," "Heartaches," "Little White Lies," "Little Girl," "Annie Doesn't Live Here Anymore," and "Everywhere You Go," to name only a few. It also set many all-time attendance marks at various venues, including the Savoy Ballroom in Harlem.

In the 1960s Guy turned to other activities. He was a well-known speedboat racer, winning the Gold Cup, the sport's highest honor. He also became immensely wealthy, drawing large royalties from music publishing ventures, opening successful restaurants on Long Island and in Tampa Bay, Florida, and producing popular shows at the Jones Beach Marine Theater on Long Island. His nationwide tours with the

Royal Canadians, playing to packed houses, continued into the late 1970s.

When asked to explain his phenomenal success, Lombardo answered simply: "Bands happened, musicians happened. And we happened." Others would point to the band's professional, business-like approach to its work and its persistence in staying with a winning formula. "We really have never changed," Guy once said. "We've improved, yes, but we never have changed." He added, "Anything that's popular, I like."

—Benjamin Griffith

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London, Jack (1876-916)

In his writing as in his highly publicized personal life, Jack London provided an overture for the complexities of American



Jack London

society in the early years of the twentieth century. Despite a professional career of less than 20 years, London wrote over 50 novels, 200 short stories, and an additional 400 pieces of non-fictional prose. His various adventures as a South Seas sailor, Socialist politician, Alaskan argonaut, Asian war correspondent, California farmer, and general hobo at large, exemplified the wanderlust which characterized both America's roots and its future. Although London's persona invites a comparison with Theodore Roosevelt's philosophy of the strenuous life or Frederick Jackson Turner's vision of frontier regeneration, he reveled in ambiguities beyond the scope of his contemporaries.

London was born in San Francisco, the illegitimate child of Flora Wellman. Before his first birthday, his mother had married John London, a widower with two daughters. The resulting family was plagued by hardship; the specter of poverty would prove to be the strongest feature of London's childhood. The family frequently moved throughout the Bay area, and Jack entered the working world at age nine. Such a life fostered self-reliance and independence, virtues that later became prominent themes in London's writing. Denied a formal education, the boy compensated through voracious reading. He became a fixture at the public libraries, absorbing the advice of Horatio Alger and the adventures of great explorers.

By age 15, London had entered the world of the outlaw, staking out an existence by thieving oysters from the commercial beds around San Francisco Bay. His nautical career assumed legitimacy in 1893 when he joined the crew of a sealing vessel working in the north Pacific. Following a seven-month sea voyage, he returned to Oakland, but quickly embarked on a cross-country odyssey, initially as a member of Joseph Coxney's "Army" of unemployed men who were traveling to Washington in a quest for government assistance in the wake of the Panic of 1893. By the time this group reached Missouri, London was ready to travel alone and panhandled his way to Niagara, New York. These wanderings climaxed with his arrest for vagrancy in June 1894. After serving a 30-day sentence, he returned to California.

Such youthful experiences became the inspiration for literature. Several of London's short stories dealt with the world of the oyster pirates, and his tenure on the high seas later provided the foundation for *The Sea Wolf* (1904). The autobiographical work *The Road* (1907) recounts his trek across America. Literary scholars generally perceive these adventures as critical in London's emergence as a writer. Close contact with an assortment of sailors and vagabonds instructed the youth in the art of storytelling. Furthermore, these escapades—particularly the humiliation of incarceration—ignited London's sense of social justice and ultimately shaped his political beliefs.

By 1895, London was attending Oakland High School and augmenting his class work with impassioned readings of Karl Marx, Charles Darwin, and Herbert Spencer. He had previously dabbled in writing, and an account of his sealing experiences, "Story of a Typhoon off the Coast of Japan," was published in the *San Francisco Morning Call* in November of 1893. During his year in high school, London spent more time on this craft, contributing an assortment of writings to the student literary magazine. Despite the haphazard nature of his formal education, he successfully completed the entrance examination for the University of California at Berkeley, but his college experience proved short lived; at the close of the first semester, he had to leave the university for financial reasons.

London responded to this setback by giving priority to his writing. Aflame with the ideals of Socialism (he became an active member of the Socialist Labor Party in 1896), he embarked on a frenzy of composition, experimenting in everything from political tracts to poetry, and bombarding San Francisco publishers with the

results. Despite his enthusiasm, his efforts were rewarded with little beyond rejection forms, and the aspiring writer eventually became a laundry worker at a private academy for boys. The semi-autobiographical novel *Martin Eden* (1909) discusses his difficulties during this time but, although this was a particularly discouraging point in his development, his fortunes soon changed.

In the summer of 1897, London became one of the thousands of hopeful migrants to the gold fields of the Klondike. As a prospector, however, he enjoyed a distinct absence of luck. For much of his mining career, he was constrained by brutal weather or debilitating illness, but these setbacks did not prevent him from realizing the epic and allegorical potential of the world around him. By the summer of 1898, he had returned to San Francisco, financially none the richer for his experience, but reeling with ideas. By April 1900, his first novel *The Son of the Wolf* had appeared to a welcoming public. For the next decade, London transformed his Yukon adventures into an assortment of successful short stories and novels that have proved to be his most enduring work, particularly the novels *The Call of the Wild* (1903) and *White Fang* (1906).

Despite the enormous popularity of such tales, London's sagas of the Yukon are only one component of a multifaceted career. Shortly after establishing himself as a major American novelist, he embarked on a journalistic mission for the American Press Association. Although originally retained to report on the Boer War in South Africa, the assignment was canceled, and London opted to examine the urban slums of England. During the fall of 1902, he donned a suitable disguise and lived in the squalor of London's East End. The eventual product was his non-fiction study *The People of the Abyss* (1903), a pioneering work in undercover journalism. Such writing provided an outlet for his narrative skills and a vehicle to espouse his political views, and the author later ranked this work as his greatest accomplishment. Journalistic pursuits continued in 1904 when he traveled to Japan to report on the Russo-Japanese War for the Hearst papers. Although he lived in proximity to the fighting for nearly six months, the Japanese government closely monitored his activities and dispatches. Frustrated by this interference, London returned to California.

In the period between these adventures, London completed one of his most successful novels, *The Sea Wolf*, in many ways the quintessential Jack London story: a sheltered, inexperienced individual is thrown into a hostile alien world and, through his struggle for survival, emerges a hero. However, at the same time, this contact with the unfamiliar forces the protagonist to confront the possibility of an inherent evil within the human soul. In this case, the hero is Humphrey Van Weyden, a sheltered San Francisco literary critic who, following an accident at sea, is rescued by a sealing vessel bound for Japan. The ship is commanded by the tyrannical Wolf Larsen, who takes delight in forcing Van Weyden to adapt to the rough life of a seaman. Although Van Weyden is repelled by the savage barbarity of the captain, he is also intrigued by Larsen's primitive but pronounced intellect. As the story progresses, Van Weyden must balance the redemptive qualities of a physical life with the moral debaucheries represented by Larsen.

The Sea Wolf is very much a reflection of the literary and cultural atmosphere of the time. The novel's emphasis on random happenings and the weakness of the individual invites a comparison with naturalist writers such as Frank Norris and Theodore Dreiser. One should

also consider that Theodore Roosevelt was in the White House, and the President's views on the virtues inherent in physical struggle and the regenerative possibilities of anti-modernism were well known to the American public. Furthermore, London was shrewd enough to include a romantic subplot (Larsen rescues another ill-fated traveler who happens to be female) in order to engage a wider audience. The resulting novel rivaled *The Call of the Wild* in popularity, has been translated into numerous languages, and been filmed several times, most successfully in 1941 with John Garfield and Edward G. Robinson.

As London's literary career progressed, he continued his involvement in an assortment of unusual pursuits. During 1905, he stood unsuccessfully as the Socialist candidate in the campaign for mayor of Oakland. Later in the year, he purchased a large tract of land in California's Sonoma Valley to enjoy the life of a country squire. Eventually this project became the primary focus of London's energies, but his attention was diverted by one of his most publicized adventures: an attempt to sail around the world in a ship of his own design. Given the nature of his writing, it is understandable that the public was intrigued by this escapade. The original plan was to depart from San Francisco in the fall of 1906 and spend the next seven years circling the globe. Unfortunately, the voyage was doomed from the start. London's dream ship, *The Snark*, ended up costing five times the initial estimate, and its slow construction delayed the voyage for six months. The resulting vessel proved to be less than seaworthy and major repairs were required when the party reached Hawaii in May 1907. By the time the ship crawled into the South Seas, London and his crew were demoralized and suffering from an assortment of health problems, some of which would trouble London for the remainder of his life. Forced to confront failure, the voyage was abruptly terminated at the end of 1908. Despite these setbacks, the sailor continued to write. As had been the case with his Yukon experience, he mined the tropic setting of his ill-fated voyage for an assortment of short stories. Many of these are collected in the volumes *South Sea Tales* (1911) and *The House of Pride and Other Tales of Hawaii* (1912).

The Sonoma Ranch occupied increasing attention during London's final years. While he was of a distinctly urban origin, he confronted the mysteries of agronomy with the same zeal he had displayed towards education and politics. Accounts of his actual success are contradictory, but he was clearly a pioneer of a scientific approach to farming. Once again, his life was reflected in his writing. In one of his last major novels, *The Valley of the Moon* (1913), London provides an epic account of two members of Oakland's working poor who flee the horrors of the city to find prosperity and happiness in the California countryside.

By contrast, the thematic sequel to this work, *Little Lady of the Big House* (1916), provides a darker vision of agrarian life and can be seen as a reflection of the chaos and unhappiness that confronted London toward the end of his life. The later book concerns a California rancher who is professionally successful but plagued by personal anguish. The last three years of London's life involved an assortment of medical and economic difficulties. Despite his reputation for ruggedness, he had always been careless about his physical health, and before he reached the age of 40, his body was failing from a combination of abuse and neglect. At the same time, reckless spending and questionable investments drained his finances and forced him to accelerate his work schedule to meet the demands of his creditors. During 1916, he traveled to Hawaii with an eye towards

recuperation, but it was too little too late. On November 22, London succumbed to uremic poisoning.

Although Jack London's death was the cause for national mourning, his presence in the American literary canon quickly faded. Much of his work went out of print, and he continues to be mistakenly perceived as a writer of adolescent adventure fiction. He seldom enjoyed the critical acclaim given to contemporaries such as Norris or Dreiser, but in terms of popular success, his work far outshone that of his peers. He tackled an astounding array of topics in his writing and delighted the imaginations of millions of readers worldwide. While his overall influence is difficult to access, it can by no means be dismissed.

—J. Allen Barksdale

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The Lone Ranger

The Lone Ranger was the creation of George W. Trendle, a theater manager and a former lawyer, who, in partnership with John H. King, purchased radio station WXYZ, Detroit, in 1930. When CBS balked at some of Trendle's attempts to include innovative programming in the schedule, he decided to sever his affiliation with CBS and transform XYZ into an independent station with its own acting company and its own productions. One of Trendle's ideas, developed with studio manager Harold True and producer James Jewell, was a new show about a western hero, a larger-than-life Robin Hood of the West, whose personal code of ethics and morals would set him apart from ordinary heroes. In collaboration with Fran Striker, a writer who had earlier produced a Western program with a similar theme on a radio station in Buffalo, New York, Trendle's group transformed the idea into the most familiar and enduring fictional legend in American popular folklore.

In the legend thus created, the Lone Ranger was originally one of six Texas Rangers who were ambushed at Bryant's Gap by the evil Butch Cavendish Gang. Five rangers were killed, but the severely wounded John Reid was discovered by Tonto, an Indian who had been a boyhood friend. Reid's brother, Dan, had been the Captain of the Ranger squad. Before the ambush, Dan had said that his wife and son were coming west, and that they would need help running their silver mine if anything should happen to him. While nursing the



Clayton Moore (right) and Jay Silverheels as the Lone Ranger and Tonto.

wounded ranger, Tonto prepared six graves, leaving one empty so the Cavendish Gang would believe that they had killed all of the Rangers. After four days, the wounded lawman gained consciousness and discovered that he was the only surviving ranger, the lone ranger. He decided to wear a mask to disguise his identity. As the program evolved over the next few months, the Lone Ranger acquired a great, white stallion, which would become his dependable mount, Silver, and together with the ever faithful Tonto, he journeyed about the western United States quashing criminal activities and bringing evildoers, always referred to as owlhoots, outlaws, and low down coyotes, to justice. Eventually he used silver bullets from his brother's silver mine not only as ammunition, but also as a signature and calling card. On occasion, the Lone Ranger's nephew, Dan Reid, rode with the pair.

The program was aimed at juvenile listeners. The Lone Ranger used perfect grammar and pronunciation, and never smoked or drank or associated with women, except to save them from evil. He never shot to kill; bad guys were always "winged" in the arms or shoulder. The exception was Butch Cavendish, whom he eventually killed in self-defense. The program featured classical music as background themes, because the station did not have to pay royalties on music that was in the public domain. Rossini's "William Tell Overture," the musical theme of the program, became, in fact, a part of popular Americana. The plots were formulaic. The bad guys were always brought to justice. Each show ended with one of the townspeople asking, "Who was that masked man?" An authority figure would announce, "He's the Lone Ranger!" and in the distance the audience

heard the Lone Ranger's deep voice intoning, "Hi yo Silver, awaaaaay!" as he rode off to his next adventure.

The program first aired on January 30, 1933, without a sponsor. After trying out several actors in the role, in May 1933, Trendle settled on Earl Graser, a law student, as The Lone Ranger. John Todd, a former Shakespearean actor, played Tonto throughout the program's twenty-two year run. In 1941, Graser was killed in a car accident and was replaced by the deep-voiced Brace Beemer, who had been the announcer/narrator of the show and who had appeared as the Ranger in public appearances because Graser was too short. Beemer played the part until the show went off the air in 1955. In 1946, the voice of Fred Foy was added as the announcer/narrator. The sponsor of the program for the final 15 years on radio was General Mills, thus the breakfast cereals Wheaties and Cheerios were indelibly linked with *The Lone Ranger* by schoolboys everywhere.

By 1934, the fame of the Lone Ranger traveled beyond the lower Michigan area to Chicago. WXYZ contracted with Chicago's WGN to receive the show via telephone. Shortly thereafter, New York's WOR joined them. These three stations then formed the Mutual Radio Network and added stations throughout the country. The half-hour show was broadcast on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday at 6:30 PM. Before tape or wire recording became available, each show had to be broadcast three times, once each for the Eastern, Central, and Pacific time zones. Before his death in 1965, Beemer estimated that over 6,000 Lone Ranger programs were broadcast. Throughout most of its run, the programs were written by Fran Striker and directed by Al Hodge, Charles Livingston, and Fred Flowerday. In 1949, the Lone Ranger came to television. The introduction and closing, by Fred Foy, and the theme music were recorded in Detroit and superimposed on half-hour filmed programs, which were produced in California. Clayton Moore, a former B-movie actor, and Jay Silverheels, a Mohawk Indian who had played small parts in several films, were the lead actors. The television program lasted from September 15, 1949 through September 12, 1957. The opening episode recounted the Bryant's Gap story of the ambush of the Rangers and the adoption of the name and the mask. Reruns of the show continued well into the 1970s on many independent stations.

In 1937 and 1939, Republic Pictures released fifteen part Lone Ranger serials, but they varied somewhat from the radio formats. In 1956, Warner Brothers released *The Lone Ranger*, starring Clayton Moore and Jay Silverheels. They also appeared in *The Lone Ranger and the Lost City of Gold*, a 1958 United Artists feature. In 1980, the ITC/Wrathner Corporation released *The Legend of the Lone Ranger*, a big budget film starring Clint Eastwood and Michael Horse in the lead roles, with Jason Robards as President U.S. Grant. It was a pretentious and overblown film, which quickly dropped from circulation. Eastwood, whose entire spoken dialogue had to be dubbed by another actor, won two Golden Raspberry Awards, one for Worst Actor and the other for Worst New Star. The film won an additional award for Worst Musical Score. A controversy arose when the Wrathner Corporation, which by then owned the rights to the Lone Ranger, sought an injunction against Clayton Moore, ordering him to cease presenting himself as the Lone Ranger because he was too old and too fat, even though he weighed fifteen pounds less than he did when he was in the TV series. Shortly before Jack Wrathner's death in 1985, the court order was suspended. Clayton Moore, wearing wrap-around sunglasses instead of a mask, continued to tour during the

injunction period and, after the suspension in 1985, he donned the mask again for personal appearances.

Another Trendle creation, which began on WXYZ on January 31, 1936, was the Green Hornet. Britt Reid, son of the Lone Ranger's nephew Dan Reid, was a big city newspaper publisher by day. By night he was a masked, caped crusader who fought urban corruption in his super-fast car, "The Black Beauty," which was driven by his Japanese valet Kato. (According to some sources, after December 7, 1941 Kato became a Filipino.) *The Green Hornet* went off the air in 1952. The same production team also created *The Challenge of the Yukon* (1939-1955), WXYZ's other long running adventure series. It consisted of little more than Lone Ranger plots set in the snow of the Yukon, just as the Green Hornet contained the same familiar plots in a modern urban setting. The same troupe of actors played various roles on all three programs.

—James R. Belpedio

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Long, Huey (1893-1935)

One of the most skillful orators and most successful politicians of the 1920s and 1930s, Hugh Pierce Long was a demagogue, but one with strong populist appeal. Long was elected governor of Louisiana and then U.S. senator, and, had his life not been cut short by an assassin's bullet, he might have posed a formidable threat to Franklin D. Roosevelt's tenure in the White House. He is immortalized, in a thinly disguised version, in one of America's great political novels: Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*.

Born into a middle-class Louisiana family, Long studied law for a year before gaining admission to the Louisiana bar in 1915. A few years later, he was elected to the state's Public Service Commission, which regulated the oil companies that were such an important part of



Huey Long

Louisiana's economy. Long became known as a critic of the oil companies' exploitation of the state and its people, and he tried to ride this reputation into the Governor's mansion in 1924. He lost that election but won the next, in 1928. He was elected to the U.S. Senate two years later.

It was in the Senate that Long began to develop a national reputation, much of which grew from his proposed "Share Our Wealth" program. This plan was intended as a solution to the hardships brought on America by the Great Depression that had begun in 1929; it involved, as its name suggests, a government-directed redistribution of assets—taking from the rich and giving to the poor and middle class. Long proposed confiscation of individual wealth over 50 million dollars, which would provide a guaranteed minimum income of five thousand dollars per year to the poor.

Although Long's plan was almost certainly unconstitutional, it found favor with large segments of the public, to whom the Depression had brought hardship, poverty, and hopelessness. At Long's urging, "Share Our Wealth" societies sprang up all over the country. These groups might well have formed the basis for a Huey Long presidential candidacy. Certainly Long himself entertained that notion, and had expressed the intent to run against President Franklin Roosevelt in the 1936 election. But he never got the chance. On September 10, 1935, Huey Long was shot dead in the Louisiana Capitol building. His assassin was the son of a former political opponent.

In many ways, Long was typical of the Southern demagogues who flourished in the region between, approximately, 1870 and 1970. He was a populist, in that he claimed to stand for the "little guy"

against the power of the established economic and political interests; he pretended to humble origins, although his background was middle class; he identified himself with his cause so thoroughly that it soon became impossible to separate the two in the public mind; he was a powerful and emotional public speaker, with a style that emphasized the “plain folks” appeal; and his rhetoric tended to focus on an enemy—whether the oil companies, the wealthy, or the Roosevelt administration. One difference—making Long virtually unique among Southern demagogues—was that he never engaged in race baiting. Rather, whenever Long mentioned blacks in his speeches, he claimed that they were victims of the “big interests” as much as poor whites.

Despite the undeniable corruption, political chicanery, and abuse of power that characterized Long’s career, he is still revered by many in Louisiana where he is remembered as the champion of “the little man.” And, if Long’s life itself was not enough to guarantee the persistence of his legend, then ample assistance was provided by Robert Penn Warren’s 1946 novel, *All the King’s Men*, which was later made into a popular film. The Pulitzer Prize-winning book chronicles the rise of Willie Stark through the jungles of Southern politics, and no one familiar with Huey Long’s career is likely to miss the similarities. The character of Willie Stark is written as a great political leader who nonetheless possesses the fatal flaw of hubris. The same could be said of the man who was his inspiration.

—Justin Gustainis

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Long, Shelley (1949—)

In 1982, Shelley Long premiered as the overeducated barmaid Diane Chambers on the sitcom *Cheers*. Diane’s on-again/off-again romance with bar owner Sam Malone (Ted Danson) made the show a hit, but Long left the series at the height of its success, in 1987, to pursue a film career which quickly fizzled. Her films include *The Money Pit* (1986), *Outrageous Fortune* (1987), and *The Brady Bunch Movie* (1995).

—Christian L. Pyle

Long-Playing Record

The long-playing, or LP, format for sound recordings was one of the most important innovations in entertainment technology after World War II. In addition to extending the duration of recordings, the

microgroove long-playing vinyl record brought new levels of fidelity to recorded sound. Its wide acceptance by listeners worldwide ensured that this was to be the primary format for sound recordings from its commercial introduction in the 1940s until the emergence of digital recording in the 1980s.

The search for a longer playing format for sound recordings began immediately after the invention of the phonograph in 1877. The technology was aimed at the business user, and the two- to three-minute playback of the cylinder was too short for the phonograph’s intended use as a dictating machine. One of the major advantages of the disc over the cylinder format was that it was easier to extend the play of the disc by increasing its size. By the first decades of the twentieth century the playing time of discs had been extended to seven or eight minutes, but this was still too short to reproduce the classical music and speeches of leading politicians to which owners of talking machines wanted to listen.

The development of a long-playing disc was undertaken by several companies for different reasons. Western Electric’s system of synchronized sound for movies was introduced in the early 1920s. It employed oversized 16-inch discs with a playing time of about 20 minutes. This system was improved in the 1930s and 1940s: more and more sound signals were inscribed in the smaller grooves to bring greater fidelity in the playback. During World War II, chemical manufacturers created new plastic materials which were applied to a variety of uses. “Unbreakable” long-playing vinyl records of popular music, the V discs, were sent to American troops overseas during the war, establishing an important precedent for the long player. Vinyl records were more durable and could take longer grooves than the hard shellac discs used for commercial recordings.

The recorded sound industry viewed the postwar economy with some apprehension for it had spent much of the 1930s facing precipitous drops in demand for its products. It hoped to win over the postwar market with technological improvements such as automatic record changers and exaggerated claims of the fidelity of its recording systems. The Columbia Company developed a long-playing record in its research laboratories under the direction of Dr. Peter Goldmark. Columbia was a long-established company, manufacturing talking machines and records in both cylinder and disc formats since the turn of the century. It knew that a long-playing record would open up the market for recordings of classical music and attract the attention of audiophiles, encouraging other users to desert the 78 revolutions per minute shellac disc for the new format. Goldmark and his team of engineers brought together many innovations of recorded sound in their long-playing technology, some of them stretching back to the early part of the twentieth century. To achieve a playing time of 30 minutes, the groove in the record had to be nearly half a mile long. Instead of the normal 80-100 grooves cut per inch, the 12-inch-diameter long player was cut with 224-260 grooves per inch, and hence the term microgroove was used to describe these records. A permanent jeweled stylus with a synthetic sapphire or diamond was used instead of the usual steel needle: an innovation first introduced by Thomas Edison in 1913. Manufacturing the new long-playing records demanded unprecedented standards of cleanliness and precision, and Goldmark embarked on a crusade to clean up the Columbia record pressing plants.

When executives of the Columbia company announced the long-playing record to the press in 1948, they portrayed it as a revolutionary new technology that would take “the musical world by storm.”



Two teenagers playing records.

This was more a marketing ploy than an accurate depiction of the development of the technology—most of the innovations in the new product had been made years before, even the playing speed of 33-1/3 rpm dated from the 1930s when it was used in long-playing transcriptions of radio programs. Nevertheless, the Columbia company touted its long-playing record as a major event in the history of sound recording and eagerly expected the rest of the recording industry to adopt it. Columbia miscalculated the reaction of RCA, long its rival in the record business and a company that prided itself on being the leader in new technology. RCA had developed a long-playing disc in the 1930s, but it had failed to catch on. When RCA heard of the Columbia research project it hurriedly introduced its own micro-groove, 45 rpm, seven-inch disc, and the “Battle of the Speeds” was on. This delayed the introduction of microgrooved discs because the customer had to choose from four speeds of revolving disc: 78, 33-1/3, 45, and 16 rpm.

It was not until the mid-1950s that the 12-inch disc established itself as the format for long-playing records, and the introduction of the Westrex stereophonic sound system in 1957 made it the format for high fidelity recordings. As had been expected, lovers of classical music and audiophiles embraced the new long-playing disc. The record companies were kept busy transferring their recordings of orchestral music from piles of 78 rpm shellac discs to one long player.

A new source of music for the long player was found in the Broadway play; the sound track for *My Fair Lady* was the best-selling long-playing recording of the 1950s, and it was followed by soundtracks from other plays and films. Artists like Frank Sinatra moved into the long-playing format in the 1950s, producing thematic albums such as *Come Fly with Me*, which contained songs about travel. Yet pop music—music for teenagers—stayed on the 45 rpm single format. The single was cheap (less than a dollar), easily carried around, and the three-minute playing time was perfect for AM radio, which wanted lots of time between songs for commercials.

In the 1960s, most recording artists released material on long-playing discs, which were now called LPs. (The term “album” came from bound albums of 78 rpm discs which were the stopgap long players of the 1930s and 1940s.) In popular music, the LP was simply a compilation of 10 to 13 three-minute songs which had been released on singles. The Beatles’ *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* of 1967 is acclaimed as the first concept album in which the whole of the recording was more artistically significant than the parts of the songs. It was followed by numerous concept albums as rock artists now saw the LP rather than the single as the format for their music. Packaging two LPs in one cover gave even greater length to the concept album and encouraged rock groups to embark on more ambitious projects, such as the Who’s rock opera *Tommy*. The LP permitted the length of

a song to extend beyond the three-minute limit set by the 45 rpm single and AM radio. In the 1970s some adventurous groups, such as the Allman Brothers, released albums of live music with one track covering a whole 20-minute side of an LP.

The introduction of digital recording on the compact disc in 1982 was supposed to make the vinyl LP obsolete by the end of the decade, but that did not happen. Although the CD had the important advantage of not deteriorating with every play, and it clearly sounded better, millions of consumers chose to stay with the scratches and nicks of their beloved LPs. Although the playing time of the CD was more than 70 minutes, most performers of popular music still made recordings which stayed within the 40-minute duration of the LP. The long-playing record quickly disappeared from the shelves of the major music retailers but continued to be sold from specialist shops which dealt solely in the obsolete recordings. Manufacturers of turntables and styli kept in production throughout the 1990s, supported by record collectors who were loath to move into the digital format, rap and hip-hop performers who sampled and scratched records to make their music, and disc jockeys who still used discs in their shows. Although technologically obsolete, the long-playing vinyl disc will survive at least until the beginning of the twenty-first century.

—Andre Millard

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Loos, Anita (1893-1981)

Although known primarily as a screenwriter who authored more than 150 screenplays over three decades—beginning in 1912 and ending with her retreat from Hollywood in 1953—Anita Loos is perhaps best known as the writer of the acclaimed 1925 novel *Gentleman Prefer Blondes*, which she adapted for both Broadway and motion pictures. Conceiving the idea as a little piece centering on the adventures of “gold-digger” Lorelei Lee, a caricature of writer H.L. Mencken’s fixation with “a stupid little blonde,” the sketch evolved from a serial for *Harpers Bazaar* to a novel that was ultimately translated into 14 different languages. It was produced for the screen in 1928, remade in 1953, and eventually became a “break-through”

vehicle for Marilyn Monroe. As a screenwriter, Loos is generally credited with being one of the creators of what has become recognized as the “Golden Age” of Hollywood, writing scenarios for D.W. Griffith and helping to launch the career of Douglas Fairbanks. Her strength as a writer lay in clever lines and dialogue rather than on story and character development.

—Steve Hanson

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López, Nancy (1957—)

In 1978, twenty-one-year-old Nancy López became the first Hispanic to win a Ladies Professional Golf Association tournament. One of the youngest women golfers ever to win at the professional level, López went on to become one of the greatest women’s golf champions of all time. Born to Mexican-American parents in Torrance, California, in 1957, Nancy López was raised in Roswell, New Mexico. She learned golf from her father and by age eleven she was already beating him. While Nancy was growing up, her parents struggled to give her the best opportunities possible to perfect her golf game; however, many doors were shut to the López family because they could not afford to join the country clubs where the best golf was taught and played. Nevertheless, Nancy persevered and at the age of twelve she won the first of three state women’s tournaments, including the New Mexico Women’s Open. As a teenager, she was the only female member of her high school golf team, and in 1972 and 1974, López won the U.S. Golf Association Junior Girls tournament. As an eighteen-year-old high school senior, she placed second in the U.S. Women’s Open.

After high school, López attended Tulsa University on a golf scholarship, where she was able to win the intercollegiate title. This helped her to make the decision to drop out of college to become a professional golfer. In 1978, during López’s first full season as a pro, she won nine tournaments, including the Ladies Professional Golf Association Championship, which she would later win two more times; she was the first Hispanic golfer in history to do so. López was named Rookie of the Year, Player of the Year, and Female Athlete of the Year; she also won the Vare Trophy. On her first year on the professional tour, she set a new record for earnings by a rookie: \$189,813. Since entering the pro circuit, López consistently ranked among the top women golfers in the world. In 1979, she won eight of the nineteen tournaments she entered, which *Sports Illustrated* classified as “one of the most dominating sports performances in a half a century.”

After marrying baseball star Ray Knight, López took a break from her career when she gave birth to daughter Ashley Marie in 1983. Two months later, López began touring again, and by 1987 she had won thirty-five tournaments and qualified to become the eleventh member of the Ladies Professional Golf Association Hall of Fame. In all, López has nearly fifty tournament victories on tour. López's most outstanding year was 1985, when she won five tournaments and finished in the top ten at twenty-five others. That year she also won the LPGA Championship again and earned more money—over \$400,000—than any other player on the circuit. By 1987, she had earned over \$2 million. During the 1990s, age and injuries began to take their toll on López, but now she plays without much pressure and truly enjoys the game that she has done so much to popularize.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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Lopez, Robert

See El Vez

Lorre, Peter (1904-1964)

Often typecast as a menacing figure, Peter Lorre achieved Hollywood fame during the 1930s, first as a featured player and later as a character actor who trademarked his screen performances with a delicately strung balance between good and evil. To villainous parts he added a touch of dark humor, while he shaded comic roles with sinister overtones. Though he deprecated his art as “face-making,” Lorre took his work seriously and lamented Hollywood's use of his tricks but not his talent. His globular eyes and diffident whine have inspired comic impersonations and been widely caricatured in commercials (Kellogg's “Booberry”), cartoons (*Ren and Stimpy*), and literature (*Catcher in the Rye*).

Born in Rozsahegy, Hungary, Ladislav Loewenstein moved to Moedling, Austria, in 1912, where he debuted in a primary school production of *Snow White*. Contrary to reports that he ran away from home to become an actor, after high school graduation he attended business school and landed a job as a bank teller in Vienna, where he juggled a bourgeois vocation by day and a Bohemian life by night, performing on the side in improvisational settings. At Jacob Moreno's Theater of Spontaneity, he learned to act out “the lived out and un-lived out dimensions of his private world.” Before releasing the talented unknown into the world, the psychodramatist gave him a more suitable professional name, Peter Lorre, which recalled his resemblance to “Struwelpeter,” an unkempt character in German

children's literature. From Vienna, he moved on to the Lobe and Thalia Theaters in Breslau, Germany, in 1924. Contracts with Zurich's Schauspielhaus and Vienna's Kammerspiele, where he played comedies, farces, and dramas, brought him to Berlin and to the attention of poet-dramatist Bertolt Brecht, who cast him as a cretinous high school student in Marieluise Fleischer's lustspiel *Engineers in Ingolstadt* in 1928. After that, he was, in his own words, “the hottest thing on the Berlin stage.” German director Fritz Lang caught sight of Lorre at a dress rehearsal of Frank Wedekind's *Springs Awakening*, in which he played a sexually frustrated teenager, and knew he had found the star of his first sound film. *M* (1931), which introduced him as a shadow falling across a reward poster and an off-screen voice, catapulted the actor into international fame as a notorious child murderer, forever confusing him in the public eye as a psychotic type.

After fleeing Nazi Germany two days before the Reichstag Fire on February 27, 1933, the Jewish actor joined fellow emigres in Paris, where *M* still played and people recognized him as le maudit (the murderer). Later that year, he accepted Alfred Hitchcock's invitation to come to England and appear as a fiendish terrorist in *The Man Who Knew Too Much* (1934). A film contract with Columbia Pictures brought him and his wife, actress Celia Lovksy, to the United States in July of 1934. America, he felt, owed him nothing more than a chance to shed his screen past as a villain. “Ever since I came to this country I've been trying to live down my past,” explained Lorre. “That picture *M* has haunted me everywhere I've gone.” Despite his attempts to be and think American—he even tried to lose his accent—Hollywood closed its door on the actor, repeatedly casting him as the outsider who hinted at things better left unknown. He attached no importance to his role as a demented doctor in *Mad Love* (1935), his first American film, which he labeled “psychological terror” in lieu of “horror,” a genre he disliked. “I'm associated with horror movies, but I've only done one, *The Beast with Five Fingers* . . . I don't want to go down in history as a monster,” Lorre noted. “I've never played a frog that swallowed a city or something like that.”

Looking to become a “general character actor,” Lorre accepted Twentieth Century Fox's invitation to play a variety of parts. However, a series of Japanese detective films based on J. P. Marquand's *Mr. Moto* threatened an even narrower use of his talents. At Warner Bros., where he co-starred on and off screen with pal Humphrey Bogart, Lorre hit his personal and professional stride, appearing in vehicles that popularized his sinister image, such as *Casablanca* (1943), and explored his more melancholy, philosophic side, such as *Three Strangers* (1946). His acting style reflected a change of attitude, away from psychological probing toward what Thomas Mann called “perfected naturalness,” at the same time causal and comfortable, off-center and ironic. He told friends he would play anything—a Martian, a cannibal, even Bugs Bunny—to avoid a suspension. In 1946, Warner Bros. called his bluff, casting him in *The Beast with Five Fingers*, for what turned out to be the requiem for the waning horror genre. Seeking to chart his own course—to act, direct, and produce—Lorre left the studio and formed his own self-management company. Three years of relative inactivity, which he blamed on “graylisting” by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, a legacy of his friendship with Brecht, ended in bankruptcy in 1949.

Feeling that Hollywood had turned its back on him, the actor left for Europe, where he sought the elusive pivotal role denied him in Hollywood. In Germany, he directed, co-authored, and starred in *Der*

Verlorene (The Lost One) in 1951, which weighed the enormity of Hitler's state-sponsored mass crimes against the fate of a single human being, a murderer who becomes the victim of murderous times. Lorre denied that he had returned to remake *M*, and chalked up to coincidence any similarities between the stories of compulsive killers told in overlapping realist and expressionist styles. When German audiences, who wanted to put the past behind them, rejected the darkly fatalistic movie, he reluctantly returned to the United States. After appearing in a summer stock production of *A Night at Mme. Tussaud's*, Lorre found himself cast against type as a comically droll rogue in John Huston's *Beat the Devil* (1954). The reunion of the "unholy three"—Huston, Bogart, and Lorre—turned the clock back to happier days, when a sense of camaraderie fed the spirit of fun. Such departures, however, failed to arrest the downward spiral of his career. When Hollywood refused to risk a less commercial use of his talents, Lorre wearily accepted roles that spoofed his sinister movie personality. Ironically, by the end of his life, his appearances in horror-comedies opposite Vincent Price and Boris Karloff (*Tales of Terrors* [1962], *The Raven* [1963], *Comedy of Terrors* [1964]) came to outnumber his performances in the genre they parodied. At age 59, the overweight actor suffered a fatal cerebral hemorrhage on March 23, 1964.

The emblematic personalities of Humphrey Bogart and Bertolt Brecht locked Lorre into a choice, which he never made, between celebrity and intellectual respectability. Frustrated by his failure to carve a niche for himself in Hollywood, the erudite actor planned numerous projects tailored to his aptitude and capabilities, most notably film stories with his friend and mentor Bertolt Brecht, in whose development of "epic" acting theories he had played a part during the Weimar years. However, his failure to bridge the gap between person and persona drove the private Peter Lorre deeper into hiding and more sharply defined the seemingly disembodied legacy of his screen image.

—Stephen D. Youngkin

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Los Angeles

See City of Angels, The

The Los Angeles Lakers

The Los Angeles Lakers are synonymous with "Showtime," a blend of athletic brilliance and crowd-pleasing charisma which helped

transform basketball from just another game to the most popular sport on the planet. Led by Earvin "Magic" Johnson, the greatest team player of all time, the 1980s Lakers formed both a basketball dynasty and a legendary rivalry with Larry Bird's Boston Celtics. This era, which Roland Lazenby refers to as "basketball's Age of Camelot" paved the way for the emergence of basketball's era of superstars, led by the inimitable Michael Jordan.

In their 50-plus year history, the Lakers have qualified for the playoffs more than any other franchise, a remarkable 92 percent of the time. In their first year, however, there was no inkling of their future success. The Los Angeles Lakers had their humble beginnings in the early years of professional basketball as the 1946 Detroit Gems in the National Basketball League (NBL). The Gems were a horrible team and their record, 4-40, remains the worst in modern professional basketball. It was precisely their losing record, however, that a group of Minneapolis investors wanted. They bought the team for \$15,000, moved it to Minneapolis, Land of Lakes, changed the team's name, and with their losing record, received the top pick in the 1947 draft.

The Lakers' new general manager was a savvy 24-year-old sportswriter with a lot of savvy named Sid Hartman. In an era when basketball scouts were non-existent, Hartman knew everyone and everything that was happening around the country in the basketball world, and he set out to create an unbeatable team. Signing excellent players from other leagues, including Jim "Kangaroo Kid" Pollard and the six-foot-ten George Mikan, Hartman and his investors laid the foundations for basketball's first dynasty. In their first season, the Lakers were 43-17 and won the league championship.

In 1948, the Lakers and their three top competitors joined a new league, the Basketball Association of America (BAA). Two years later, the NBL and the BAA merged to form the National Basketball Association (NBA), where the Lakers success, led by Mikan, Pollard, and Vern Mikelson, continued through the early 1950s. But by 1956, the team was facing its first losing season and Hartman hatched the idea of finishing dead last in order to get top draft pick Bill Russell. The owners balked, Russell went to the Boston Celtics, and the team was eventually sold. And still the Lakers lost. By 1958, they had finished dead last, and were rewarded by top draft pick Elgin Baylor, the man who virtually invented hang time—the ability to jump and remain in the air while gliding to the hoop. Even with Baylor's one-man heroics, however, the Lakers lingered close to basketball's basement.

In 1959, team owners began discussing relocation to the warmer West Coast. A year later, the Lakers moved to Los Angeles, where they played in the Sports Arena and, with the second pick in the draft, they acquired a skinny forward from West Virginia named Jerry West. After picking up splinters on the bench for most of his first season, West was finally given playing time and, combined with Elgin Baylor, who trailed only Wilt Chamberlain in scoring, the Lakers' fortunes began to improve. At the end of the season, they squeaked into the 1961 playoffs. When they managed to push the St. Louis Hawks to a fifth game in St. Louis, owner Bob Short called local sportscaster Chick Hearn to arrange a live broadcast for new-found Los Angeles fans; Hearn soon after became the voice of the Lakers.

Although the Hawks ultimately pulled out a two-point victory, Los Angeles had discovered the Lakers, and celebrities such as Doris Day, Danny Thomas, and Pat Boone began regularly attending

games. Boosted by the most glamorous fans in the NBA, the Lakers of the 1960s became one of the most successful franchises, drawing record crowds and making the playoffs every year. Led by Baylor and West, the team won the Western Division Championship six out of nine years and made it to the finals where, every year, they ran into their nemesis, Bill Russell's Celtics, and every year, they lost.

Despite their status in the finals, however, the Lakers were winners. Jack Kent Cooke, a Canadian millionaire living in California who owned part of the Washington Redskins, realized this and saw an opportunity to turn the Lakers into a big-time, money-making franchise. He bought the team for \$5 million in 1965 and set about transforming it. His first step was to build the Los Angeles Forum. His second was to acquire perennial league scoring leader, Wilt Chamberlain.

In 1968, Baylor, West, and Chamberlain led the team to the playoffs. But despite the obvious combined talent of the three players, the team still never seemed to win the big one. In the division championships, they were stopped by Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and the Milwaukee Bucks. When they made it past the Bucks, they ran smack into the New York Knicks, who had taken over the mantle of Eastern champions after Bill Russell retired from the Celtics. The Knicks, led by Willis Reed, Bill Bradley, and Walt Frazier, handed the Lakers some of their most frustrating losses in Madison Square Garden.

By the early 1970s, the Lakers' stars were in their thirties, with not much time left to play. But Cooke was determined to win and so he put together a strong lineup that included Happy Hairston and Gail Goodrich, and hired a new coach, Bill Sharman. Mid-season in 1972, the team won 33 straight and they looked invincible. At the end of the season, the Lakers once again faced Abdul-Jabbar's Bucks in the division finals and won in five. Then they faced the Knicks and, with Wilt Chamberlain playing brilliant ball, the Los Angeles Lakers won their first World Championship.

The next season, the team made it to the finals to defend their title, but the aging players did not have the magic and they lost. Chamberlain retired, and for a while the team floundered as they looked for a new center. They found the best—league MVP (Most Valuable Player) Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. In his first few seasons as a Laker, despite daily heroics, Abdul-Jabbar had no real supporting players, and the team went on a downward slide, missing the playoffs two years in a row in the mid-1970s. Then came "Showtime."

As Roland Lazenby has written in *The Lakers*, "Showtime was a hoops fairy tale, pro basketball's Age of Camelot, when Magic Johnson and Larry Bird were the boy wonders who pulled the proverbial sword from the stone. Until they came along, the game had struggled to find an identity among America professional sports. . . . But Bird and Johnson changed all that."

In 1979, Jerry Buss bought the Lakers from Cooke and a new era was underway. Having finished last, the Lakers had the first pick in the draft and with it they chose a college sophomore from Michigan who had led his team to the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) Championship. Earvin "Magic" Johnson, a six-foot-nine point guard with a magical smile and the magical ability to turn any team to gold, immediately brought joy and hope to the franchise. Buoyed by Johnson, Norm Nixon, Jamaal Wilkes, and the high-flying Michael Cooper, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar finally had a team.

In 1980, the Lakers made it to the championships against Dr. J (Julius Erving) and the Philadelphia 76ers and, led by Kareem, they

were finally in a position to win, until Kareem twisted his ankle in Game Five and was unable to play Game Six. But up stepped Magic. The dazzling point guard took over the game and, in the process, he not only proved himself a star, but the team brought home a World Championship.

The Lakers of the 1980s were a dynasty that shaped themselves around Magic and Kareem. With players such as Byron Scott, A.C. Green, and the incredible James Worthy, famous fans led by Jack Nicholson courtside in his shades, Jerry West as General Manager, and their dapper new coach, Pat Riley, the Lakers made it to the playoffs every year. But it was not until 1984 that they met Larry Bird's Celtics in the finals. The Celtics won that year and one of professional sports' greatest rivalries was formed, as the Lakers won in 1985 and 1987. In 1988, the Lakers became the first team to repeat as champions since the Celtics in the 1960s, beating the Bad Boy Detroit Pistons. It seemed like Showtime would go on forever.

But by 1989, after 20 years in the NBA, Kareem was ready to retire. The Lakers lost to the Pistons that year, the same year they lost Kareem. Some see the big man's retirement as the end of Showtime, others cite Pat Riley's departure the following year, but most Lakers' fans feel that Showtime came to an end when Magic Johnson announced that he was HIV-positive. Although Magic would leave the game but then come back to win MVP in the 1992 All-Star Game, his number would be eventually be retired and the Lakers dynasty finally come to an end. And despite the signing of superstar Shaquille O'Neal in the mid-1990s and the presence of a young but undeniably talented team who continue to make it to the playoffs, the magic of Showtime left with Magic.

The undeniable glamour of the Los Angeles Lakers, however, remains. A perpetual contender, an organization with history, a hometown crowd riddled with movie stars, the Lakers are one of professional sports' most successful and most charismatic teams. The aura of Showtime will always linger as the magical coming together of a group of extraordinarily gifted individuals who turned a middle-of-the-road professional sport into an electrifying pop culture fixture.

—Victoria Price

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Los Lobos

The Mexican-American band, Los Lobos, (originally named Los Lobos Del Este Los Angeles) was formed in 1974 by high school friends David Hidalgo, Conrad Lozano, Louis Perez, and Caesar Rosas. In 1984 saxophonist Steve Berlin left his band, the Blasters, to



Cesar Rosas (standing) and Dave Hidalgo of Los Lobos.

join the original four as the only non-Chicano member. In 1987, with the release of their first single hit “La Bamba,” a cover of the Ritchie Valens classic of the same name, the band was catapulted into the mainstream popular music scene. As a primarily Mexican-American group which has achieved widespread recognition, the band serves as a cultural icon to its multicultural listeners. And like the few other East Los Angeles musicians such as Lalo Guerrero and Valens, who have surmounted economic and social adversity to achieve fame, they serve as role models to other Chicanos who may fear that their attempts to escape from poverty will be thwarted by prejudice. The group’s success and diverse following speaks for the accessibility of their music, and the band’s self-professed mission to further the cause of intercultural and intergenerational harmony promotes a feeling of a “hip” family reunion at their popular concerts.

Los Lobos is known for its innovative blending of genres such as jazz, blues, Tex-Mex, country, and even punk. The band’s roots, however, lie in rock and roll and in the Mexican music of their heritage. But after David Hidalgo acquired an accordion from a friend who was stationed in Germany, the group began to explore Tex-Mex and electrified their acoustic sound. Although this change cost them their first full-time restaurant gig, it was this interest in finding common ground among seemingly disparate forms of expression that has since become the band’s signature.

The band got their start playing at local weddings and other parties. By the mid-1980s, however, the members of Los Lobos started to compose their own songs and entered the Hollywood music scene, then filled with clubs offering small venues for beginning

bands to find their footing. After gaining recognition as the opening act for the Blasters, they appeared in clubs such as the Whisky, the Roxy, and the Cafe de Grande. Their second album, *And a Time to Dance* (1983), released under the Slash Records label earned the group their first Grammy. By their third release, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* (1984), the band had answered its own question by adding extensive touring to its repertoire. This heavy roadwork resulted not only in financial security but also in a more distinctive sound, realized in *By the Light of the Moon* (1987), an incorporation of jazz, blues, and country music. With the release of *La Pistola y el Corazon* (1988), the band revisited its roots by implementing traditional Mexican chord progressions and lyrics. The group’s next three endeavors, *The Neighborhood* (1990), *Kiko and the Lavender Moon* (1992), and *Colossal Head* (1996) were also highly praised by critics, and demonstrated that, although the group has been together for over twenty years its music has continued to grow increasingly imaginative, straying further and further from the well-worn rock beat.

Los Lobos entered the popular consciousness even more memorably by performing in numerous movie soundtracks. Their involvement with *La Bamba* (1987), starring Lou Diamond Phillips, earned the band, among other honors, two Grammy nominations and an MTV music video award. In 1992, the band participated in the making of the soundtrack for the film *The Mambo Kings*, resulting in Academy and Grammy award nominations for Best Song from a Film for the song “Beautiful Maria of My Soul.” Their work on the film *Desperado* (1995), produced by Robert Rodriguez, garnered the group its third Grammy Award. They also contributed to the score for *Feeling Minnesota* (1996), starring Keanu Reeves and Cameron Diaz.

The group’s commercial success has allowed them to pursue their personal interests in family and ethnic harmony through benefit work. In 1990 they participated in an album that compiled classic music from Disney movies. They made appearances on the children’s television program, *Sesame Street*, and in 1994 recorded a track called “Elmo and the Lavender Moon” for the album *Sesame Street’s 25th Anniversary*. The album *Papa’s Dream*, recorded with Lalo Guerrero in 1995, based on Guerrero’s dream of visiting Mexico for his eightieth birthday, is similarly dedicated to children. The band also performs charity concerts regularly for organizations such as Integrity House, a center for people with disabilities. Their efforts were rewarded in 1996 when a children’s learning center in Whittier, California, was dedicated to Los Lobos. The band also attempts to tackle social problems through their song lyrics, many of which treat the destructive effects of substance abuse and domestic violence.

Despite their success, Los Lobos has not escaped the effects of discrimination on the basis of their Chicano heritage. The Academy Award committee initially rejected the band’s song “Cancion Del Mariachi” on the grounds that it was “unintelligible,” a decision which revealed the American music scene’s lingering discomfort with ethnically-influenced music. In spite of the band’s encounters with obstacles such as these, they remain a source of inspiration for California’s Mexican-American population in the delicate balancing act of promoting both Chicano pride and intercultural crossover. After more than a quarter century of making music, Los Lobos’ achievements add a note of unintentional irony to title of their first independent release, *Just Another Band from East L.A.*

—Carly Andrews

The Lost Weekend

Released in 1945 by Paramount Studios, *The Lost Weekend*, written by Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder, is considered Hollywood's first film about the ravages of substance abuse. A grim, harrowing, and emotional drama, the film focuses on a struggling writer and his alcoholism. Lobbyists for the liquor industry tried to have the film destroyed before release, fearing the negative depiction of their product, to no avail. Upon release, the film was widely popular, with audiences and critics. It received four Oscars: best actor for Ray Milland, and best director, best screenplay, and best picture for Billy Wilder.

—Frances Gateward

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Lottery

Observe the cash register line at any state lottery agent the days before an unusually large jackpot, and you will get some idea of the popularity of this form of government fundraising. Some call it a state-sponsored vice, and others believe it is a regressive and voluntary tax on the poor. Still millions of people across the United States and around the world line up to play Lotto, Quik-pick, Power Ball, Keno, Quinto, and Pick 3, 4, or 5 and purchase a chance to change their lives.

Though the current wave of lotteries began in the 1960s, the lottery is not a new method for governments to raise money. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it was common for government and other institutions to sell chances to win prize money in order to fund specific civic projects. In the early 1800s, Boston's Faneuil Hall was refurbished with funds raised by a lottery.

When state governments began to hire private companies to administrate their lotteries, the door opened to fraud. It was not long before the lottery seemed to be irretrievably corrupt, and by the late 1800s it was illegal in every state in the union.

Outlawing lotteries did not make them disappear, however, but sent them underground, where organized crime took over. Numbers games—high-odds betting on an unpredictable series of numbers, such as sports scores—became a regular form of entertainment, especially among the urban poor. It was an effort on the part of the state to reclaim some of the income going to the mob that prompted the states of New York and New Hampshire to start their own lotteries in the 1960s. Excited by the idea of millions of dollars in new income, voluntarily supplied by citizens to the state's budget, 11 states started their own lotteries by 1975. By the late 1990s, there were 38 state lotteries in the United States and 68 international lotteries. In the United States alone, the total lottery earnings for 1996 was 35 billion dollars.

The justification for holding state lotteries is that lottery profits are intended to be spent on education and other underfunded public entities such as parks. However, schools have not seen the windfalls that lottery proponents promised. Indeed, most states with lotteries have reduced school budgets to account for the extra income that the lottery is intended to provide, and some school districts report that education bonds became harder to pass because of the public perception that the schools are getting rich from the lottery. Only 34 cents of each dollar spent on a lottery ticket actually goes into the state budget.

One reason for this is lottery advertising. Since the federal ban on advertising state lotteries was lifted in 1975, many states have huge lottery advertising budgets and run aggressive campaigns to sell their lotteries to the public. Since these ads are run by government agencies, they are not bound by truth in advertising regulations that bind commercial businesses. A few states, such as Virginia, require that the actual astronomical odds be stated clearly in each ad. Many, however, are free to state odds for the smallest prize, such as a free ticket, while advertising the multimillion dollar jackpot. Though lottery officials like to promote the lottery as entertainment, not gambling, many of their ads are directed to the poor. The Illinois lottery put an ad on a billboard above a poor Chicago neighborhood with the slogan, "This could be your way out." What they did not say is that the odds of winning the lottery can be as much as 20 million to one, ridiculously higher than the casino slot machine odds of 20 to one.

Adding to the problems of the state lottery is the fact that, once again, most lotteries are being contracted to private companies to run. There are several companies that run the U.S. lotteries, including Gtech, Scientific Games, Automated Wagering International (AWL), and Video Lottery Technologies. Of these, Gtech is by far the most powerful, with contracts for 26 U.S. lotteries and 41 international lotteries. Like the private lottery companies of the nineteenth century, Gtech has a reputation for ruthless and corrupt business practices and is constantly the subject of rumors that it uses illegal means to obtain its lottery contracts and break its competition. In 1996, Gtech executive J. David Smith was convicted of fraud, bribery, conspiracy, and money laundering in a New Jersey lottery kickback scheme.

There is, perhaps, nothing more American than the desire to get rich, and the many state lotteries .gambling to offer a chance at this most material pursuit that is inherent in the American dream. However, many view the lottery as no more than state-sponsored gambling. The profits invite corruption, and the misleading advertisements invite a disproportionate number of poor people to trade their money for a long shot at becoming one of the privileged few. Even lottery winners have their complaints. Lottery winners often lack experience in dealing with large sums of money, and they encounter envy and hostility from friends and coworkers and are preyed on by swindlers. Many lottery winners, interviewed years later, report of having lost friends, having become estranged from family, and having spent the money too quickly.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Lottery

See also Gambling

Louis, Joe (1914-1981)

Boxer Joe Louis was the first African-American "household name" familiar to most white Americans. During his reign as heavyweight boxing champion from 1938 to 1949, Louis did what no other black athlete had done before: He earned the respect and devotion of a mass audience of middle-class whites across the nation. His 1938 victory over Max Schmeling came to symbolize the conflict between the democratic United States and Nazi Germany, while providing African-Americans with a national celebrity. According to biographer Richard Bak, "In his day he was the most famous black man in America." Louis's heroics in the ring came to represent the potential ability of African-Americans to overcome racism and discrimination. Before Jackie Robinson integrated baseball in 1947, Joe Louis truly was "The Great Black Hope."



Joe Louis

Joe Louis was born Joseph Louis Barrow in Lexington, Alabama, on May 13, 1914. He accompanied his family to Detroit soon thereafter and began his boxing career in the seamy, impoverished Black Bottom section of the city. In his first amateur bout, he was knocked down seven times. Yet with the help of manager John Roxborough, the aspiring athlete soon honed a powerful right cross and a matching left hook—acquiring the distinctive compact style that would be his trademark throughout his career. By 1934, Louis had worked his way from the Brewster gym to a victory in the 175-pound championship match at the U.S. Amateur Athletic Union. He turned professional on July 4, 1934.

In the three years that followed, Louis defeated a veritable who's who of boxing's greatest stars. He won his first twenty-seven fights, twenty-three by knockout. Among his victims were legends Max Baer, Paolino Uzcudun, and Natie Brown. Yet he drew national attention only after trouncing former heavyweight champion Primo Carnera at New York's Madison Square Garden. The Louis-Carnera bout, coinciding with Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's preparations for his attack on Ethiopia, acquired symbolic significance: In an era when nations prided themselves on the performances of their athletes, Louis's victory over the Italian Carnera came to represent, in the American consciousness, the Ethiopian underdogs in their struggle against the technologically superior armies of fascist Italy. The fight also instantly transformed Louis into black America's most famous symbol. Following the victory, thousands of celebrants poured into the streets of Harlem.

Despite a knockout loss to Germany's Max Schmeling in 1936, Louis earned a shot at heavyweight champion James J. Braddock through subsequent victories over Jack Sharkey and Bob Pastor. Braddock and Louis met on July 22, 1937, at Chicago's Comiskey Park. Tensions ran high as the prospect of an African-American heavyweight champion angered many whites. The only previous black boxer to hold the title, Jack Johnson, had been forced to flee the country under threat of imprisonment after having a relationship with a white woman. Yet when Louis delivered a come-from-behind knockout blow in the eighth round to assume the heavyweight title, white America responded with subdued admiration. Black America went wild. From that moment forward, many African Americans came to believe that the future of their struggle for equality depended upon the continued success of the "Brown Bomber." Hundreds of thousands of African-Americans followed his every match on radio; the black press hounded him for his opinions on the issues of the day. He even became the subject of a popular Duke Ellington song. Rather than rest on his laurels, the world's most famous black man returned to the ring to defend the honor of his country.

The second Louis-Schmeling match, at Yankee Stadium on June 22, 1938, was arguably the most celebrated event in the sport's history. It was also one of the shortest. Louis dominated the fight from the first punch, and only two minutes and eight seconds had elapsed before Louis knocked Schmeling to the mats with a pair of broken vertebra. Throughout much of the North and Midwest, the new heavyweight champion became the first black celebrity to appeal to people of all races. Louis added to his popularity when he put his career on hold to join the war effort against Germany, enlisting in the army as a private and mustering out as a sergeant. During his military service, he also appeared in war propaganda films for the U.S. government and fought exhibition bouts to raise funds for military causes.

Louis's return to boxing after World War II was heralded by the media, who derided his opponents as members of "Bum of the Month Club." By 1949, when he retired long enough for Ezzard Charles to acquire the heavyweight title, Louis had earned a reputation as boxing's all-time greatest star. By century's end, his division record of twenty-five successful title defenses was still standing. Louis returned to the ring briefly in 1950 and 1951. He lost a fifteen-round decision to Charles in his debut and was later knocked out in eight rounds by future heavyweight champion Rocky Marciano. A man who knew when to quit, Louis then retired permanently. He left one of boxing's most impressive career records: 71 fights, 68 wins, 54 knockouts. In addition to Baer, Braddock, and Schmeling, his list of unsuccessful opponents included "Jersey Joe" Walcott, Billy Conn, and Jimmy Bivins.

Like many early celebrities, Louis experienced difficulty adjusting to life out of the limelight. Although he had won over \$4 million in purses over the years, poor financial management left the retired boxer deep in debt. In addition, he faced unpaid federal income taxes. "I just don't know where the money went," he lamented. "I wish I did. I got 50 percent of each purse and all kinds of expenses came out of my cut." By the mid-1950s, Louis had descended into a sedentary life of emotional trauma and narcotics abuse. He earned his living as a greeter at Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas, Nevada. In the words of his biographer, Richard Bak, "Joe was battling his own demons during the 1960s, so the civil rights movement passed him by." He died in Las Vegas on April 12, 1981.

Yet if Joe Louis didn't actively take part in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, he—more than almost any other individual—made it possible. The 1930s were dark days for African-Americans. Most paths to achievement, including most professional sports, were off-limits to blacks. Boxing, which Bak terms "a pretty nefarious sport," offered one of society's few arenas for interracial competition. Joe Louis capitalized on the opportunity that boxing afforded and showed black Americans that, given a fair chance, they could equal or better even the most accomplished whites. He also demonstrated to many white Americans that such success didn't have to be hostile or unpalatable. When Brooklyn Dodgers general manager Branch Rickey decided to integrate baseball during the 1940s, he told his scouts to find him "someone just like Joe Louis." Even the popularity of Martin Luther King among Northern white liberals during the mid-1950s was, in part, a consequence of Louis's success in convincing many whites that black Americans could handle publicity and leadership responsibly. Tributes to the world's greatest boxer now abound: a sports stadium in Detroit, a postage stamp, a two-ton monument by sculptor Robert Graham. As reporter Jimmy Cannon once said of him: "Louis was a credit to his race . . . the human race."

—Jacob M. Appel

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Louisiana Purchase Exposition

The Louisiana Purchase Exposition, also called the World's Fair, was held in St. Louis, Missouri, in 1904 to celebrate the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. From the April 30 opening day ceremonies to the final day on December 1, twenty million people attended the daily programs of events and viewed American icons, such as Geronimo, at the world's largest fair at that time. The fair emphasized American prowess in technology, industry, and military leadership. Electricity used to illuminate the Hall of Festivals, Colonnade of States, Palaces of Electricity and Education, and Machinery Hall cost \$2 million. Of the exhibits, the Great Floral Clock with a 74-foot minute hand was the centerpiece and other exhibits included Abraham Lincoln's private railway coach and a 265-foot-high Ferris wheel.

The grandness of the fair has had a lasting effect on America and the fair site has been used to stage other important events. The 1904 Olympics were held on the fair site. Years later, the movie, *Meet Me in St. Louis*, starring Judy Garland, romantically depicted the fair. The 1904 World's Fair Society, established in 1986, published the monthly *World's Fair Bulletin* and proposed staging a 2004 World's Fair in St. Louis. The Missouri Historical Society displayed a World's Fair exhibit near the fairgrounds where people excavated collectibles from landfill rubble.

—Elizabeth D. Schafer

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Louisville Slugger

Louisville Slugger is the name for America's most popular baseball bat. In 1884, Bud Hillerich, a manufacturer of wooden posts,



The Transportation Building at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

columns, bowling balls and pins in Louisville, Kentucky, produced a custom-made bat for major league star Pete Browning. While swinging the new bat, Browning soared out of a slump and initiated demand for Hillerich's bats. By 1894 the bats had acquired the name Louisville Slugger, which since then has appeared in an oval on each bat. The Louisville Slugger began the now ubiquitous practice of athlete endorsements of sporting goods when, in 1905, Honus Wagner (known to baseball fans as "The Flying Dutchman") gave permission for his autograph to be included on the bats. Over the century,

other famous ball players whose signatures have appeared on Louisville Slugger bats include Ty Cobb, Babe Ruth, Mickey Mantle, Roger Maris, Hank Aaron, and Johnny Bench. These endorsements, as well as the records that have been broken by players while using the bats, firmly established the Louisville Slugger's reputation. Most notably, Babe Ruth hit 60 home runs in 1927 using Louisville Sluggers made to his specifications.

—Sharon Brown

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The Love Boat

Like its sister series, *Fantasy Island*, ABC's *The Love Boat* was one of television's most reliable barometers of celebrity. Guests on the show, it was said, were either on their way up or on their way down. That they wanted to come on at all was evidence of the program's formidable popularity with viewers. Perfectly ensconced in a Saturday night time slot, when shut-ins and the socially challenged are most apt to be watching TV, this airy seaborne soufflé rode the public's fascination with recognizable performers to ratings success over the course of nine improbable seasons from 1977 to 1986.

Based on a forgettable 1974 novel by former cruise ship director Jeraldine Saunders, the lighthearted anthology interwove three romantic plots over the course of one hour each week. The series eschewed the book's soapy conventions in favor of romantic comedy like the similarly structured *Love, American Style*. Set on board the fictional cruise liner *Pacific Princess*, *The Love Boat* featured a cast of regulars playing the roles of the ship's crew, with a new batch of has-beens and up-and-comers introduced as ship's passengers in each episode. Plot complications often involved mistaken identities, bitter-sweet reunions, and the ever-popular premarital reservations. The sex was suggested rather than shown, although the very concept of a "love boat" reflected the permissive sexual attitudes coming to the fore in American life.

Producer Aaron Spelling was enlisted to shepherd the program to air after two pilot episodes went down in flames, reportedly because of poor casting. With his keen sense of the likes and dislikes of the American viewing public, Spelling assembled a floating repertory company of genial B-list performers. Gavin MacLeod, late of TV's *Mary Tyler Moore Show*, played the ship's captain, Merrill



The cast of *The Love Boat*.

Stubing. The antic Bernie Koppell, so effective as the evil genius Siegfried on *Get Smart*, provided comic tonics as ship's physician Adam "Doc" Bricker. Newcomer Lauren Tewes played perky cruise director Julie McCoy, while Fred Grandy and Ted Lange rounded out the cast as the ship's purser and bartender, respectively.

The *Pacific Princess* sailed to many exotic locations over the course of its nine-year run. Acapulco, Stockholm, Helsinki, and Sydney were only a few of the ports that welcomed the ocean-liner of love. Even more exotic were some of the guest stars who booked passage—many of them for multiple engagements. Suzanne Somers, John Ritter, and Loni Anderson were a few of the contemporary stars who dropped in for an episode or two, although game show regulars like Bert Convy, Fannie Flagg, and the Landers Sisters were more typical of the caliber of star featured regularly. The show also became a safe haven for old-time Hollywood legends, many of them lured by the promise of a free cruise (the show was often filmed on location). Some of the show business fossils who turned up on the Love Boat decks included Lana Turner, Alice Faye, and Don Ameche.

Perhaps the most bizarre passenger to grace the Princess' poop deck was pop art impresario Andy Warhol, who played himself on the program's 200th episode in 1985. The man who coined the term "fifteen minutes of fame" may have been bemused by the show's celebration of the cult of celebrity, but he showed no emotion as he virtually sleepwalked through his appearance. In a turn of events that surely would have tickled Warhol's fancy, bumbling ship's purser Fred Grandy actually won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1986, shortly after the show concluded its nine-year voyage.

The Love Boat steamed on unchanged well into the 1980s, although original cast member Lauren Tewes was forced to leave the show in 1984 after a well-publicized bout with cocaine addiction. A few format tweaks (including the introduction of the singing, dancing "Love Boat Mermaids") heralded the show's inevitable ratings slide, however, and the Princess was finally put into drydock in 1986. It returned for a series of highly rated televised reunion movies, all featuring the original cast. A new series, *Love Boat: The Next Wave* debuted in 1998 to lukewarm public response.

Richard Kinon, who directed many episodes of *The Love Boat*, once described the show's formula as "romance and pap." Few television historians would disagree with that assessment, although in its own way the show did say something about the mood of the country that watched it so avidly. At its height, *Love Boat* was a kind of floating Studio 54 for the mom-and-pop set—a weekly shipboard party filled with famous faces and soft-serve sexcapades. And for a weary post-Watergate populace desperate for any entertainment that did not require hard thinking, this was just what the cruise director ordered.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Love, Courtney (1964—)

One of the most interesting and controversial figures of the 1990s, male or female, Courtney Love has defiantly challenged assumptions about what is considered acceptable behavior for a woman, always blazing her own trail in the process. Wearing torn baby doll dresses, unkempt knotted hair, and a guitar strapped around her shoulders, Love caught the attention of middle America, even becoming the subject of parody on *Saturday Night Live*—the ultimate litmus test of mainstream recognition. As the lead singer/guitarist for the rock band Hole, as an actress, and as the wife of Nirvana frontman Kurt Cobain, Love has garnered both critical acclaim and vicious personal attacks on her character in becoming among the most-discussed women of the late 1990s.

Love's life has been filled with all the drama of a big budget Hollywood movie. Beginning as an actress who had small parts in a handful of films during the 1980s, she went on to form Hole, a noise-rock band that released one acclaimed record in underground music circles. Love gained a much higher profile when she married Kurt Cobain, the leader of the archetypal grunge band Nirvana, in 1992. During their brief, stormy marriage, she was portrayed in the press



Courtney Love of Hole.

alternately as a drug-addicted mother or as a talentless leech, riding the coat tails of her husband's fame. After Kurt Cobain's suicide, which took place days before the release of Hole's second album (aptly titled *Live Through This*), she did her grieving in public, exposing her rage and tears for all the world to see. Constantly the subject of sensational tabloid and mainstream news stories, by 1997 Love had done an about face, resurfacing as a Golden Globe-nominated movie star in 1997. In the five years from Cobain's death to her own emergence as a respected Hollywood actress, Courtney Love lived through more than most people do in a lifetime.

Born into a hippie family with minor connections to the Grateful Dead, Love's first mass media exposure occurred when she was five years old, appearing in a group photo on the back of the Grateful Dead's 1969 *Aoxomoxoa* album. Love had a slightly troubled childhood, getting caught shoplifting at age 12 and being sent to a reform school. After dropping in and out of school and eventually moving all over the world, occasionally earning money as a stripper, Love finally moved back to Los Angeles, where she found her way into two Alex Cox films, *Sid & Nancy* (1986) and *Straight to Hell* (1987).

While in Los Angeles, she formed Hole with guitarist Eric Erlandson and, after a couple 7" single releases, they quickly gained recognition with the band's 1991 release, *Pretty on the Inside*, produced by Kim Gordon of Sonic Youth. Hole quickly became darlings of the British mainstream music press and American independent music magazines. After her courtship and subsequent marriage to Kurt Cobain on February 24, 1992, she reluctantly became associated with another famous female scapegoat, Yoko Ono. Like Ono, who also had a successful career before she met and married rock star icon John Lennon, Love endured sexist and unfounded media speculation that her relationship to Cobain was a scam to further her own career. The fact that Hole signed to the same major label Nirvana belonged to didn't help negate those assumptions.

After a *Vanity Fair* article implied that Love had taken heroin while pregnant with her daughter, Francis Bean Cobain, she and her husband battled child services for the custody of their child, which they won. Interestingly, a similar situation happened to Yoko Ono and John Lennon, who very briefly lost custody of Sean Ono Lennon after Yoko tested positive for drug use after giving birth to her son. (The case against them was dropped after it turned out that the drugs were painkillers given by doctors during childbirth.) In 1993, Love began recording Hole's follow-up album, even as she was dealing with a troubled marriage. The weekend before Hole was to release their second album, prophetically titled *Live Through This*, Kurt Cobain was found dead, the victim of a self-inflicted gunshot wound. In a rare instance of public mourning by a celebrity, Love read parts of Cobain's suicide note during a tape-recorded message to Cobain's fans, interjecting comments about her guilt, her anger, and her sadness over her husband's death. A defiantly abrasive, angry, and aggressive album, *Live Through This* was universally praised, winning year-end critics polls at *Spin*, *Rolling Stone*, and the *Village Voice*. The sales of the album slowly built steam, and despite the setback of another tragedy, the heroin overdose death of Hole bassist Kristen Pfaff two months after Cobain's death, Love pushed on and began touring to promote her album. *Live Through This* eventually went multi-platinum.

That tour and subsequent tours provided fodder for tabloid and mainstream press, as she drunkenly shouted obscenities from the stage, dove into the audience, and got into scuffles with airline flight attendants, pushy reporters, and other female punk rock singers. During a live televised MTV Awards aftershow party, a visibly

drunken Love hurled a shoe at Madonna's head, disrupting an interview with the superstar.

But during 1997, Love began to clean up her media image, replacing the tangled hair and torn baby doll dresses with a thinner body, designer dresses, and stylishly cut hair. She had been hard at work on her acting career, appearing in minor roles before landing a starring role in *The People Vs. Larry Flint*. Her powerful performance earned her a Golden Globe nomination and led to further serious movie offers. In 1998, Hole released another aptly titled album, *Celebrity Skin*, to largely favorable critical response.

—Kembrew McLeod

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Lovecraft, H. P. (1890-1937)

H. P. Lovecraft, by some estimates, is the greatest writer of horror fiction since Edgar Allan Poe. His influence on modern horror art has been enormous, despite his pulp fiction origins. The homage that modern horror writers (and filmmakers) continue to pay him emanated largely from the distinctly modern sensibility he brought to his fiction.

Howard Philips Lovecraft was born on August 20, 1890, in Providence, Rhode Island, the only child of Winfield Scott and Susan Philips Lovecraft. In 1893, Lovecraft's father was declared insane and committed to Butler's Hospital in Providence, where he died five years later. Lovecraft and his mother moved in with his maternal grandparents, where Lovecraft attended various Providence public schools. After his grandfather's death in 1904, the family's financial status underwent an immediate decline, and Lovecraft had a nervous breakdown in 1908, just prior to his high school graduation. Over the next five years, he would stay home, living the life of a reclusive autodidact and schooling himself in a multiplicity of subjects, including Roman history, chemistry, astronomy, and eighteenth-century life and letters.

Lovecraft's first foray into writing began at age sixteen with regular contributions of articles on astronomy to various local and statewide publications. In 1914, he joined the United Amateur Press Association, becoming an active member and contributor, self-publishing thirteen issues of his journal, *The Conservative*, from 1915 to 1923.

Lovecraft's first tales circulated among his amateur journalist friends, printed in such ephemeral publications as *The United Amateur*, *The Vagrant*, *The Scot*, *The Wolverine*, and *The Tryout*. He abandoned the world of amateur journalism in 1923 when the first and most important of the large-circulation pulps, *Weird Tales*, took notice of his talents. Unlike most other writers discovered while young, Lovecraft broke in at the age of thirty-three, becoming, as a consequence, the "old man" of fantasy fiction, a distinction he took to heart by encouraging in paternal fashion such younger talents as Robert Bloch, Fritz Leiber, and Frank Belknap Long. After his discovery by *Weird Tales*, story after story from his pen showed up in its pages, including such trademark tales as "Dagon," "The Tomb,"

“The Rats in the Walls,” “The Call of Cthulhu,” “Pickman’s Model,” “The Colour Out of Space,” “The Dunwich Horror,” and “The Whisperer in the Darkness.” In 1927 his first novellas *The Case of Charles Dexter Ward* and *The Dream-Quest of Unknown Kadath* were written.

Lovecraft’s life changed in other significant ways during the 1920s, besides his “discovery” as a fiction writer. In 1919 his mother was institutionalized, as his father had been, at Butler Hospital, where she died two years later. Not coincidentally, Lovecraft broke free geographically, traveling beyond the confines of Providence to Boston for his first conference of amateur journalists. His taste for travel and love of New England whetted by this excursion, he began to travel more regularly to Boston, New York, Portsmouth, Marblehead, and Newport. Summer trips took him to even further climes, including Quebec, Charleston, New Orleans, and Saint Augustine.

One of the more important events of the 1920s that would set the tone for how Lovecraft would wish to live was his short marriage to Sonia Greene, a fellow amateur journalist, with whom he lived in New York City for nearly two years. Her relocation to Cleveland for work and his inability to find any form of gainful employment in New York resulted in the marriage’s dissolution and Lovecraft’s return to Providence and bachelorhood.

In the 1930s, two important changes in Lovecraft’s life occurred. His fictional output began to slow, while his politics changed from that of the classic conservative to the New Deal Democrat. The few efforts Lovecraft made to write original material under his own name in the 1930s produced excellent results. His novellas *At the Mountains of Madness* and *The Shadow over Innsmouth* were written back-to-back in 1931, while “The Shadow Out of Time” appeared in *Astounding Stories* in 1936. Unfortunately, his creative powers appeared to ebb as more of his efforts were spent rewriting or cowriting stories with lesser pulp-fiction writers like Hazel Heald, E. Hoffman Price, Duane Rimel, R. H. Barlow, William Lumley, and Kenneth Sterling.

On March 15, 1937, Lovecraft died at Jane Brown Memorial Hospital in Providence of intestinal cancer. His passing was noted by the many fans and loyal friends whom he had made in his lifetime. Beyond this small coterie, Lovecraft remained largely unknown. His reputation as a writer was revived years later by Donald Wandrei and August Derleth, both proteges of the “master” and founders of Arkham House, a press in Sauk City, Wisconsin, that published the work of fantasy and science-fiction writers who had benefited from Lovecraft’s influence.

Lovecraft’s rise to fame since has been a troubling one for academics and fans alike. For academics, that main source of trouble is the popularity of a writer whose talents were best captured by Jacques Barzun’s statement, “How the frequently portentous but unintelligible H. P. Lovecraft has acquired a reputation as a notable performer is explained only by the willingness of some to take the intention for the deed and by a touching faith that words put together with confidence must have a meaning.” For fans and supportive scholars, the most difficult obstacle to any appreciation of Lovecraft has been his unbridled racism and classism, both of which are deeply implied in his tales of racial degeneration and miscegenation. On the other hand, many continue to credit Lovecraft with applying a modern sensibility to the world of horror by highlighting in a way that few of his predecessors had—barring Poe—the materialist foundations of modern terror.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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Low Riders

A low rider vehicle, which can be a car, truck, motorcycle, or even a bicycle, is one that has been altered to ride very low to the road: it sits almost on the ground and has a sleek streamlined appearance. The phrase is also applied to the owners or drivers of such vehicles, who might participate in all the activities associated with low riding, such as cruising, caravanning to car shows, or just hanging out and showing off their customizing skills. The practice of customizing cars was started at least as early as the 1930s in Los Angeles and Sacramento, although the expression “low rider” did not come into usage until the 1960s, after a custom-car subculture had arisen in the Southwest, particularly in California. Low rider cars are commonly identified with Latinos and Chicanos, sometimes negatively in connection to gang activity, but there are also Anglo Americans who indulge in the practice. Traditionally, low riders have often been working-class young men from 18 to 30 who feel pride in their culture and want to maintain an outward manifestation of it in their vehicles. In doing so, many of them may be following a family tradition of two and three generations.

The customizing culture of 1950s California dictated a lowered look, originally achieved by the inelegant method of placing heavy bricks and cement bags in the trunk of the car. Other customizers began manipulating the chassis of the car by lowering the car’s block or cutting the spring coils. Later it was discovered that hydraulic lifts, operated manually by the driver, could be used to lower and raise both the front and rear ends of a car, and that the batteries could be stored in the trunk. The most popular cars adapted for low riding are long ones, such as Fords, Buicks, and Chevrolets. Once the car is lowered it is considered to be “lifted” or “juiced up.” Some low riders can be rocked from side-to-side by means of these lifts, creating the “car dancing” effect.

Each low rider is given its own personal style by means of different techniques that are creatively employed by their owners. Interiors are often upholstered in crushed velvet, usually red or black, with wall-to-wall carpeting. The vehicle may also be outfitted with a bar, a chandelier, a stereo, and a television. The car’s two-toned body is often painted with a lacquer that contains iridescent flakes. Chrome is important for appearance, and the undercarriage, wheels, bumper, and other parts might be chrome- and/or gold-plated. The car is often adorned with cultural decorative motifs and designs, such as a fire lace design, pinstriping, or a mural. Popular mural themes include Aztec or Mayan scenes or Mexican religious icons, such as the Virgin of Guadalupe.

Cruising is an important aspect of the low-riding scene, although an expensively customized car will only be driven to car shows. The objective of cruising is to socialize, to see and be seen; it is sometimes



A custom painted low rider Cadillac.

compared *el paseo*, a “strolling” custom known throughout Latin American and Mexican cities.

Since the 1970s, *Low Rider Magazine* has been influential in disseminating information on low rider car clubs and happenings throughout the Southwest, and has even been published in a Japanese edition for car-show organizers in Tokyo and Osaka. A low rider 1969 Ford LTD, called “Dave’s Dream,” has been displayed at the Smithsonian National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C., the first such vehicle to be exhibited there. The car belongs to three young men from Chimayo, New Mexico, who started customizing it in 1975.

—Rafaela Castro

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Loy, Myrna (1905-1993)

Myrna Loy is best remembered for her definitive screen depiction of the “Perfect Wife,” opposite most of the major leading men in the 1930s and 1940s. Initially a bit player of exotic femme fatales, Loy found a more prominent niche as the witty, elegant spouse of William Powell (1892-1984) in *The Thin Man* films (six between 1934 and 1947). Shaping her subsequent parts and the public perception of her, this role was rather restricted (her sophistication primarily an adjunct to her husband’s good taste), but it was one she played with understated aplomb and her success reflects its attractiveness more broadly, an indication of women’s limited choices in this period.

—Kyle Smith

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LSD

LSD is an acronym for lysergic acid diethylamide, also commonly known as acid. It is a powerful psychedelic drug that induces a temporary psychotic state that may include hallucinations and “deep insight” into the nature of things, say its adherents who made it into one of the counterculture’s drugs of choice, especially during the 1960s. Developed by the CIA a decade earlier as a counter-espionage

mind-controlling agent, LSD was initially intended for psychological torture during the Cold War. Psychiatrists later studied the drug as a means of observing their patients' uninhibited anxieties, and it was also used, with some success, to treat schizophrenia and autism in children, and chronic alcoholism and heroin addiction. In the 1950s, hundreds of subjects, including Hollywood and media celebrities and prominent artists, participated in experimental trips under the direction of Dr. Oscar Janiger, a Los Angeles-area psychiatrist, and other local therapists.

Not until LSD was widely ingested recreationally, though, at the urging of Dr. Timothy Leary and others, did it attain near-sacramental status among the avatars of mind-expansion after about 1965. "Dropping" acid evolved into a tribal act of civil disobedience, and some of the best minds of the twentieth century dabbled with LSD while seeking spiritual enlightenment. Many who advocate the unrestricted use of LSD charge that Sandoz cut off access to the drug for research purposes under pressure from prohibitionists who feared its impact on cultural transformation when it became a drug of choice in the youth community in the late 1960s. Some advocates believe reports of "bad trips" (psychotic episodes, going blind from staring at the sun, suicides by leaping from tall buildings) are exaggerated urban myths; they claim moderate doses of the drug do not produce such extreme effects, and that the draconian prohibition of the drug prevented researchers from devising safer regimens for ingesting it. In the 1980s and 1990s, "disco doses" of contraband LSD were often distributed via "blotter paper," sheets of cartoon-like decals that were chewed and ingested.

Dr. Albert Hoffman first synthesized LSD in 1938 at Sandoz Laboratories in Switzerland while researching ergot, the hallucinogenic rye fungus that is the natural source of lysergic acid. There he stumbled onto a powerful serotonin inhibitor he called LSD-25 (the twenty-fifth in a series of ergot derivatives) which produced intensely vivid hallucinations and altered states of perception. In 1943, he unwittingly absorbed the drug through his fingers, inducing a mild hallucinogenic state that he tried to duplicate several days later by deliberately dosing himself with 250 micrograms. Hoffman published his findings, but Sandoz soon lost interest in his experiments.

In 1942, however, the OSS (Office of Strategic Services, predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency) assembled a group of military scientists to examine the possibilities of a "truth drug" for deployment on political prisoners, and they tried a host of increasingly powerful pharmaceuticals to this end throughout the 1940s, often with dubious results. After World War II, the CIA consulted academics and psychiatrists as well as police crime labs to help expand its chemical-knowledge base. By the 1950s, the CIA had developed an "anything goes" attitude toward this objective, which eventually led to exploration of the shelved projects at Sandoz.

The CIA first used LSD on human subjects in 1951 and intensified its research, spurred by the growing fear of communist espionage. Researchers found that the effects of LSD could vary wildly according to personal and social expectations (the set) and the physical surroundings (the setting) during the "trip," so agents were directed to "dose" themselves and each other to become familiar with the drug's potential. In 1953 the CIA launched Operation MK-ULTRA, which authorized "surprise tests" on civilians, and by 1955 had opened a safe house in the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco that lured unwitting subjects for a taste of the new drug in "real life" situations. Acid's unpredictable nature eventually led to more specialized hallucinogens, and the CIA discontinued the safe-house project in 1964, but by then LSD was already turning heads in

the academic community. From the mid-1950s, Dr. Oscar Janiger carried out his experiments without accepting any funding from the CIA or the military. Instead, he charged subjects \$20 per visit and used drugs supplied by Sandoz. Among the 900-odd visitors to his LSD "salon" were his cousin, the Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, writer Anaïs Nin, Zen philosopher Alan Watts, novelist Christopher Isherwood, actors James Coburn, Dennis Hopper, and Jack Nicholson, and a group of Unitarian ministers who were disappointed that they had not experience hoped-for spiritual transcendence. Besides Dr. Janiger, other southern California psychiatrists who dispensed experimental doses to their clients included Dr. Arthur Chandler, who gave the drug to actor Cary Grant as a treatment for alcoholism; and Dr. Sidney Cohen, who "turned on" Henry Luce (of *Time* magazine) and Clare Boothe Luce, his wife. Luce perhaps achieved a better record of transcendence than did the Unitarian ministers when he reported an encounter with God on a golf course; his wife thought that LSD should be given only to the elite, saying, "We wouldn't want everyone doing too much of a good thing." In a 1998 interview, Dr. Janiger offered the drug-induced Eleusinian Mysteries in ancient Greece as a possible model for the creative use of LSD in contemporary culture: "The discussions I had with [Aldous] Huxley and [Alan] Watts and the others in those early years centered on the way our culture might institutionalize LSD . . . and it would be very much like the Greek model."

Psychotropic treatment had caught the eye of Aldous Huxley whose book *The Doors of Perception* exposed the educated public to the possibilities of an intellectual, "psychedelic" experience. By 1957 experiments with LSD and the creative mind were being conducted by a clinical psychologist at Harvard named Timothy Leary who experienced a shamanic state and beatific visions while on acid. He and his colleagues claimed mass "tripping" could foster a new age of philosophical peace and freedom, and Leary spoke widely about the drug's positive applications, though other researchers dubbed these theories "instant enlightenment."

When the CIA abandoned serious LSD research, the scientific community lost its government supply of the drug, and Leary and others continued their research underground, supplying themselves with acid from a growing black market. There were many self-styled experts on LSD in the mid 1960s, many of whom had first been dosed in military-sponsored tests at Stanford, Harvard, and other universities, and most subscribed to the ideal of a unifying group trip. These communal experiments were tried on the east and west coasts of the United States, and it was Ken Kesey who mobilized this new wave of positive if absurdist religiosity based largely on the acid trip.

In 1959, Kesey, a recent Woodrow Wilson fellow at Stanford University, had been a \$75-a-day guinea pig in LSD experiments at the Veterans' Administration Hospital in Menlo Park, where he remained employed as a mental-ward attendant after his part in the experiments were completed. His experiences there formed the basis for his celebrated 1962 novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Two years after its publication, Kesey and a group of friends who dubbed themselves the Merry Pranksters set off on a cross-country trip (destination: the New York World's Fair) in a garishly painted old schoolbus, creating "happenings" along the way and extolling the virtues of psychedelia and hallucinogens as a bridge to harmony and understanding. The trip was itself memorialized in Tom Wolfe's 1968 book, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*. Kesey tried to unite the mystique of drug lifestyle with politically-conscious activism, and subsequent "acid tests" encouraged participants to confront the cosmic umbilical cord of the ego while high on LSD. Simultaneously,

writers and musicians were “turning on” and psychedelizing their work—most notably Allen Ginsberg, Hunter S. Thompson, Bob Dylan, The Beatles, and The Grateful Dead—further enhancing LSD’s role as a folk remedy of sorts for the hippie nation, and a recreational enabler for both deep introspection and outrageous social protest. It has long been supposed by many Beatles fans that the band’s 1967 song “Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds” (an acronym for LSD) was inspired by an acid trip, though Paul McCartney told Joan Goodman in a 1984 *Playboy* interview that the song was merely about “a drawing that John’s son [Julian] brought home from school” and about one of his classmates named Lucy. Also in that year, Jack Nicholson, one of Dr. Janiger’s subjects, included his experiences in his script for a 1967 low-budget film *The Trip*, that starred another subject, Dennis Hopper, and Peter Fonda.

The Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco—site of the government’s earlier safe-house projects—became the hub of a psychedelic revolution. Here, black market acid was first sold on a mass scale, with acid manufacturers convinced they were performing an important public service. But just as the community began to throb with acid tests, free rock concerts, street theater, and full-blown psychedelia, LSD was made illegal in 1966 and Sandoz ceased its medical research distribution due to the bad press acid was receiving. Many blamed Leary’s early outspokenness for the crackdown, but changes in attitude toward LSD research had already demonized the drug. Doctors now began speaking out publicly against the use of LSD, but this only served to inform more potential users (mostly young, well-educated, white middle-class users) about the drug. By the 1967 Summer of Love, it seemed as if all of America was “turning on” or trekking west to San Francisco where the action was, though the progenitors of acid culture were already burning out. The Haight, once an idyllic nexus, became a psychedelic tourist trap, and soon a pharmacopoeia of designer drugs (of which LSD was one of the weakest) emerged on the scene to bolster the waning euphoria.

In the wake of many highly-publicized, violent confrontations with authority, acid culture subsided by the early 1970s into a cabal of psychedelic drug devotees, convinced that they were being denied access to transcendence by fearful guardians of straight society. Much of LSD’s early cultural history has been told in Jay Stevens’s 1987 Grove Press book, *Storming Heaven: LSD & the American Dream*. By the 1990s, however, a nonprofit advocacy group called the Multidisciplinary Association for Psychedelic Studies (MAPS) was lobbying the Food and Drug Administration to approve medical studies of LSD as well as marijuana and other drugs like the popular Ecstasy. The group, which includes a number of prominent research scientists, was founded by Rick Doblin in the hopes of continuing Dr. Janiger’s important but aborted research. As Dr. Janiger told an interviewer in 1998, “LSD didn’t pan out as an acceptable therapeutic drug for one reason: Researchers didn’t realize the explosive nature of the drug . . . You can’t manipulate it as skillfully as you would like. It’s like atomic energy—it’s relatively easy to make a bomb, but much harder to safely drive an engine and make light. And with LSD, we didn’t have the chance to experiment and fully establish how to make it do positive, useful things.”

At the end of the twentieth century, “hits” of LSD were most frequently available on colorful blotter-paper decals, permitting easy ingestion of “disco doses” far below those responsible for the well-publicized “bad trips” of earlier times. Artists like Mark McCloud have compiled a huge archive of these blotter-paper designs, which he considers an example of late-twentieth-century folk art. LSD is no longer tantamount to social defiance, but has become a metaphor for

the search for enlightenment via ritualistic drug use in an urban, industrialized society, and also for the multifarious waves of cultural experimentation it inspired in the America of the 1960s. As a gateway to global transcendence at the millennium, LSD still inspires many testimonials on the World Wide Web’s *alt.culture* sites, and researchers have begun to take a new and more favorable look at the once-demonized drug.

—Tony Brewer

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Lubitsch, Ernst (1892-1947)

Film director, actor, and producer Ernst Lubitsch rose to fame in the 1910s in Germany, and emigrated to Hollywood in 1929. In the United States his sophisticated comedies were highly successful, and he was made director of production at Paramount in 1935. The “Lubitsch Touch” was a tongue-in-cheek social commentary style full of sexual innuendo, which exposed and ridiculed social conventions. It was evident in films such as *Lady Windermere’s Fan* (1925) and the Greta Garbo vehicle *Ninotchka* (1939).

—Petra Koppers

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Lucas, George (1944—)

American filmmaker George Lucas’s innovative and technologically advanced works include such popular movies as *American Graffiti* (1973), the *Star Wars* trilogy (1977, 1980, 1983), and the *Indiana Jones* series (1981, 1984, 1989). Lucas began his film career in the late 1960s while attending the University of Southern California. One of his class projects later became the cult classic *THX-1138* (1971). Several years later he began work on *Star Wars*. Many industry experts believed that Fox Studios had made a huge error in

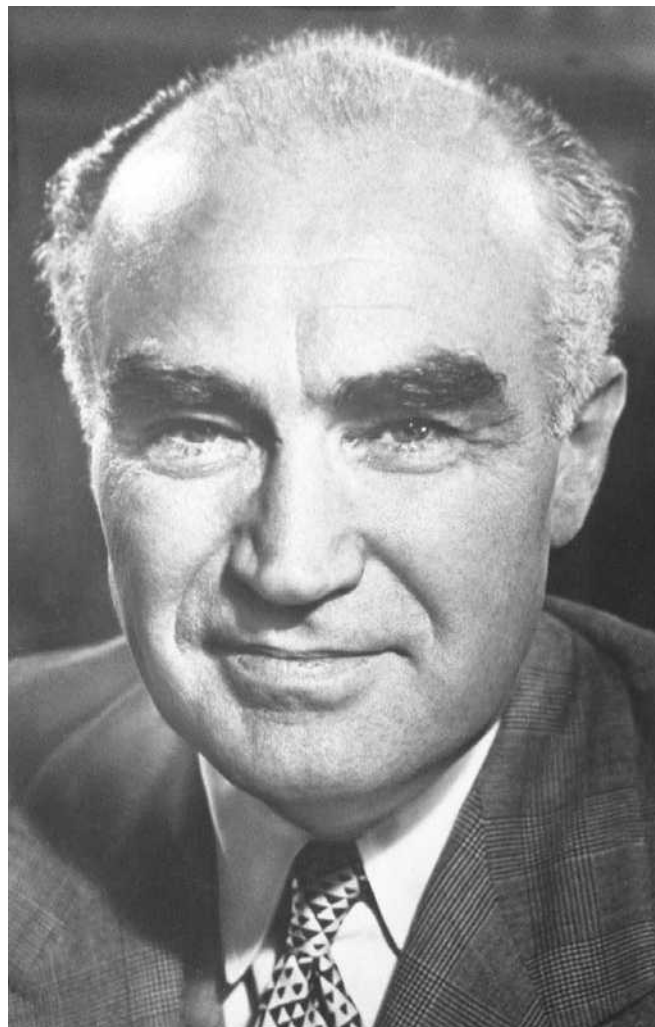
financing this space opera; they predicted that the \$10-million budget would bring the financially stricken studio to its knees. But *Star Wars* became one of the most successful movie franchises in film history and helped make Lucas one of the most powerful people in Hollywood.

Lucas's use of technology, especially the innovation of wedding cameras to computers, created a cinematic revolution. His technological innovations created a level of cinematic wizardry that made the unbelievable ultra-believable. Following Lucas's lead, the American film industry learned to make special effects more potent while the wizardry behind them became less visible. Lucas also introduced another powerful innovation in American filmmaking: merchandising. Lucas traded half his directing fees for the original *Star Wars* movie for merchandising rights, and the subsequent boom in *Star Wars*'s goods—toys, video games, collectibles—flooded America and made Lucas a very wealthy man. In his many business ventures—Lucasfilm, LucasArts, Industrial Light & Magic—Lucas extended his creative and technical genius to a number of multi-media productions, ranging from television commercials to some of the most popular computer-based video games produced. In 1999—amidst a media frenzy that made him the subject of countless magazine and newspaper stories—Lucas returned to his first love when he directed and carefully orchestrated the release of *Star Wars Episode I: The Phantom Menace*.

—Craig T. Cobane

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Henry Luce

Luce, Henry (1898-1967)

Editors themselves rarely attract more attention than their news headlines, but Henry Luce's success in the field of magazine publishing made him a legend in his own lifetime, and an enduring influence beyond it. The corporation he founded, Time Inc., has been described as the third most important institution in the United States, after the President and Congress, and his magazines have been estimated to reach one quarter of the entire population of the United States. Luce's constant articulation of and fight for "America" and its values, visually and verbally, personally and corporately, throughout his life (and particularly in the politically and culturally charged years of the Cold War) ensured that his impact went far beyond mere journalism, and established him within the canon of influential American public figures.

All this lay far in the future for the child born Henry Robinson Luce on April 3, 1898, to Presbyterian missionary parents, in Tengchow, China. Not until he was 14, in 1912, did the young Luce see England, and not until the following year did he reach the soil of the nation that was to become his home and his life, America. Although he would never lose sight of his spiritual home back in China, Luce was quick to

take on the values of the society in which he found himself, and to become part of its elite. He arrived in America in 1913 to take up a scholarship he had won to the prestigious Hodgkiss School. From there, aged 18, he proceeded to Yale, graduating Phi Beta Kappa and being tapped for Skull and Bones. Luce had now entered mainstream, if privileged, America, and the aristocratic-elitist philosophy of Yale was one to which he would subscribe all his life. He cemented his relationship with the world of establishment privilege by his first marriage, on December 22, 1923, to the wealthy and well-connected Lila Ross Hotz, and furthered his influence and connections with his second marriage, on November 23, 1935, to the rising social and literary star, Clare Boothe Brokaw (famous, as Clare Boothe, for her play, *The Women*).

Luce's publishing career began shortly after graduation from Yale when he and Brian Hadden, whom he had first met at Hodgkiss, discussed plans to start a magazine together. Although Luce himself saw the world of journalism merely as a stepping stone into the world which really held his fascination, that of politics, he agreed to the venture. Hadden proposed an idea for a magazine that, based upon selected newspaper stories in a given week, would condense the news into an easily digestible magazine format. The pair considered the

idea further, moved to premises in New York, and began to gather around them an embryonic staff, several of whom (like Roy E. Larsen) would remain part of Time Inc. for many years to come. After a year spent developing the original idea, the first issue of *Time* magazine hit the news-stands on March 3, 1923, its aim being to “summarize the week’s news in the shortest possible space.” The first issue did not sell particularly well, but over the next few years a dedicated staff worked hard to ensure the long-term success of the publication, and by 1926 the magazine had built a solid foundation from which to grow. By 1935, *Time* made \$2,249,823 profit—a corporate record.

The second Time Inc. publication, *Fortune* magazine, was started in February 1930. It grew out of the business sections of *Time* magazine, which Luce thought could be expanded into a publication in its own right to create a new kind of business journalism, radically different from existing trade journals—a “literature of business.” *Fortune* grew steadily, and although it would never reach the circulation levels of other Time Inc. publications, by 1935, it too was making a profit (\$500,000). A year later, in November 1936, Luce launched the third of his trio of great American magazines—*Life*. Breaking new frontiers in photojournalism to tremendous, and ultimately world famous and historically valuable, effect, the magazine aimed to “see life; to see the world; to witness great events . . . to see and take pleasure in seeing, to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed.” Like the other Luce publications, *Life* magazine soon became a success. Henry Luce was to see the addition of several other elements to his empire, not least of which was the development of *The March of Time* radio and cinema newsreel programs. Finally, in 1954, Luce added *Sports Illustrated*. A sports magazine had been his personal project for some time, yet it was born against the advice of many. Luce, however, read the market just right, launching the magazine at the peak of the postwar leisure industry. Advance promotion also ensured that 90 percent of the magazines vanished from the news-stands on the first day of issue, and reader response was excellent.

As editor-in-chief of all Time Inc. publications, Henry Luce was technically responsible for all final editorial decisions, although he left the day-to-day decision making to trusted colleagues on each publication, appointing managing editors such as Edward Thompson at *Life*, Hedley Donovan at *Fortune*, and E. Roy Alexander at *Time*. He himself worked from an office on the *Life* editorial floor at the Time-Life building in New York City, from where he observed proceedings, occasionally talked directly with individual editors, and sat in on discussions about subjects for editorials. He had little to worry about in terms of magazine content since, even without his direct daily editorship of each and every publication, his managing editors knew well the kind of magazine he wanted and subscribed to roughly the same ideology. As Edward Thompson explains in his autobiography, “One could not ignore Luce’s strong political opinions, but if I hadn’t believed roughly in the kind of world Luce wanted, I couldn’t have worked at Time Inc. very long.” Even when he was away from New York, Luce would keep in touch by phone or cable, but even so, as Thompson observed “we knew enough about what he didn’t believe in to avoid direct contradiction of his views. We operated on the assumption that the country thought that a *Life* editorial was in Luce’s own words.”

There are several accounts of Luce’s personality as editor which indicate some of the traits that underpinned his success. Swanberg’s impression is of an almost tyrannical figure, unpredictable and frightening, able to control the many aspects of his corporation through fear. His impression countered by Thompson, who asserts

that although Luce was hard to please, he was also generous in his praise when he liked an idea or issue. Both give a very strong impression of a man with boundless energy and enthusiasm, a man prepared to take calculated risks, and occasionally make elaborate gestures, but also a man more than ready to put the same energy and enthusiasm into the more mundane tasks of publishing, and into attention to even the smallest detail. It is this boundless energy in all areas, smattered with bursts of immense creative energy and tempered with a cool head for business, that marks Luce’s success. One might also add that he chose very well in appointing those who assisted him in his work. Although some personnel departed due to differences of personality or opinion, one is also struck by the number of high-ranking staff who worked for Time Inc. for long periods of time. Men such as Larsen, Billings, Thompson, Donovan, and others provided a core of trusted personnel at the center of the organization, and allowed Luce the freedom to pursue his many other interests outside of his magazine empire—interests which were also crucial in the formation of his reputation and legacy.

Henry Luce’s influence spread further than the world of publishing with the establishment in 1936, of the philanthropic Henry Luce Foundation. Grants were awarded largely for cultural and educational needs, although the money available was somewhat limited until the large bequest left by Luce to the foundation on his death. In 1955, the Henry Luce Professorship of Jurisprudence was established at Yale, and the Luce Scholars Program has since promoted and enabled overseas educational exchange. Luce’s interests also extended into the world of politics, particularly into the affairs of his spiritual home, China. He was an active member of the China Lobby in the United States and campaigned consistently in support of Chiang Kai Shek and against recognition of Mao. Not only were these opinions expressed fiercely in his magazines, but they were also brought to bear upon the center of the political world through Luce’s friendships and correspondence with political figures, particularly Dwight D. Eisenhower. The cause of Republicanism always remained close to Luce’s heart, and he was never ashamed to admit his political leanings. He was once famously quoted as saying, when asked if his news reporting was in any way biased, “I am a Protestant, a Republican and a free enterpriser, which means I am biased in favor of God, Eisenhower and the stockholders of Time Inc.” Luce’s religious beliefs remained strong throughout his life, providing the moral impetus for much of his life’s work, particularly his concern, through his magazines, and other activities, to educate as well as to entertain.

In 1964, three years before he died, Henry Luce passed on his position as editor-in-chief to his trusted friend and colleague, Hedley Donovan. It was a timely decision, ensuring that the success of the corporation he had nurtured throughout his life would continue after his death, as indeed it does today. A memorial service for Henry Luce was held on March 3, 1967 (the occasion of the forty-fourth anniversary of the first ever issue of *Time*) in New York’s Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, where he had worshipped for 43 years. The church was thronged with over 800 people, including governors and senators, publishers, writers, educators, industrial leaders, and scientists. The service was relayed to the reception hall and the eighth-floor auditorium of the Time-Life building, where more than 1200 employees had gathered to pay their respects to their founder and editor-in-chief, and to pledge their services to the continued success of the publishing enterprise he had founded more than 40 years previously.

—Emma Lambert

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Luciano, Lucky (1897-1962)

Sicilian-born Charles "Lucky" Luciano is renowned for initiating a new era in organized crime in the United States by establishing a

national syndicate that aligned the Italian mafia with Jewish and Irish crime organizations in the 1930s. After his family immigrated to the United States, Luciano began his criminal career by bullying schoolchildren into paying him not to beat them up. He reportedly met his lifelong affiliate Meyer Lansky when Lansky refused to pay him. He began dealing narcotics as a teenager, and as a member of the notorious Five Points gang, Luciano is reputed to have participated in numerous beatings and murders. In addition to gambling and drug peddling, Luciano gained power and wealth during the Prohibition era as a successful bootlegger and used a combination of violence and extortion to gain control over prostitution in Manhattan.

In October 1929, Luciano was kidnapped and severely beaten and stabbed by four assailants who left him unconscious on a Staten Island beach. Luciano was found by a police officer and taken to a hospital where he was interviewed by detectives. At the time Luciano claimed he had no idea who could have attacked him, but in later years blamed the incident on "the cops." Two years later, with sufficient loyalty and power behind him, Luciano ushered in a new epoch in organized crime by ordering the murders of two rival gang leaders, "Joe the Boss" Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano, whose families were then engaged in a fierce turf war. With these two old-line leaders out of the way, Luciano consolidated his power among the Italian mobsters and formed a national syndicate with such crime figures as



Lucky Luciano, handcuffed and holding a cigar, leaving court.

Meyer Lansky, Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, Joe Adonis, Dutch Schultz, Albert Anastasia, and a few select others. From 1932 to 1936 Luciano lived the high life, headquartered in a luxurious suite at the Waldorf-Astoria he occupied under the alias Charles Ross and where he entertained numerous women. However, after the mob assassination of the renegade Dutch Schultz, which had been ordered by the syndicate directors, Luciano became the target of an investigation by New York district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. Luciano was convicted on charges of extortion and direction of harlotry and was sentenced to thirty to fifty years in prison.

While serving his sentence, Luciano applied for parole and was twice rejected before winning his freedom in an unprecedented wartime bargain with the U.S. government. A former luxury liner, the *S.S. Normandie*, exploded in the Hudson River as it was being refitted as a troopship in 1942. When dockworkers refused to cooperate in the investigation into the bombing, naval authorities asked Luciano to use his influence to prevent further incidents along the waterfront. In addition, through Luciano's intercession, the U.S. military gained the cooperation of the Sicilian mafia in the Allied invasion of Sicily in 1943. In 1945, Luciano was freed from prison and deported to Italy. He immediately resumed his criminal activities in Rome and in February 1947 traveled to Havana, Cuba, to meet with other leaders of the syndicate. When the U.S. press reported his presence in Havana, Luciano was ordered out of Cuba and returned to Italy. He lived thereafter in Naples, where he contemplated such projects as a book of memoirs and a motion picture depicting his career. He died of a heart attack in 1962.

—Laurie DiMauro

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Ludlum, Robert (1927—)

One of the most commercially successful authors of the twentieth century, Robert Ludlum is arguably the most widely read writer of the espionage thriller genre. He is the author of nineteen best-selling novels, and his books have sold more than 200 million copies worldwide.

Born May 25, 1927 in New York City, Ludlum lost his father when he was only seven. By the time he was sixteen, he had decided that he wanted to be an actor. In 1943, he was cast in the Broadway show *Junior Miss*, but two years later he enlisted in the Marines. After his stint in the military, Ludlum went to Wesleyan University. By 1951, Ludlum had completed his bachelor's degree and married his

girlfriend Mary. For much of the 1950s, Ludlum worked as an actor, moving between summer stock theaters and Broadway, and by the mid-1950s he began to get regular work on television. He appeared in well over 200 of the plays presented on such shows as *The Kraft Television Theater* and *Studio One*.

By 1956, Ludlum had moved back to Broadway and become a producer. Among his successes, Ludlum brought *The Owl and the Pussycat* to the Great White Way in 1956, as well as a revival of *The Front Page*. He later founded The Playhouse-on-the-Mall in Paramus, New Jersey, which did well throughout the 1960s. While he worked on Broadway, Ludlum continued to find steady employment on television, doing voice-overs for television commercials. It was during this time that Ludlum found his true calling as an author.

Robert Ludlum started writing books in the late 1960s, and his first novel, *The Scarlatti Inheritance*, was released in 1971. Ludlum garnered critical praise for his complex characters and use of tension. He quickly followed his initial success with the publication of *The Osterman Weekend* in 1972 and *The Matlock Paper* and *Trevayne* in 1973. Readers throughout the world snatched up his books, and in the space of only three years, Ludlum was catapulted to the status of best-selling author. Since the early-1970s, Ludlum has continued to churn out bestsellers. Five of his books have been made into motion pictures, with others in development.

Ludlum's novels generally have extremely complicated plots; his works often reach several hundred pages in length, and the number of characters, plot twists, betrayals, and surprises can seem infinite. Most of Ludlum's books revolve around some form of global domination conspiracy. In some novels, such as *The Holcroft Covenant*, he uses the revival of the Nazi movement. In others, it is a shadow society of powerful industrialists and politicians. In either case, the protagonist is a lone individual who accidentally discovers the conspiracy and must expose it before global domination is achieved. Although the hero often succeeds, some of Ludlum's novels end with the conspiracy moving forward despite the protagonist's efforts.

Ludlum's books build on traditional conspiracy theories surrounding the Freemasons and the Illuminati. He has helped to popularize a belief in wide-ranging underground conspiracies that know no bounds. These beliefs have spread to other media outlets, such as *The X-Files*, due in no small part to the success of Ludlum's novels. Although he is not the only author to write about underground governments, his continuing success is unparalleled.

—Geoff Peterson

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Lugosi, Bela (1882-1956)

With his aristocratic accent, distinctive profile, slicked dark hair, spidery fingers, mesmerizing eyes, and swirling black cape, Hungarian-born actor Bela Lugosi helped to create cinema's definitive Dracula, the vampire as sexual and charming as he is villainous. Born Béla Ferenc Dezső Blaskó in Lugos (the town from which he derived his stage name) near Transylvania, Lugosi came to the United States in late 1920 and, over the next few years, appeared in small film and



Bela Lugosi

theater parts. His break came with the title role in the play *Dracula*, which ran for 33 weeks on Broadway in 1927 and successfully toured the West Coast in 1928-29; this led to the 1931 Universal film, whose romantic settings and sexual undercurrents revolutionized the horror film genre and established Lugosi's place in Hollywood history.

Lugosi, however, quickly became the victim of his own success. Despite the stardom that *Dracula* brought him, he resisted attempts by both Universal Studios and the media to make him the heir to horror film icon Lon Chaney, Sr. Refusing to be typecast, Lugosi aspired instead to the romantic leading roles he had performed on the Hungarian stage. Unfortunately, his poor judgment resulted in a series of bad career choices, long periods of unemployment, and perpetual financial problems. Perhaps his single worst mistake was rejecting a major role in *Frankenstein* (1932), Universal's next big film after *Dracula*. Originally slated to play the monster, Lugosi disliked both the heavy makeup and the character's lack of dialogue, and so the part went to Boris Karloff, who soon surpassed Lugosi in salary as well as fame, becoming his lifelong rival. Even years later, when Universal again tried to exploit the public's hunger for horror films by teaming Karloff and Lugosi in such films as *The Black Cat* (1934), *The Raven* (1935), and *The Body Snatchers* (1945), Lugosi received second billing and played a decidedly supporting role to Karloff.

Lugosi himself helped to diminish his star power by taking small, odd roles like the Apache in *Gift of Gab* (1934) and lead roles in serial and in B and C movies like *Ape Man* (1943) and *Voodoo Man* (1944). Ironically, some of his most interesting and memorable roles were the types of parts he initially sought to avoid: the mad scientist, Dr. Mirakle, in *Murders in the Rue Morgue* (1932); the zombie

master, Murder Legendre, in *White Zombie* (1932); the vampire, both fake (Count Mora the actor in *Mark of the Vampire* [1935]), and real, (Armand Tesla in *Return of the Vampire* [1944]); and the sinister servant, Ygor, the broken-necked companion of Frankenstein's monster, in *Son of Frankenstein* (1939), another Karloff-Lugosi collaboration (and, apart from *Dracula*, Lugosi's most memorable screen character). Yet even within the genre he had helped to create, Lugosi's status eroded rapidly. He was not considered for the lead or offered even a minor role in the 1936 sequels to his classic *Dracula* and *White Zombie*. And in the 1940s, when Universal began producing new horror films such as *The Wolf Man*, Lugosi had to settle for bit parts, like that of a gypsy, while the title roles went to Lon Chaney, Jr. and other actors. Eventually, in films like the Bowery Boys adventure *Spooks Run Wild* (1941) and *Abbott and Costello Meet Frankenstein* (1948), he took to parodying himself. As a means of financial survival, Lugosi pursued other avenues—stage, vaudeville, radio, and television—usually with limited success. The vagaries of his career contributed to the dissolution of four of his five marriages and to his drug addiction, for which he voluntarily sought help and which he reportedly beat before his death from a heart attack in 1956.

In his last years, Lugosi came to the attention of the notoriously inept director Ed Wood, Jr., who cast him in *Glen or Glenda* (1953) and in the infamous *Plan 9 from Outer Space* (1959), which was built around the few minutes of footage shot before Lugosi's death for a different Wood film. The recognition of Lugosi's talent by Wood and other fans, however, helped to introduce the legendary actor to a new audience of filmgoers and to generate interest in his early work as well. Unfortunately, Lugosi never witnessed the revived popularity of his films. He died impoverished and largely forgotten and was buried, wrapped in his *Dracula* cape, in Culver City, near Hollywood. As bizarre as his screen persona, Lugosi was an actor of limited range but a man of many appetites—for women, reading, Hungarian food, good cigars, stamp collecting, and politics. Nevertheless, in a career that spanned over fifty years, he became part of cinema folklore and is now recognized as one of Hollywood's greatest horror stars.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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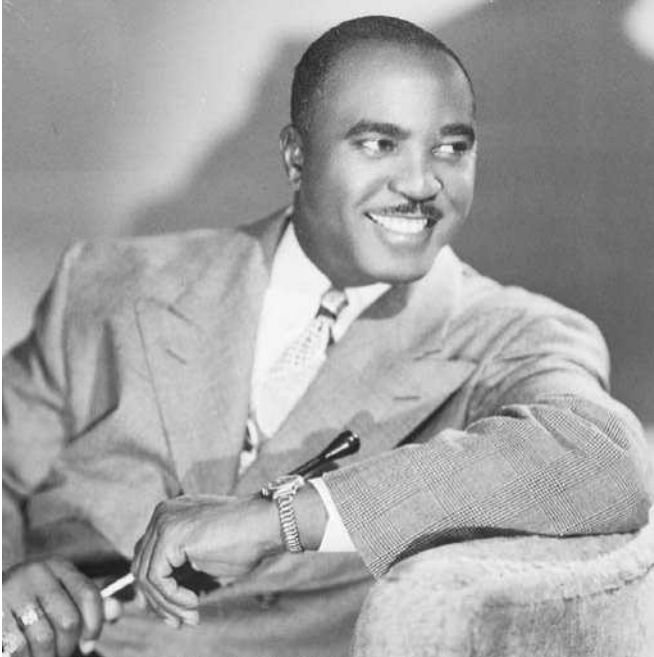
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Lunceford, Jimmie (1902-1947)

In 1940, the swing orchestra led by Jimmie Lunceford won first place in a much-publicized Battle of the Bands with 27 other groups, including those led by Count Basie, Benny Goodman, and Glenn Miller. Known for innovative arrangements, imaginative instrumentation, and full-bodied swinging sound, the Lunceford orchestra exerted a powerful influence over big-band music during the swing era of the late 1930s and early 1940s as well as on post-World War II dance bands.



Jimmie Lunceford

Born James Melvin Lunceford in Fulton, Mississippi, Lunceford moved to Memphis, where he studied music with Paul Whiteman's father, Wilberforce. During the 1920s he played in jazz bands led by Elmer Snowden and Wilbur Sweatman. Although he became proficient in all the reed instruments, he seldom played in bands, preferring to conduct. Lunceford organized and taught a student orchestra in a Memphis high school before beginning his professional career as a bandleader in 1929.

Jimmie Lunceford's first success came in Buffalo, in the early 1930s. In 1933 he took his band to New York City, appearing at the famous Cotton Club. The band made a recording for Victor, but the music selected—"White Heat" and "Jazznocracy"—was written in a racing tempo, unsuited for the band's relaxed, subtle style. From the beginning, Lunceford had molded a highly disciplined orchestra that practiced carefully rehearsed showmanship in their playing. He preferred precise ensemble playing in a medium two-beat swing tempo rather than the exciting solos and upbeat tempos of the Basie and Goodman bands, and he gradually won a wide audience for his unique style.

When Sy Oliver joined the orchestra in 1933, bringing his distinctive "growl" trumpet style as well as his prodigious talents as an arranger, Lunceford had found the ideal partner in developing the oddly swinging style that became the band's trademark. Oliver recalls how the two met: "One day in Cincinnati, I heard the Lunceford band rehearsing. I was so impressed, because Jimmie was so careful about every single detail, then I asked him if I could try writing for the band." Oliver, who also arranged some of Tommy Dorsey's best-known numbers, excelled in devising unusual instrumentation. He conceived the arrangement of "Liza," in which Lunceford played the flute, his only recorded appearance playing an instrument with his band.

The greatest boost to the band's fame came in September 1934, when they began a series of great sides for Decca Records. Based on the brilliant scores created by Oliver, their most popular hits included

"For Dancers Only," "Organ Grinder's Swing," "My Blue Heaven," "Four or Five times," "Cheatin' on Me," and "Margie," among others. For some reason, Lunceford did not like one of Oliver's most popular arrangements, "Yes, Indeed!" which became a hit in a Tommy Dorsey recording. Although the band featured ensemble playing, it also had individual stars, including Trummie Young, a trombonist and vocalist, and Jimmie Crawford, a drummer with a simple, swinging style that made a perfect engine for the band's rhythms.

By 1942, the band's popularity began to decline as a number of the band's longtime members left for various reasons, including the wartime draft. Lunceford continued his rigorous schedule, and on July 16, 1947, he died of a heart attack while on tour in Seaside, Oregon. For several years, pianist Edwin Wilcox and saxophonist Joe Thomas led the band before it finally left the music scene.

Jazz critic George Simon wrote: "But what great music it left! For many it remains, pressed in the grooves of all the fine Decca and Columbia records it made. And for those of us lucky enough to have caught the band in person it has also left memories of some of the most exciting nights we ever spent listening to any of the big bands!"

—Benjamin Griffith

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Lupino, Ida (1918-1995)

An actress, director, and screenwriter of considerable reputation, Ida Lupino was born into a distinguished British theater family. After a less than satisfactory start in Hollywood as a blonde ingenue type, Lupino broke through with a strong performance in the drama *The Light that Failed* (1940). Signed by Warner Brothers, Lupino became famous for her roles as a hard-boiled, tough-luck dame, earning the moniker "the poor man's Bette Davis." She worked with the best directors (Raoul Walsh, Fritz Lang) and top co-stars (Humphrey Bogart, Edward G. Robinson, Olivia de Havilland). A striking brunette with a memorable voice, which she likened to "a fat man who's been drinking a lot," Lupino handled glamorous roles and drab character parts with equal ease. Her path-breaking career as a director and screenwriter of films and television received favorable critical reassessment. Lupino's droll persona and her versatility made her a popular performer with a long career.

—Mary Hess

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LuPone, Patti (1949—)

One of the finest singing actresses of the late twentieth century, Patti LuPone has carved a place in cultural iconography as one of the finest late twentieth century exponents of a great American art form, the Broadway musical. Her voice, at once full and strong, lyrical and smooth, also has a distinctive, instantly recognizable steely quality that thrills audiences. Her remarkable vocal technique, combined with her parallel strength as a dramatic actress, has immeasurably enhanced her interpretation of the heavyweight roles that her talents have brought her way. Juilliard-trained, LuPone rose to Broadway stardom as *Evita* (1979), winning Tony and Drama Desk awards for her riveting portrayal of Eva Peron. Other highlights of her career include creating the role of Fantine in *Les Miserables* for the Royal Shakespeare Company in London—the city to which she returned to create Norma Desmond in Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical version of *Sunset Boulevard*. And it was in London, too, in 1997, that she played the dramatic role of Maria Callas in Terence McNally's play *Master Class*. Her star quality at home was confirmed with the Lincoln Center revival of *Anything Goes* (1987), and the revival of *Pal Joey* (1995), while her versatility has brought her work in film and on television, notably as Libby Thatcher in ABC's *Life Goes On* (1989-93).

—William A. Everett

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Lynch, David (1946—)

Few directors have ever parlayed their unique style and vision into as much respect and success as David Lynch has earned since the late 1970s. Best known for his highly complex and ambiguous cinema, Lynch's most famous film is the now classic *Blue Velvet* (1986). This coming-of-age story of the naive but endlessly curious Jeffrey Beaumont (Lynch mainstay Kyle MacLachlan) chronicles the protagonist's nightmarish descent into the underworld of the fictional town of Lumberton, which is run by villain Frank Booth (the menacing Dennis Hopper in a role which resuscitated his career). Although Lynch's previous film (*The Elephant Man* (1980)) had been nominated for a number of Academy Awards, including Best Picture, it was the quirky, independent *Blue Velvet* that paved the way for the iconoclastic director's influence on generations of filmmakers to come—including the American directors Quentin Tarantino, Jim

Jarmusch, and the Coen Brothers, and international auteurs like Jean-Phillipe Jeunet and Marc Caro. Lynch's style became his signature, to the point where reviewers, unable to comprehend the assortment of bizarre characters and dialogue of either *Wild at Heart* (1990) or *Lost Highway* (1996), simply claimed that Lynch was being Lynch.

David Lynch was born on January 20, 1946 in Missoula, Montana (pop. 30,000). The eldest of three children, Lynch spent most of his youth daydreaming in the natural environs of Missoula. Unsatisfied with conventional school (he once referred to it in an interview as "a crime against young people . . . [which] destroyed the seeds of liberty"), Lynch attended high school at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington D.C. with his best friend, Jack Fiske, where he pursued his original artistic impulse—painting. Both Fiske and Lynch rented a studio in Alexandria to paint, and after graduation, both enrolled at the Boston Museum School. However, the two friends eventually dropped out over dissatisfaction with the unimpressive quality of the courses and students. Lynch worked at an assortment of odd jobs (including one at a picture framing shop where he was fired for not being able to get up in the morning) to pay for his eventual enrollment at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia in 1965. It is there that he met his first wife Peggy and formulated an aesthetic which would come to influence his work—"film painting": "I imagined a world in which painting would be in perpetual motion . . . [and] I began to make animated films which looked like moving paintings." During his second year of study at Philadelphia, Lynch produced his first film, called *Six Figures* (1967); it was shown at a school exhibition where it received a prize in 1966. In April 1968, Peggy gave birth to their first child, Jennifer. Shortly after *Six Figures* Lynch completed *The Alphabet* (1968), which generated enough attention to land Lynch an American Film Institute grant for his next film, *The Grandmother* (1970). According to French critic Michel Chion, the director of the American Film Institute "remarked that it was common to class films into categories—fiction, animations and so on—but that *The Grandmother* was in a category all by itself." The director then suggested that Lynch apply for a grant to the Institute of Advanced Film Studies, the AFI's film school in Beverly Hills, California; in 1970, Lynch moved his family to California and threw himself strictly into cinema.

His first feature film was the notorious and amazing *Eraserhead* (1977). A surreal study in chiaroscuro and psychology, *Eraserhead* still defies definition and synopsis: Henry, who is "on vacation" in an industrial wasteland, discovers that he has fathered a monstrous offspring. After an affair with his neighbor, Henry is subjected to the snickers of the monster/baby and subsequently assaults it in an unreal and fantastic finale. The film opened to both violent disapproval and ecstatic praise—the latter from distributor Ben Barenholtz, who is credited with creating the midnight cult film circuit. Gaining a faithful fan base and prizes at various festivals, *Eraserhead* eventually attracted attention from Hollywood, and Lynch was offered the chance to direct *The Elephant Man* by none other than Mel Brooks, who once remarked that Lynch was like Jimmy Stewart from Mars. As a mainstream film, *The Elephant Man* attracted the scorn of Lynch's highbrow critics, but was nonetheless a success, earning Oscar nominations and instant Hollywood credibility. He was offered various projects (including George Lucas's *Return of the Jedi*) but settled on the cinematic adaptation of Frank Herbert's classic sci-fi novel, *Dune* (1984). A failure at the box office—and with both critics

and die-hard Herbert fans—*Dune* nevertheless showcased some of Lynch's trademark cinema. After the bombastic budget of *Dune*, he scaled down with *Blue Velvet* and then scaled down even further, venturing into television with the revolutionary cultural phenomenon *Twin Peaks*. Television had never seen anything like *Twin Peaks*, with its unconventional characters, innovative score, and mystical FBI protagonist, Dale Cooper (Kyle MacLachlan, again). Soon the United States was buzzing with anticipation over the next episode; in its first season it garnered 14 Emmy nominations. During this period Lynch was everywhere: he made the hugely successful film *Wild at Heart*, which won the Golden Palm at the Cannes Film Festival; he started a television sitcom called *On the Air*; he released the music for *Twin Peaks*, which he co-wrote with Angelo Badalamenti (another longtime collaborator); and he scripted a comic strip for the *L.A. Weekly* called *The Angriest Dog in the World*.

The television public eventually tired of *Twin Peaks* and it was canceled after its third season. Lynch's cinematic prequel to the series, *Twin Peaks: Fire Walk With Me* (1992), a return to the darker side of the idyllic Northwestern town everyone had come to forget during the series' progression to more lighthearted episodes, angered most critics and fans. After the film, Lynch stopped working in film and turned his attention to his painting and furniture construction. He returned to the screen in 1996 with *Lost Highway*, another daring cinematic exercise for a director whose legend most likely will only grow in proportion to the appreciation of his utterly unique talents, style, and versatility.

—Scott Thill

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Lynching

Rooted in the broader tradition of vigilantism, the word lynching is primarily associated with the killing of African Americans by white mobs from the Civil War to the late twentieth century. At the height of lynchings in the United States, between 1882 and 1956, more than 4,700 men, women, and children were killed, about 80 percent of them black. In particular, lynching became an integral part of social control in the South, where whites sought to maintain their traditional authority and deny African Americans basic political, social, and economic freedoms. Although the practice declined in the face of gains made during and after the Civil Rights era, occasional lynchings continued up to the turn of the twenty-first century.

Lynching originated in Bedford County, Virginia, around the time of the Revolutionary War when Colonel Charles Lynch and other white males organized informally to apprehend and punish



The aftermath of a typical lynching.

Tories and other lawless elements. The term “lynch law” spread throughout the American frontier as lawbreakers were punished with summary whippings, tarring and feathering, and occasionally extralegal hangings or shootings in areas where organized legal systems were scarce. Victims were mostly white and ranged from petty criminals to Catholics and immigrants. After the 1830s, lynchings began to assume a more racial tone in the North in the form of race riots and other mob actions staged in opposition to the movement to end slavery.

In the South, lynching did not gain its special association with race until after the Emancipation Proclamation. The economic self-interest of white masters made it illogical for them to kill or seriously harm their slaves, especially in light of the rigid system of slave control then in existence. Exceptions were made in the cases of slave rebellions when white mobs actively sought out and killed suspected African-American participants. Beginning in the Reconstruction Era, freed blacks became more common targets of lynch mobs as justification for the protection of white supremacy, for misdeeds from murder to talking back to whites or other violations of strict social mores. The mythical desire of African-American men to rape white women accounted for less than one-quarter of all lynchings, and that estimate does not take into account the Southern definition of rape which included all sexual relations between the races. Still, white mobs lynched black men accused of rape in such far northern states as Maine, Minnesota, and Washington.

Lynching became an almost wholly southern phenomenon by the turn of the twentieth century. Most lynchings involved secret hangings and shootings administered by small groups of white men in mainly rural areas. Public lynchings in the South came to involve torture and mutilation and frequently included death by being burned alive instead of strangulation. The public ritual included prior notice of the event, selection of a symbolically significant location, and the presence of a large crowd that included women, children, and even

photographers. A black school teacher-turned-journalist, Ida B. Wells-Barnett, began publicizing southern lynchings in her newspaper, the *Memphis Free Speech and Headlight*, in 1892 and until she left the South out of fear for her personal safety. At least a half-dozen black southern women, including a pregnant Georgia woman named Mary Turner and a 13-year-old nanny named Mildrey Brown, were lynched in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the South. The *Chicago Tribune* began a tally of lynchings in 1882 that it continued until 1968. It was joined by *Crisis*, the official publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), in 1912, in a list that came to be called "The Shame of America."

The NAACP began investigating individual lynching cases during World War I. One of the more prominent instances involved Leo Frank, a Jewish factory supervisor who was lynched in 1915 near Marietta, Georgia, for allegedly murdering a 13-year-old white Atlanta girl, Mary Phagan. The identities of the real killer and lynch mob participants remained under speculation and the incident was reexamined in President John F. Kennedy's 1956 Pulitzer-prize winning book, *Profiles in Courage* and in a short-lived Broadway musical, *Parade*, in the late 1990s. Other whites and immigrants were lynched by southern mobs, including 11 Italian immigrants in New Orleans in 1891 and 26 Mexicans and Mexican Americans in Texas and New Mexico in 1915. The NAACP's first report, *Thirty Years of Lynching in the United States, 1889-1918*, released in the race riot year of 1919, influenced the United States House of Representatives to approve by a vote of 230 to 119 the Dyer Anti-Lynching Bill in 1922. The legislation, introduced by Representative L. C. Dyer of Missouri, asserted the federal government's right to protect individual rights and anticipated the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The United States Senate, dominated by southerners such as John Sharp Williams and Pat Harrison of Mississippi, prevented the Dyer Bill from coming to a vote.

Walter Francis White, the NAACP's executive director, published additional lynching research in his 1929 *Rope and Faggot: A Legal Assault on Lynching*. Various Congressional efforts were made during the 1930s and 1940s, including the 1934 Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Act. Southern legislators, led by Mississippi's Theodore G. Bilbo, filibustered the bill to death. Meanwhile, nine black youths known as the Scotsboro Nine were legally lynched in Alabama in 1931 after they were convicted of the rape of two white women by an all-white jury. There were more than 3,000 hastily-tried "legal" lynchings in the United States between 1880 and 1960 that are not included in the total number of "illegal" lynchings.

The number of lynchings in the South declined after 1935 but never ceased altogether. Southerners were able to prevent serious legislation until the 1960s but the federal courts, led by the United States Supreme Court in the 1951 *Williams v. United States*, reaffirmed that federal law, including the Civil War-era Fourteenth Amendment, forbid local and state law enforcement officials from depriving citizens of individual rights. Vocal opposition to lynching from inside and outside of the South contributed to its decline. Actor Paul Robeson met with President Harry Truman as part of a crusade to end lynching in 1946. Nevertheless, sporadic lynchings continued. A 14-year-old Chicago youth, Emmett Till, was murdered in 1955 in Mississippi for allegedly whistling at a white woman while a black veteran, Mack Charles Parker, was shot to death in the same state in 1959 while awaiting trial for the alleged rape of a white woman.

A Ku Klux Klansman, Henry Francis Hays, was convicted and executed for the random lynching of a 19-year-old African-American man, Michael Donald, in Mobile, Alabama, in 1981. The victim's mother, Beulah Mae Donald, won a \$7 million civil suit against the Klan in 1987 for the wrongful death of her son, the first such case in the Klan's long history. In 1998, a 49-year-old unemployed African-American man, James Byrd, Jr., was chained and dragged to his death behind a pickup truck in Jasper, Texas, in what authorities termed a "backwoods lynching." And a "Redneck Shop" opened in Laurens, South Carolina, in 1996, specializing in Ku Klux Klan memorabilia including lynching photographs and t-shirts reading "Original Boys in the Hood." Clearly racism, the root cause of lynching, remains in America.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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Lynn, Loretta (1935—)

With such feisty hits as "You Ain't Woman Enough" and "Fist City," country singer/songwriter Loretta Lynn voiced the concerns of blue-collar women during the 1960s and 1970s. When Lynn came to Nashville in 1960, "girl singers" were still considered risky ventures by record executives and promoters. The first female superstar of the modern country industry, Lynn established herself as a true celebrity, capable of selling Crisco vegetable shortening as well as records and concert tickets. Her success as an entertainer also proved that she could remain true to her rural background and retain her traditional



Loretta Lynn

vocal style, even as Nashville and the industry were becoming increasingly sophisticated.

One of eight children, Lynn was born Loretta Webb, on April 14, 1935 in the poverty-stricken coal mining town of Butcher Hollow, Kentucky. She married Oliver V. Lynn, who was known by the nicknames “Doolittle” and “Mooney” (because he made moonshine), three months before her fourteenth birthday. The newlyweds moved to Custer, Washington, and over the next four years had four children. Lynn’s husband gave her a guitar purchased from Sears and Roebuck for her eighteenth birthday. Within a few years, she learned to play the instrument and began composing songs. Convinced of his wife’s talent, Mooney took Lynn to local beer joints and got her a job as a singer with a country band. After winning a talent contest at an area fair, she appeared on a Tacoma television show hosted by rising country star Buck Owens. A former lumberman with an interest in music saw the program and gave Lynn the money to make a record in Los Angeles. Steel guitar virtuoso Speedy West rounded up quality California session players for her debut, and “I’m a Honky-Tonk Girl” was released on the tiny Zero label early in 1960. While Lynn’s live performances usually featured current songs popularized by country stars, her first single was an original composition.

Lynn and her husband spent three months promoting the record themselves, mailing it to 3,500 radio stations and visiting numerous

stations in person to ask the disc jockeys to play it. By the summer of 1960, the song had reached number 14 on the country charts. Lynn traveled to Nashville, the epicenter of the country industry and home of the Grand Ole Opry, where she made her first guest appearance in mid-October. With the help of the Wilburn Brothers, Doyle and Teddy, she obtained a contract with Decca Records (which became MCA in the early 1970s) despite producer Owen Bradley’s objection that her voice closely resembled that of Kitty Wells. The Lynns moved to Nashville, and newcomer Loretta became Patsy Cline’s protégée, even as other female artists conspired to keep her off the Opry. Though her style demonstrated characteristics of both Wells and Cline, Lynn eventually developed a sound of her own. She resisted efforts to polish her image as a performer, preferring cowboy boots to high-heeled shoes, and singing with an accent that betrayed her rural Kentucky upbringing.

Two years after her breakthrough hit, Lynn had her first Decca top ten single with “Success.” Four years later, “Don’t Come Home A-Drinkin’ (With Lovin’ on Your Mind),” co-written with her sister Peggy Sue Wells, became the first of sixteen number one records Lynn recorded between 1966 and 1975. During the 1960s, Lynn occasionally performed duets with honky-tonk legend Ernest Tubb, and the following decade she and Conway Twitty had several hits together. She became the first female recipient of the Country Music

Association's (CMA) Entertainer of the Year award in 1972, and eight years later the CMA named her Artist of the Decade. Her best-selling autobiography, *Coal Miner's Daughter*, appeared in 1976, followed four years later by a film version starring Sissy Spacek and Tommy Lee Jones that brought the story of her career into the popular realm. Lynn branched out from music, opening a chain of western-wear stores and a dude ranch near her home in Tennessee. At the height of her career during the 1970s, she kept a punishing schedule that took its toll on her health. Although her recording career tapered off during the late 1980s, she continued to tour throughout the 1990s, taking some time off after the death of her husband in 1996.

Lynn's success surpassed that of any other female country artist during the 1960s and 1970s, and her immense popularity destroyed industry stereotypes about women performers. Her combination of traditional country styles with lyrics that reflected the modern working-class woman's perspective appealed to a large audience, particularly wives and mothers who faced the same problems she addressed in her songs. Lynn has spoken out against racism and illiteracy, and in the mid-1990s she warned women about the dangers of breast implants. She was not afraid of controversy, and stood behind songs such as "Rated X," which dealt with the stigma of being a divorced woman, and "The Pill," a paean to birth control. In *Coal Miner's Daughter*, Lynn notes that she is "not a big fan of Women's Liberation, but maybe it will help women stand up for the respect they're due." While she may not have considered herself a feminist, many of her songs exhibited a progressive attitude that was seldom found in country music. This assertion of pride in her gender and her working-class culture made Loretta Lynn the heir to Kitty Wells' title as "the Queen of Country Music," and one of the genre's female legends.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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Lynyrd Skynyrd

After several years as an incendiary but unsigned Florida bar band, Lynyrd Skynyrd emerged in 1973 to supersede the Allman

Brothers as the most popular exponents of Southern rock. Though Lynyrd Skynyrd's use of the Confederate battle flag ensured that the Stars and Bars became a symbol of the rebellious attitude central to contemporary rock 'n' roll, the group's defiant celebration of a particular Southern white cultural identity was inextricably related to the racial politics of the South in the post-Civil Rights period. In 1977, the group disbanded after a plane crash killed two of its members. However, the Lynyrd Skynyrd mythology grew precipitously over the next decade, culminating in an emotional and rapturously received reunion of the remaining bandmates in 1987.

Lynyrd Skynyrd's nucleus of vocalist Ronnie Van Zant, drummer Bob Burns, and guitarists Gary Rossington and Allen Collins came together at a Jacksonville, Florida, high school. Though the influence of Jacksonville's black bluesmen was acknowledged in Skynyrd's 1974 song "The Ballad of Curtis Loew," the band's distillation of country, rock 'n' roll and blues derived largely from England's Muddy Waters acolytes, The Rolling Stones. In 1969, Van Zant, Rossington, Collins, and Burns left high school—though not before a strait-laced gym coach called Leonard Skinner inadvertently inspired the band's lasting moniker—and began to play the club scene in Florida and Georgia. The following year the group was offered a contract with Capricorn Records, the label which had established Southern rock as a genre. However, Van Zant refused the deal, not wanting his band to be overshadowed by Capricorn's premier act, the Allman Brothers. Lynyrd Skynyrd remained unsigned until 1973, when Al Kooper acquired them for his fledgling MCA offshoot, Sounds of the South.

The Kooper-produced debut, *Pronounced Leh-nerd Skin-nerd*, was released that year, and its final track, the guitar epic "Free Bird," received extensive radio airplay. On such songs as "Poison Whiskey," "Mississippi Kid," and "Gimme Three Steps," the album introduced the staple character of Skynyrd lyrics, the hard drinking, gun toting, and womanizing "good ole boy." A prestigious support slot on The Who's 1973 U.S. tour was followed by the hit single "Sweet Home Alabama," from the gold-selling follow-up album, *Second Helping* (1974). The song was written in response to Neil Young's "Southern Man" (1970) and "Alabama" (1972), in which the Canadian singer-songwriter scathingly criticized the South for the patriarchal racism which had endured beyond the end of slavery. Opening with the image of the rock 'n' roll rebel returning "home" to his "kin" in "the Southland," "Sweet Home Alabama" was an attempt to reconcile, to use Paul Wells's terms, rock's "codes of the road" with "the conservative notions of family and community championed within a southern ethos." However, by including an overt endorsement of segregationist governor George Wallace, the song invoked and defended a Southern white cultural identity constructed upon racism and social inequality.

Burns was replaced on drums by Artimus Pyle for the third album, *Nuthin' Fancy* (1975). "Saturday Night Special" and "Whiskey Rock and Roller" were further paeans to the good ole boy's penchant for guns and liquor, but the more problematic politics of Southern nationalism were evident on "I'm a Country Boy." Like the earlier "Simple Man" (1973) and "Swamp Music" (1974), "I'm a Country Boy" advocated an agrarian way of life, but extended rural romanticism to the extent of depicting cotton-picking "on the Dixie line" as a labor of love, conveniently ignoring the actual historical toil of black Southerners. Guitarist Ed King left the group during the



Members of *Lynyrd Skynyrd*

1975 tour, and it was apparent from 1976's predictably titled *Gimme Back My Bullets* that the musical virtuosity of the first two albums had palled. Replacement guitarist Steve Gaines joined the band in early 1976, and with the further addition of a regular female backing group, the Honkettes, the band sounded revitalized on their 1976 tour (captured on the double live set, *One More from the Road*). The sixth album, *Street Survivors*, was released in October 1977. Only days later, the group's private plane plunged into a Mississippi swamp, killing Van Zant, Gaines, and the latter's sister Cassie (a member of the Honkettes), as well as seriously injuring Rossington, Collins, bassist Leon Wilkinson, and keyboardist Billy Powell.

Lynyrd Skynyrd's legacy overshadowed the reunion of Rossington, Collins, Wilkinson, and Powell in the Rossington Collins Band (1980-83), as well as the plethora of post-Skynyrd Southern rock outfits such as .38 Special, Confederate Railroad, Molly Hatchet, and Blackfoot. Led by the initially reluctant Rossington, and with Van Zant's brother Johnny on vocals, Lynyrd Skynyrd rose again in 1987 for a tribute tour which paid moving homage to Ronnie Van Zant and the group's 1970s heyday. The group's neo-Confederate posturings remained unreconstructed, typified by the tacky sleeve art for the 1996 live album *Southern Knights*, and "The Last Rebel" (1993), an ode to the heroic warriors of the Lost Cause. Somewhat appropriately, the deification of Ronnie Van Zant, notably in Doc Holliday's "Song

for the Outlaw" (1989), fed into the larger mythology of "Johnny Reb" taking his stand for Dixie.

Two Lynyrd Skynyrd songs were tellingly employed in the Oscar-winning fable *Forrest Gump* (1994). As Forrest's childhood sweetheart, Jenny, descends into drug addiction, the film utilizes the intense fretwork of "Free Bird" to soundtrack the giddy experience of the heroin rush. In stark contrast, when Jenny abandons her Californian sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll lifestyle and returns home to Forrest and the virtuous, rural South, the reunited pair are seen dancing ecstatically around their living room—to the strains of "Sweet Home Alabama."

—Martyn Bone

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M

Ma Perkins

A pioneering soap opera, *Ma Perkins* was heard on daytime radio for close to 30 years. For most of that time it was sponsored by Procter & Gamble's Oxydol soap flakes. The 15 minute show began in 1933 and did not leave the air until 1960. For several years it was broadcast on both NBC and CBS. The busy team of Frank and Anne Hummert produced the show and one of the initial scriptwriters was Robert Hardy Andrews, who also wrote *Jack Armstrong, the All-American Boy* in its earliest radio days.

Ma, dubbed "America's mother of the air," was a feisty widow who ran a lumberyard in the town of Rushville Center. The small town was both folksy and turbulent and Ma was equal parts maternal figure, therapist, and busybody. Virginia Payne, actually in her early twenties when the show commenced, played the sixty-something Ma for the entire run of the show. The commercials relied on the irritation factor, usually repeating the product name at least two dozen times per episode. It has been estimated that in the lifetime of *Ma Perkins* the program "helped sell over 3 billion boxes of Oxydol."

—Ron Goulart

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Mabley, Moms (1897-1975)

When Jackie Mabley was growing up one child of many in a poor Southern family, her mother told her she would have to leave North Carolina in order to make something of herself. Mabley took her mother's advice to heart, overcoming great odds to become not only a widely recognized and successful stand-up comic, but also the unforgettable "Moms," an African-American archetype with too much common sense and sensuality to take herself too seriously. Dressed in her flamboyant signature outfit of Hawaiian shirt over a housedress with bright socks, floppy slippers, and a hat she crocheted herself, Moms Mabley called her audience her "children." She entertained them with raunchy jokes and devilish playfulness, punctuating her act with bulging eyes and a toothless leer. In an entertainment industry where African-American women continue to receive little recognition, Moms Mabley's 60-year career stands as a role model.

Born Loretta Mary Aiken in Brevard, North Carolina, the details of Mabley's youth are vague, but it seems clear she was born into a large, poor family. Early in her life she sought a way out; her father was killed when she was a child and Mabley herself had been raped twice before she left home at the age of thirteen to join the traveling performers of a minstrel show. She spent her teenage years singing, dancing, and doing sketch comedy along the "chitlin' circuit," the black-owned clubs and performance halls that offered work to black entertainers. Though a product of segregation, the black clubs were for the most part safe and comfortable places for both black audiences

and performers. While traveling with the show, Loretta became involved with fellow performer Jack Mabley. Though they never married, she began to use the name Jackie Mabley, saying, "He took a lot off me, the least I could do was take his name."

With the arrival of the 1920s and the beginning of the Harlem Renaissance, Mabley found her way to New York where she performed her act in such famous venues as the Cotton Club and the Savoy Ballroom, sharing the bill with the likes of Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway. Later she would incorporate her friendships with these famous performers into her act, hinting broadly at her affairs.

By the 1930s, the Depression slowed the entertainment business, and Mabley made ends meet by working at church socials and movie houses. In 1931 she collaborated with renowned Harlem Renaissance writer Zora Neale Hurston, writing and performing a Broadway play called, *Fast and Furious: A Colored Revue in Thirty-Seven Scenes*. By 1939 Mabley began to appear regularly at the Apollo Theater in Harlem, where over the next 35 years she would perform more than any other entertainer. Here she continued to develop her comic act—the salty old lady with the mobile face and gravelly voice. It was at the Apollo that she acquired the nickname "Moms" from her fellow performers who appreciated her nurturing sympathy. During her years of performing at the Apollo, Mabley often saw famous white comics in the audience and accused them of stealing her material.

Though Mabley's act may seem stereotypical to some, it was really quite a clever show business ploy. While attractive young women, particularly black women, could show little in the way of intelligence or sexuality without condemnation, "Moms" was safe—a laughable figure of fun. From behind the shabby clothes and mobile toothless grin, Mabley could offer sharp-witted insights and social commentary that would have been unacceptable from a more serious source. Beloved by African-American audiences, Mabley's whole persona was an "in" joke among blacks, and she did not hesitate to focus her scathing humor on whites and their ill treatment of other races. She also demonstrated glimmers of an early feminism with her jokes about old men and their illusions of authority. One of her trademark jokes was, "Ain't nothing an old man can do for me, but bring me a message from a young man."

It was this sly satirical edge along with the emergence of the Civil Rights movement that brought Mabley her second surge of fame in the rebellious 1960's. On *The Ed Sullivan Show* and the controversial *Smothers Brothers Show*, Moms Mabley brought her bawdy humor to white audiences for the first time. Over the course of her lengthy career, she also appeared in several movies, from small parts in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones*, to a starring role in *Amazing Grace*. The prolific Mabley also made over 25 popular comedy albums and was invited to the White House by President John F. Kennedy. Perhaps one of Mabley's most touching performances is her hoarsely emotional recording of the song "Abraham, Martin, and John" about the deaths of the great Civil Rights leaders.

Though she had four children and five grandchildren, Mabley never married and she lived most of her life as a lesbian. Although she was not "out" in the modern sense, certainly Moms Mabley did



Moms Mabley

break taboos and challenge assumptions throughout her career with her character of an old woman, who was sexual, savvy, and irrepressible. The girl who survived childhood rape to carve out a successful career in the inhospitable world of show business grew up to be Moms, who described her television appearances by saying, “I looked at the world as my children.”

Modern black comediennes pay tribute to Mabley as a foremother. In 1986 playwright Alice Childress wrote *Moms: A Praise for a Black Comedienne*, which was produced on Broadway in 1987. Respected comic and actress Whoopi Goldberg “does” Mabley as one of her comic characters, and the documentary *I Be Done Been Was Is* names Moms Mabley as an inspiration for the black female comics who followed her.

—Tina Gianoulis

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MacDonald, Jeanette (1903-1965)

Jeanette MacDonald was one of the screen’s best-loved singing actresses. The image of the star, greeting the famous earthquake with a song in *San Francisco* (1936), is forever enshrined in the popular consciousness—an image further immortalized by the verse to Judy Garland’s recording of the title song, which recalls how Jeanette “stood among the ruins and sang.” She became, and remains, however, equally well-known for her screen partnership with Nelson Eddy. The couple, universally known as “America’s Singing Sweethearts” at the height of their popularity during the 1930s, epitomized the lush romantic world of the film operetta in eight films, beginning with *Naughty Marietta* (1935).

Born on June 18, 1903 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, MacDonald showed promise as a dancer and singer from a very young age. She began her professional career as a chorus girl on Broadway before assuming lead roles in musicals such as *Tangerine* (1922) and *The Magic Ring* (1924). Her film debut could not have been more auspicious. Paramount’s most stylish European director, Ernst Lubitsch, took a chance on casting the blue-eyed, blond-haired soprano opposite debonair Frenchman Maurice Chevalier in *The Love Parade* (1929). This first of four sophisticated, frothy films she made with Chevalier was a major box-office hit that garnered several Oscar

nominations and made the leading lady an overnight star. She signed an exclusive contract with RCA Victor Records and cut her first commercial record (songs from *The Love Parade*) on December 1, 1929. She made a couple of minor forgotten films elsewhere, but continued at Paramount, where she co-starred with Dennis King in *The Vagabond King* (1930), the first of many film adaptations of Broadway operettas in which she would appear, with British star Jack Buchanan in *Monte Carlo* (1930), and rejoined Chevalier for *One Hour with You* (1932), *Love Me Tonight* (1932), and Lubitsch's entrancing version of Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow* (1934).

MacDonald made successful European concert tours in 1931 and 1933 that enhanced her already tremendous popularity abroad. It was during the 1933 tour that she met Louis B. Mayer, who offered her an exclusive contract with MGM. She accepted the offer, left Paramount and the world of European high-style, "Ruritanian" operetta sophistication for that of wholesome, out-doorsy American romance, saccharine and innocent. She began her tenure at MGM and her partnership with Nelson Eddy with *Naughty Marietta* (1935), in which MacDonald plays a French princess who journeys to America and falls in love with an Indian scout. The operatically trained baritone and the fetching soprano warbled "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life" and captivated the public, who flocked in even greater numbers to *Rose Marie* (1936). It was quintessential operetta nonsense, with the music offering such disparate delights as "Some of These Days," "Dinah," and scenes from Puccini's *Tosca*. The film was a monumental success, MacDonald's star status was assured and, together, the "Singing Sweethearts" continued with the whimsical *Maytime* (1937), *The Girl of the Golden West* (1938), and *Sweethearts* (1938; their first



Jeanette MacDonald

in glorious technicolor and the biggest hit of all), *The New Moon* (1940), *Bitter Sweet* (1940), and *I Married an Angel* (1942)—the last, least, and silliest, which spelled the end of the partnership. Together, the couple represented the archetypal screen lovers, who surmount all obstacles to end up together, with MacDonald invariably cast as a well-born woman of one kind or another, caught up in alien circumstances and rescued through the love of the otherwise wooden Eddy, whose beautiful voice and noble profile was the perfect match for her.

In between the run of successful operetta, MacDonald co-starred with Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy in *San Francisco*, with Allan Jones in *The Firefly* (1937), and with Gene Raymond, her husband from 1937, in *Smilin' Through* (1941).

Wartime audiences were less susceptible to the innocent charms of the MacDonald-Eddy operettas, and MGM terminated MacDonald's contract in 1942. Between 1939 and 1946 she made numerous cross-country concert tours. She constantly broke attendance records, and soon became the biggest box-office draw in the concert world. During World War II, she devoted much of her time to entertaining the troops, and attempted to expand her range to live opera. She made her debut on May 8, 1943, at His Majesty's Theatre in Montreal, Canada, singing Juliet in Gounod's *Romeo and Juliet*, and reprised the role at the Chicago Civic Opera House on November 4, 1944. However, her voice proved too small to carry adequately in an opera house, and further attempts were abandoned.

Her film career was essentially over after the war. She made a cameo appearance in *Follow the Boys* (1944) for Universal, concluded her illustrious run in 1948 as the mother of *Three Daring Daughters*, a movie with music rather than a musical, and a Lassie film, *The Sun Comes Up*. Thereafter, Jeanette MacDonald remained active in radio and on television until her death, making numerous appearances on programs such as "Railroad Hour," "The Voice of Firestone," "The Toast of the Town," "Playhouse 90," and "Person to Person." During the 1950s she played in various summer stock theatrical productions, and made her nightclub debut in Las Vegas in 1953.

Jeanette MacDonald died on January 14, 1965 of heart disease. Her husband, Gene Raymond, was with her throughout her prolonged illness. At her memorial service her recordings of "Ave Maria" and "Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life" were broadcast outside the chapel for the benefit of those who came to pay their respects. She had been a staunch Republican supporter, and her honorary pallbearers included Richard Nixon, former presidents Eisenhower and Truman, Chief Justice Earl Warren, and Ronald Reagan.

By the end of the twentieth century, Jeanette MacDonald had become an enduring legend, the memory of her soprano voice and beguiling screen persona kept alive by television. The old-fashioned innocence and pure corn of her films with Nelson Eddy have become objects of affectionate ridicule, best summed up by *New York Times* critic Judith Crist who, in writing of *Naughty Marietta*, said, "When these two profiles come together to sing 'Ah, Sweet Mystery of Life', it's beyond camp, it's in a realm of its own."

—William A. Everett

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MacDonald, John D. (1916-1986)

Known as the creator of the bestselling Travis McGee series of detective novels, John D. MacDonald gained most of his fame and fortune from writing paperback originals. He moved into paperbacks in 1950, after turning out stories for the pulps since leaving the service in 1946. The pulps were fading away in the postwar years, while 25 cent books were burgeoning, and the prolific MacDonald was able to take advantage of this growing new market. Between his first hard-boiled thriller, *The Brass Cupcake*, in 1950 and his first McGee novel, *The Deep Blue Goodbye*, in 1964, he'd written over 40 novels. He went on to publish many more, including a total of 21 featuring McGee. Many of them were bestsellers. MacDonald was a good writer, respected by readers, reviewers, and fellow writers alike, and he always managed to inject considerable social criticism into his books. McGee, who owned a boat and lived in Florida, was himself a sort of floating private eye.

—Ron Goulart

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Macfadden, Bernarr (1868-1954)

Publisher, aspiring politician, and professional eccentric: all of these labels might describe Bernarr Macfadden, one of the characters who populated the American cultural scene of the twentieth century. However, although Macfadden made his fortune publishing the phenomenally successful *True Story*, he requested that his tombstone

would read simply, if not modestly, "the father of physical culture." He was in fact very proud of his publishing successes; however, he always hoped that he would be remembered primarily for his advocacy of modern principles for good health (pro-vegetarianism, pro-exercise, anti-smoking). Ironically, in light of the fact that some of his physical health principles do now appear to have been prophetic, Macfadden was always viewed as a quack. His preference for spectacularly ill-conceived cures (ranging from dunking ailing infants in ice cold water, fasting for days, and refusing all conventional medical care), in tandem with his penchant for publicity stunts of dubious taste (such as publishing photographs of himself and his family half-nude), made him a laughing stock in the first half of the century. His anti-prudery, pro-sexual liberalization stance merely added to his contemporary disrepute. Thus, ultimately, Bernarr Macfadden has not been remembered for his work as the self-proclaimed guru of "physical culture," but remains famous for the role he played as an enormously successful publisher, and infamous as one of the most peculiar popular icons ever to grace the American scene.

During the 1920s, Macfadden made a huge name for himself as the publisher, first of *True Story*, then of the whole stable of "True" magazines (*True Romance*, *True Experience*, *True Detective*), and finally, of the doomed daily New York newspaper, *The Graphic*. Riding on the waves of these successes, he attempted to further his career in the fields of physical culture and of politics. Unfortunately, in these, his favored public arenas, Macfadden's failures proved as grand as his successes. By the 1940s, the publisher had not only failed in every one of his various bids for public office, but had also lost his publishing empire, his wife and family, and even the support of the many working-class Americans who had once admired him—although they wouldn't vote for him. The finale to Macfadden's story was not a happy one, but the man himself remained undaunted. In 1949, on his 81st birthday, he made a parachute jump in front of his new, 42-year-old wife. In that same year, as in the years that preceded it and those that followed, millions of Americans continued to buy *True Story*. And, after a fashion that would have very much pleased Macfadden, today we see the realization of his most cherished and personal dream in the cult of the quest for perfect bodies and perfect health that has overtaken late twentieth-century America. The name Bernarr Macfadden may conjure up a comical image, but some of his ideas have endured.

Born in 1868 in the Ozarks, Macfadden was a child of poverty. He spent his early years working at odd jobs and moving from the home of one relative to another. His father died when he was very young, and his mother, who was too ill to care for her child most of the time, died when the boy was 11. A skinny, sickly child, he almost succumbed to tuberculosis in his youth, but after his recovery, he determined that he would never again be weak or ill and thereafter devoted his life to the pursuit of good health. The young Macfadden started working out at gymnasiums, a hobby which eventually led to jobs as director of athletics at a small college in Missouri, manager of a gym in St. Louis, and eventually to the establishment of his own gym in New York City. In 1898, he began publication of the magazine, *Physical Culture*. In that magazine, Macfadden frequently railed against traditional medicine, a move that would pit him in a permanent battle with the American Medical Association. However, the magazine was modestly successful and enabled him to pursue other dreams.

In the early years of the twentieth century, the publisher established a series of cheap vegetarian restaurants in New York City,



Bernarr Macfadden

offering the poor nourishment at a price they could afford, and in 1905, he established an alternative community, a physical culture “city” at Spotswood, New Jersey. The community was a failure. Where Macfadden had envisaged 30,000 healthy Americans, there were merely 200 devotees who lived at subsistence level while working night and day trying to build their “city.” Meanwhile, Macfadden, who rarely lived at the site (leaving his wife and his secretary/mistress to run the venture), continued with his physical culture crusades. He mounted a “physical culture” exhibition at Madison Square Garden, resulting in his first run-in with Anthony Comstock’s Society for the Suppression of Vice. Although Macfadden was released after it became clear that his “obscene” models were actually wearing flesh-colored tights, he was never again free of the anti-vice society’s keen attention. Soon after, Macfadden was arrested when he published a serialized story in *Physical Culture* about the dangers of venereal disease (a tragic but entertaining tale of a young man’s downfall). This time Macfadden was found guilty on obscenity charges and sentenced to two years of hard labor. In 1911, after years of appeals, he was pardoned, though not exonerated, by President Taft. All his life he would declare that his publishing, and other work, was dedicated to the eradication of dangerous prudery. In his time,

that stance was increasingly viewed as little more than a cover for the propagation and support of pornography and debauchery. Whatever the case, Macfadden came to be most famous for his exposure of the sexual realities and secrets of American society.

In 1919, he achieved his first really great success with the publication of *True Story*. The magazine, which presented first-hand confessions of sex and other sins, was enormously popular with its young working-class audience, and Macfadden began to make his first millions as his magazine achieved its first million readers. Characteristically, he used the money from *True Story* to pursue a series of other strange ventures. In 1924, he launched his first newspaper, *The Graphic*, which he imagined as a crusading tell-all newspaper “for the people, by the people, and of the people.” Walter Winchell got his start as a gossip columnist at the *Graphic*. At first the newspaper, humorously dubbed “the pornographic” was a great success, but financial mismanagement led to its demise in the 1930s. However, during the 1920s, it seemed as if Macfadden had the Midas touch. Believing his own publicity, he began to imagine himself a great American leader, and attempted to enter politics, hoping eventually to run for president. He failed in bids to become the mayor of New York, governor of Florida, and “secretary for health” (a position he

hoped Roosevelt might establish with him in mind). As part of his political image, he trained 30 of Mussolini's soldiers in the principles of physical culture, almost at the same time that he began publication of a magazine edited by Eleanor Roosevelt entitled *Babies, Babies, Babies*. The Roosevelts, however, dumped Macfadden as they became increasingly aware of his embarrassingly peculiar and eclectic interests.

Ultimately, all of Macfadden's efforts to enter politics were spectacularly unsuccessful, not to mention personally damaging. Having invested so much money and time in promoting his public ambitions, he lost control of his personal affairs, and allowed minority stockholders to gain increasing control of *True Story*. When, in 1941, they accused him of using the magazine's money to fund his campaigns, and of fudging circulation figures, he was forced to relinquish his control of the company. At home, things were even worse. Macfadden had been a strong patriarch, forcing his family (including the many children named in his image, such as Byrnic, Braunda, and Byron) to live by strict physical culture principles. Eventually, his wife Mary revolted. Although Macfadden claimed that he wished to divorce Mary because she had become too fat for his healthy taste, she cited his refusal to allow her a normal life and his determination that she should continue to bear children even when her pregnancies were considered life-threatening, as reasons for their divorce. In 1954, Mary Macfadden wrote what should be considered one of the first celebrity exposes, in which she claimed Macfadden was a bad father, a fraud, a semi-fascist, and a generally all-round bad guy. Devastated by his former wife's betrayal, he died the following year of an attack of jaundice precipitated, ironically, by a three-day fast.

Bernarr Macfadden died a penniless failure. Yet, in spite of his several reversals of fortune, he managed to place himself permanently on the historical map of American culture. Many of the cultural values he tried to sell have found a market. *True Story* endures today, while the growth of talk shows suggests an ongoing American penchant for the public confessional. The sexual liberalization of American society, if only in the conservative terms that Macfadden imagined it, is a *fait accompli*. Many of his key health principles now enjoy widespread support, and there has even been a revival of scholarly interest in Macfadden's work as a publisher, physical health proponent, and spokesperson for the voiceless. Scholars do debate the value of Macfadden's contributions, and where one sees the championing of causes and the merits of certain aspects of his particular philosophy of "physical culture," another sees vicious demagoguery or the exploitation of the ignorant and innocent. Pornographer or sexual liberal, champion of the poor or purveyor of the worst in popular taste—unsurprisingly, there is little room for agreement over the contradictions inherent in the story of Bernarr Macfadden, and the fact that the debate continues would give Macfadden heart. For, as he once said when questioned about the negative publicity he received, "They're laughing Henry Ford into a greater success the same way." In his heyday, Macfadden saw no need for critical approval. All the affirmation he needed was to watch the circulation figures of *True Story* magazine grow. The popular vote of his readers was Macfadden's confirmation of his own success.

—Jackie Hatton

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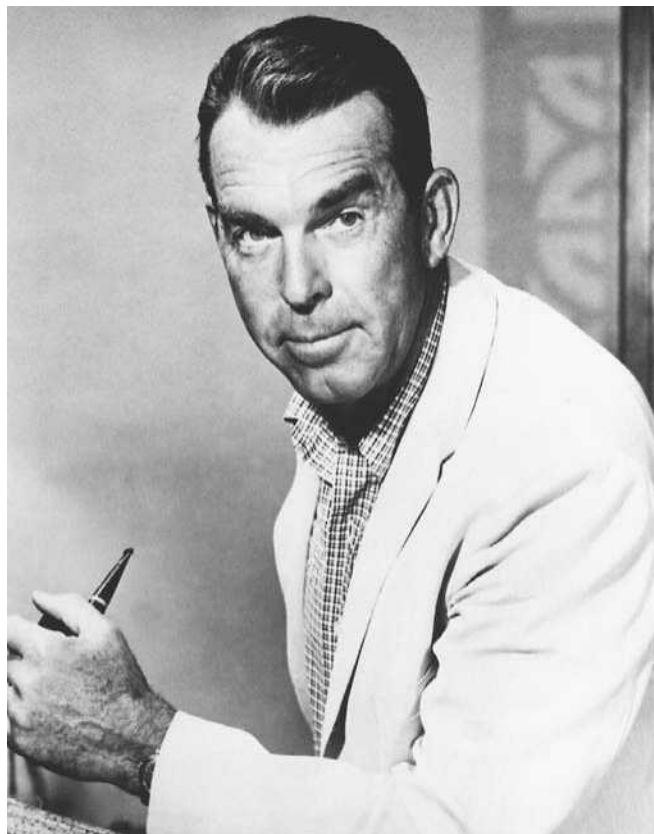
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MacMurray, Fred (1908-1991)

Though never a first string actor, Fred MacMurray had a long and successful career, stretching from the 1930s to the 1970s, encompassing both film and television roles. MacMurray made his name playing a particular type of male lead—amiable, upbeat, and anxious to please—that was easily adapted, in later life, to playing father figures on television and in children's films. On a number of occasions, however, MacMurray was furnished with roles that allowed a questioning and undermining of his more familiar persona.



Fred MacMurray

Likeable and pleasant looking, MacMurray appeared regularly in the 1930s and 1940s romantic comedies (working nine different occasions for Mitchell Leisen, one of the most expert directors of light farce), playing the affable leading man opposite Hollywood's top actresses. It is perhaps a mark of his percolation into the American consciousness as an exemplification of the ordinary, wholesome American male that made him the perfect physical model for a new comic book hero of the period: Captain Marvel. However, despite this and his constant film work throughout the war, he never rose to star status, appearing in comedies, adventures and routine melodramas whose caliber increasingly suggested the decline of his drawing power. Yet it was also in this period of decline that MacMurray sporadically played some of his best roles, markedly against his previous wholesome type. Billy Wilder had already shown the possibilities of this in *Double Indemnity* (1944), a film in which MacMurray plays a salesman giving in to love and greed. The morally inadequate naval lieutenant of *The Caine Mutiny* (1954), the corrupt policemen of *Pushover* (1954) and the serial adulterer of *The Apartment* (1960) also provided MacMurray with interesting roles, which gave him the opportunity to stretch as an actor. Nevertheless, MacMurray's career fell into decline until rescued by a series of films for Disney—the best remembered being *The Absent-Minded Professor* (1961)—and the TV series *My Three Sons*—one of television's longest-lasting sitcoms, running from 1960 until 1972—both of which depended on MacMurray's unthreatening bemusement and fatherly trustworthiness.

Through the majority of his films, MacMurray created the persona of a gentle, likeable, wholesome, All-American guy who is anxious to please and to make something of his life and who, despite suffering some setbacks, always succeeds. This is a role he carried off perfectly well in light comedy (whether a 1930s Leisen farce or a 1960s Disney kid's film), and it is in this role he became a familiar face (if not a familiar name) in Hollywood film and then on television. However, in more dramatic roles he was less convincing, particularly if called upon to be a tough guy or to show moral fiber. A good example of this can be found in the thriller *Above Suspicion* (1943), in which the persona he had mastered appears too fragile in a harsher, less sympathetic world. However, it is exactly this fragility that director Billy Wilder was able to bring out of MacMurray, guiding the veteran actor to his best performances. As an insurance salesman in *Double Indemnity* and as an advertising executive in *The Apartment*, MacMurray's characters simultaneously believe in and use the good guy persona to sell themselves. However, what seemed upstanding and trustworthy at first becomes shifty and rather seedy, and that which was marked by sincerity and integrity reveals itself as mere veneer without moral backbone. Ultimately, it is because MacMurray so successfully made his name playing the charming young salesman or the admirable father figure that, in a tougher environment, he made such an apt fraudster, murderer, and adulterer.

MacMurray made about two films a year for forty years and the majority of these were light fare celebrating romance, the status quo, and the will to succeed in the American male. From callow youth to absent-minded professor, from kindly romantic lead to archetypal dad, MacMurray typified a comfortable and undemanding view of American manhood. Yet, on occasion, and exactly because of his familiarity, he gave disturbing performances that questioned the moral depth of his own brand of pre-packaged wholesome, All-American sincerity.

—Kyle Smith

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Macon, Uncle Dave (1870-1952)

Uncle Dave Macon, singer, songwriter, and banjo player, was one of the earliest pioneers of country music. Born in 1870 in Smart Station, Tennessee, David Harrison Macon grew up in Nashville in the boarding house run by his parents that was frequented by traveling vaudeville musicians. From them, Macon learned how to play the five-string banjo and numerous old folk songs. However, he grew up to earn his living in the hauling business and performed solely as an amateur at local events until he was discovered at the age of 48 by a talent scout for Loew's theaters. His success brought an invitation to join the new *Grand Ole Opry* radio show in Nashville in 1926, and he quickly became one of its most popular stars, both as a solo performer and with his band, the Fruit Jar Drinkers. "Uncle" Dave was a key link between traditional Southern music and modern country music, introducing nineteenth-century folk styles to modern audiences with songs such as "Way Down the Old Plank Road" and "Roll Down the Line." He played until his death in 1952, and he is honored by the annual Uncle Dave Macon Days three-day festival in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, which features the National Old-Time Banjo championships.

—Timothy Berg

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Macy's

If New York City is the capitol of American consumerism, then the Macy's department store is its White House. The self-proclaimed largest store in the world, Macy's has been located on Herald Square at 34th St. in Manhattan since 1902. Though Macy's now has retail outlets in shopping centers throughout the nation, the New York City store is a national landmark, its windows spectacularly decorated for the holidays. The Herald Square store, much more than the retailer's other stores, represents the permanence that has made Macy's an American tradition.

Macy's role in American culture has evolved remarkably since Zaccheus Macy and his family operated their first store on Nantucket Island. Throughout the late 1700s, Macy's store filled the general needs of the American whalers. While the clothing selection has most likely changed a bit, the retail structure that made Macy's work was already in place.

Macy's obtained an unusual position of prominence among American retailers in 1926 when it began hosting New York City's Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade. The huge balloons which parade



Macy's in Herald Square decorated for the Christmas holidays.

around Manhattan and by the Herald Square store have provided an annual reminder of the store's influence. Late in the century, each phase of the parade came under the scrutiny of a media intent on glorifying the holiday tradition, from the filling of the mammoth balloons to the holders who keep the five-story-high Big Bird under control. The television comedy *Seinfeld* even shaped an episode around the characters' interest in serving as holders in the Macy's Parade.

While some of Macy's efforts look to establish the store as an American tradition, expansion into new areas fueled the store's future. After years of hanging back, Macy's and other well-known American retailers embraced a new marketplace: the World Wide Web. With 1.33 million visitors in 1998, Macys.com continues the retailer's long history of serving the American consumer.

—Brian Black

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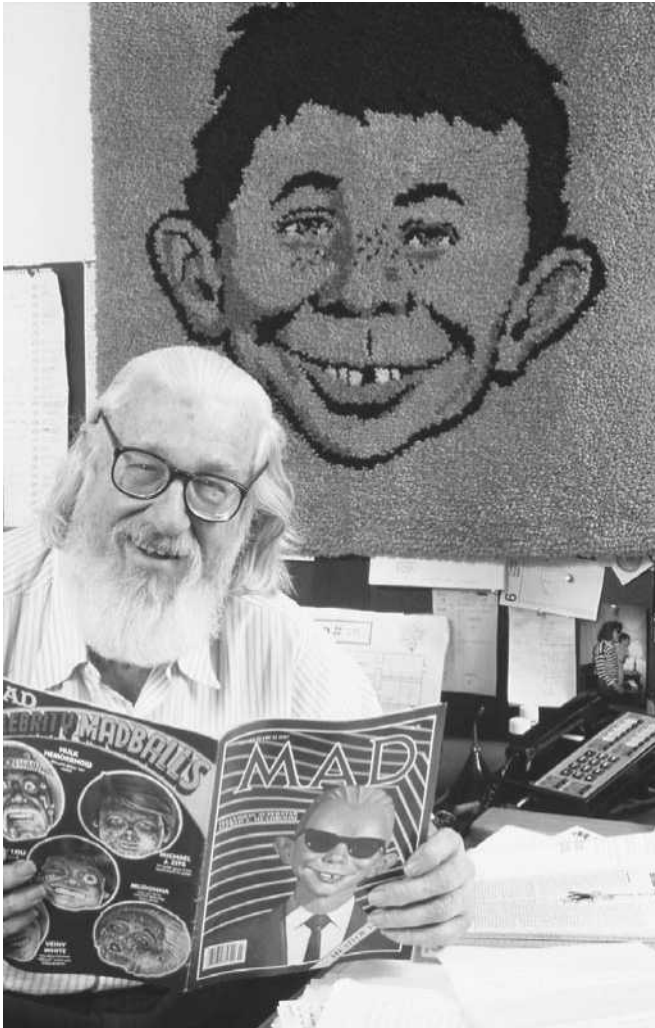
MAD Magazine

The phenomenon of *MAD* began as a comic book that poked fun at other comic books, but soon became a full-fledged magazine that poked fun at anything and everything. Although a product of the conservative, repressive 1950s, *MAD* was unique among contemporaneous periodicals—or any other media, for that matter—in its zeal to skewer sacred cows. Its satire, lampoons, put-ons and take-offs presented via phantasmagorically comical artwork, made *MAD* a particular success among younger readers. Between the *MAD* fans who came of age with a jaundiced view of the worlds of advertising, politics, and culture, and the *MAD* fans who grew up and actually joined those worlds, the magazine can be said to have become an enormous influence on contemporary American society. Moreover, *MAD*'s influence on entertainment can be seen on everything from the television show *Laugh-In* to music videos on MTV. Unlike many magazines, *MAD* continued to thrive at the end of the twentieth century.

William M. Gaines, born in 1922, was the son of Max Gaines, publisher of comic books under the banner of "EC" or "Educational Comics." When Max died in a boating accident in 1947, William inherited the family business. Under the younger Gaines' supervision, Educational Comics was re-christened Entertaining Comics, and would eventually become known primarily for a line of gritty comics featuring crime, war, science-fiction, and—especially—horror. In the midst of the McCarthy era, Gaines' new grisly books seemed shocking in comparison to other comics. Although there was dark humor in *Tales from the Crypt* and *The Vault of Horror*, EC's war comics—*Two-Fisted Tales* and *Frontline Combat*—distinguished themselves by a seriousness of purpose and a conscious desire to present a deglamorized view of warfare. As traditional comics became darker in tone during the late twentieth century—with Batman evolving into The Dark Knight, and the plots and visuals of many comics resembling R-rated movies, such as EC titles as *Tales From the Crypt* and *The Vault of Horror* no longer seemed controversial.

Harvey Kurtzman (1924—), the writer and editor of *Two-Fisted Tales* and *Frontline*, had been educated at New York's High School of Music and Art. When Kurtzman petitioned Gaines for an increase in income, Gaines, who had noted Kurtzman's sly wit creeping into stories written for teen and western titles, offered Kurtzman the opportunity to create a bi-monthly humor book—a *comic* comic book. Although no one is certain how it came to be titled, the first issue of *Tales Calculated to Drive You MAD* was published in autumn of 1952. Kurtzman lampooned the comics he himself liked least, the crime and horror titles. What immediately made *MAD* unique, aside from its irreverent, irrepressible spirit, was the way in which the text and art sparked a comic alchemy which neither could have achieved alone. When Kurtzman's stories were put together with the drawings of Will Elder and John Severin, Jack Davis and Wally Wood, the result resembled a cross between Hieronymous Bosch and the Borscht Belt: The comic frames were littered with visual and verbal non-sequiturs, and the distinct influence of Jewish humor was found on every page, exposing many impressionable middle American children for the first time to Yiddish words like "furshlugginer."

The first issue of *MAD* was far from a success. But by the fourth issue—with its "Superduperman" parody of Superman—*MAD* started to gain popularity. Although Superman's owner, DC Comics, threatened to bring a lawsuit, nothing came of it. Thereafter, *MAD* lampooned and parodied many of the comics with whom it shared newsstand rack space. America's typical teen, "Archie," became



Publisher William Gaines reads a copy of his *MAD Magazine*.

juvenile delinquent “Starchie.” Donald Duck became Darnold Duck, finally wreaking his revenge against arch rival, “Mickey Rhodent.” Wonder Woman became “Woman Wonder,” whose boyfriend, Steve Adore, gets a prurient thrill whenever she changes into her super-heroine uniform inside her glass plane. Batman became “Bat Boy,” and Robin became “Rubin,” who discovered to his peril that his companion was “no furshlugginer ordinary bat boy,” he was “a vampire bat boy.” And virtually everybody else in comicdom became Melvin—“Melvin of the Apes,” “Little Orphan Melvin,” “Smilin’ Melvin,” etc. Ever vigilant for new targets, Kurtzman and company cast a wider net and started giving the *MAD* treatment to television shows, with such parodies as “Dragged Net” and “Howdy Doit”; movies, with “Stalag 18,” “Hah! Noon,” “Ping Pong,” and “From Eternity Back to Here.” Classic literature did not escape Kurtzman’s wit: Kurtzman presented the poetry of Poe and others verbatim, but illustrated with incongruous lunacy by *MAD*’s artists. Kurtzman and company even had the audacity to tackle the Army-McCarthy hearings in “What’s My Shine,” which treated the controversial Senate proceedings as if they were a TV game show.

Soon *MAD* was more popular with children and teens than some of the comics it had spoofed. Its unprecedented and unexpected

success led to a host of imitators, none lasting more than a few issues. *MAD*’s popularity would eventually prove a life-saver for Gaines, who, along with other comics publishers, began to come under fire in 1953 from journalists, social critics, and senators for his line of crime and horror comics. The upshot of all this unwelcome attention on the industry was the formation of the Comics Code Authority, which Gaines refused to join, but which enacted a ban against certain words in comics, words such as “horror,” “terror,” and “crime,” words which provided Gaines’ EC with 80 percent of its profits. Pressured by distributors, Gaines eventually abandoned his horror titles. Since *MAD* was just about his only successful title left and since *MAD* did not conform to the Comics Code, Gaines came to an inevitable decision: upgrade *MAD* from comic book to magazine.

In 1955 *MAD* became a magazine, and Al Feldstein became its editor, following disputes between Kurtzman and Gaines. (Kurtzman went on to a long and eventually profitable association with Hugh Hefner.) As a magazine, *MAD* proved more popular than ever. Gracing its covers—usually painted by Kelly Freas—was the magazine’s gap-toothed mascot, Alfred E. Neumann, aka the “What, Me Worry?” kid. The magazine continued to print comics and movie parodies, but added guest contributions from such media notables as Ernie Kovacs, Bob and Ray, Jean Shepherd, and Danny Kaye. Nevertheless, the heart of the magazine was the material contributed by its staff writers, referred to on the masthead as “the usual gang of idiots.” Anything on the American scene, from commerce to culture, was fair game. A parody of the latest hit movie might be juxtaposed with a *MAD* visit to the new phenomenon called Super Markets. The magazine was filled with ads—none of them real, except the ones for *MAD* T-shirts and subscriptions. *MAD*’s policy of never accepting advertising bolstered its position as gadfly and debunker. When Salem Cigarettes, for example, had a slew of magazine and TV ads featuring young lovers in pastel, pastoral settings, *MAD* made its own pastel pastorate, in which a young couple was floating their “Sailem” cigarette packs on the burbling brook; the headline: “Sail ‘em—don’t inhale ‘em!” Peppering each issue of *MAD* would be such nonsense words and catch phrases as “potrzebie,” “I had one grunch but the eggplant over there,” and “It’s crackers to slip a rozzer the dropsy in snide.” When one reader’s letter begged *MAD* to explain this last sentence, *MAD*’s editor helpfully replied: “‘It’s crackers to slip a rozzer the dropsy in snide’ is good advice.”

MAD’s general tone of lunacy and irreverence proved infectious. To defend itself against a *MAD*-corrupted generation which had learned to be cynical about marketing ploys, Madison Avenue gradually came to produce more and more ads and commercials which were funny on purpose. It might not be a stretch to consider that those same ad-wary youngsters also grew up to take with a grain of salt the pronouncements of politicians—particularly those politicians who were trying to put those youngsters into uniform and pack them off to Vietnam.

If *The New Yorker* had the dark humor of Charles Addams, *MAD* had its “maddest artist,” Don Martin, whose bizarre fantasies with lantern-jawed, flexible-footed figures have become a staple of the magazine, as has Sergio Aragones’ “Spy vs. Spy.” Considering the primacy of cartooning to *MAD*, it is curious and perhaps unfortunate that no attempt has ever been made to replicate the magazine as an animated film. *MAD*’s venture into the movies, *Up the Academy*, was an embarrassing would-be imitation of *Animal House*. On the other hand, an earlier project for the stage, *The MAD Show*, was a success in New York and on tour, and has been cited as a precursor to the *Laugh-In* television series. Certainly some of the “mad” spirit has been

invested into the *Saturday Night Live* show, and *MAD TV*. *MAD* has permeated American popular culture in many unexpected ways, even appearing on one of Fred Astaire's celebrated TV specials, in which Astaire danced a duet with Barrie Chase while wearing an Alfred E. Neumann mask. Even without Kurtzman and Gaines, *MAD* continued to be popular at the end of the twentieth century, delighting new generations of youngsters who eventually grow up—unlike *MAD*, the perpetual adolescent of periodicals.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Madden, John (1936—)

John Madden is easily identifiable to several generations of football fans. To those who grew up watching football in the 1960s and 1970s, John Madden is best remembered as the fiery, extremely successful coach of the Oakland Raiders. To those who first began watching football in the 1980s, John Madden is the colorful commentator who can explain the most complicated football in layman's terms. To children of the 1990s, John Madden is the name behind a popular football video game. But John Madden has been more than a coach-turned-broadcaster-turned promoter; he has literally *taught* the game for the last thirty years.

Born on April 10, 1936, in Austin, Minnesota, Madden and his family moved to the San Francisco suburb of Daly City, California, when John was five. In high school, he excelled in baseball and football. He played the latter as a two-way tackle at California Polytechnic College, San Luis Obispo (1957-58), earning all-conference honors. Drafted by the Philadelphia Eagles in the 21st round of the 1958 NFL draft, Madden's playing career ended shortly afterwards with a knee injury. Rather than immediately returning to California, Madden remained in Philadelphia where he learned the basics of football from the Eagles' Hall of Fame quarterback, Norm Van Brocklin.

Madden eventually returned to California, where he earned a Bachelor's degree in 1959 and a Master's degree in 1961 from Cal Poly. From 1960 to 1963, he coached at Hancock Junior College (CA), first as an assistant and then later as head coach. From 1964 to 1966, he served as defensive coordinator under famed coach Don Coryell for the Aztecs of San Diego State College, then the number one small college team in the nation.

In 1967, Madden accepted a job as the linebacker coach for the Oakland Raiders of the American Football League (AFL). Two years

later, at the age of 33, he became the Raiders' head coach, the youngest in AFL history. He took his team to the AFL championship game in his first season, but lost to the Kansas City Chiefs. In 1970, the AFL merged into the National Football League (NFL), with Oakland playing in the Western Division in the new American Football Conference (AFC). During the next nine seasons, Madden's Raiders won the AFC West seven times. In January 1977 (1976 season), Madden led his team to a 32-14 victory over the Minnesota Vikings in Super Bowl XI, becoming the youngest coach to win a Super Bowl. For his efforts, he was named Coach of the Year by the Washington (D.C.) Touchdown Club. Following the 1978 season, Madden retired from coaching.

John Madden's ten-year professional coaching career was one of the more notable in football history. He compiled an impressive record of 112-39-7 (.731). At the time no other NFL coach had won 100 games as quickly. His offensive line was replete with Hall of Famers: Jim Otto, Gene Upshaw, and Art Shell are all enshrined at Canton. On the sidelines, Madden was easily identifiable. Vocal and emotional, the 6-foot-4 inch, 270-pound redheaded Madden could often be seen ranting, raving, and flailing his arms, often at the referees; he was indeed the direct opposite of the conservative, composed Cowboys coach Tom Landry. Moreover, Madden coached at a time when the AFL/AFC was trying to gain legitimacy in the eyes of the older, more storied NFL/NFC. Madden's success contributed to a newfound respect for the junior conference.

In 1980, Madden took his enthusiasm for football into the broadcasting booth with CBS Sports. He quickly became one of football's more popular commentator-analysts, and certainly its most animated. In 1981, Pat Summerall joined the broadcast team; he and Madden have worked together for a record eighteen seasons. Madden also instituted his now famous on-screen chalkboard, on which he explained previous plays to the viewers. In 1994, he switched networks, inking a four-year, \$32 million contract with Fox, a lucrative deal which, at the time, surpassed any NFL player's contract. Since 1982, Madden has won eleven Outstanding Sports Personality/Analyst Emmy Awards. He has also received the Touchdown Club of America's Golden Mike Award, as well as twice being named the Sports Personality of the Year by the American Sportscasters Association (1985, 1992).

Yet Madden is not another coach-turned-broadcaster. His unique popularity lies in his ability to translate his infinite football wisdom into language intelligible to the average home viewer. While many commentators and pre-game shows analyze the details of the game, Madden unabashedly praises the grimy and gritty hustle of players; he names an annual All-Madden team to honor the roughest, meanest, fiercest, and most competitive players. He also hands out a "game turkey" to the most deserving player at the annual Thanksgiving Day game. Madden's "just one of the boys" image has contributed in part to his status as a football icon.

Madden is also known for his well-publicized fear of flying. During his coaching career, he flew because practice schedules and time constraints demanded it. His broadcasting career, though, afforded him more time to travel from game to game. Initially he traveled via train before Greyhound provided him with a custom-built bus known as the Madden Cruiser. From the Madden Cruiser, the burly broadcaster often holds pre-game tailgating parties, yet another reason he is a fan favorite.

In addition to broadcasting, Madden endorses several products, including Ace Hardware, Outback Steak House, and Dr. Pepper. He also lends his name to EA Sportsline *John Madden Football* games,



John Madden during his tenure as head coach of the Oakland Raiders.

the best-selling sports video/computer game of all-time. He is also the author of several books.

As a coach, commentator, and even video game endorser, John Madden has brought football to generations of fans in an entertaining, yet highly intelligent manner. He is a proven teacher of athletes and spectators alike. In essence, John Madden has been the football coach for the common person.

—Matt Kerr

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Made-for-Television Movies

Beginning as merely an inexpensive way to fill time in a network's schedule in the 1960s, the made-for-television movie has

grown into a staple of network and cable television programming. More made-for-television movies are broadcast on network television each year than movies are released in theaters, and cable channels such as USA Network, Lifetime, and HBO all rely heavily on their own original movies to attract audiences. Although there are inadequacies inherent in the television movie formula—budgets are lower than for theatrical releases, commercial interruptions are distracting, and the television medium is more likely to restrict content than is the motion picture—made-for-television movies have risen in quality and critical acclaim over the years, so that now a made-for-television movie can be quite prestigious, justifiably attracting large audiences among television viewers who are looking for material that they might not find elsewhere.

The first made-for-television movie was planned to be *The Killers*, a 1964 picture directed by Don Siegel and a remake of the 1946 film noir of the same name. Upon completion, the movie was found too violent to be shown on television and was released theatrically instead. *See How They Run*, a thriller about three children being pursued by hitmen, became the first made-for-television film when it aired on NBC in October 1964. Both *The Killers* and *See How They Run* were produced by Universal Studios, the company that pioneered the made-for-television concept and produced the vast majority of them in the first few years of television movies. From the

1964-65 television season through the 1968-69 season there were 38 television movies broadcast; 29 of them were made by Universal. The studio saw four advantages to producing made-for-television movies: many of its television movies also doubled as pilots for future series (*Ironside*; *Columbo*; *Dragnet*; *Marcus Welby, M.D.*; *The Name of the Game*; *The Bold Ones*; *Night Gallery*; and *The Outsider* were all introduced by Universal in this way in the 1960s; so were *Hawaii Five-O* and *Medical Center*, but not by Universal); made-for-television movies could also be released theatrically in other countries, which Universal frequently did with great financial success; an above-average movie designated for television could easily be diverted to American theaters instead (in the 1960s Universal released 17 motion pictures that began as made-for-television movies); and some of Universal's television movies were remakes of its older films, which meant the studio could reuse props, costumes, and sets (the second made-for-television movie, for example, *The Hanged Man*, was a remake of *Ride the Pink Horse*).

By 1969 the television movie had become so popular that ABC scheduled *The Movie of the Week*, a series of films all of which were made for television. At that time, suspense and comedy films dominated, not the social problem movies that later became standard. Male leads were commonplace, usually middle-aged performers who had had successful television careers in the 1950s and 1960s; performers such as John Forsythe, Robert Stack, and Lloyd Bridges became frequent television movie stars. *The Movie of the Week* itself ran for only 90 minutes, with commercials, meaning that the average ABC made-for-television movie was less than an hour and fifteen minutes long. Two-hour movies were still common, however, and *Vanished*, produced by Universal from Fletcher Knebel's political thriller, ran for two consecutive nights in March 1971 for a total of four hours, the first multi-part made-for-television movie. Other noteworthy television movies of this period included *Brian's Song*, about Chicago Bears running back Brian Piccolo and his death from cancer; *My Sweet Charlie*, a film about a close friendship between a black attorney and a pregnant white woman, a role that won Patty Duke the first Emmy ever given to a made-for-television movie; *That Certain Summer*, a sensitive depiction of homosexuality; and *The Night Stalker*, which starred Darren McGavin as reporter Carl Kolchak, who discovers a vampire is loose in Las Vegas. *The Night Stalker* became the highest rated made-for-television movie to date when it aired in 1972, and it is still one of the highest rated television movies ever made, as well as being the acknowledged inspiration for *The X-Files*.

NBC developed a slight variation of the made-for-television movie in 1971 when it introduced *The NBC Mystery Movie*. This was a rotating series of television movies with recurring characters, meaning that each series would be seen once every three or four weeks. When *The NBC Mystery Movie* began, it consisted of *Columbo*, *McMillan and Wife*, and *McCloud*. All three programs were produced by Universal, and all three had appeared previously as made-for-television movies. NBC added a second *Mystery Movie* the next year with three new rotating series, *Madigan*, *Cool Million*, and *Banacek*; and over the next five years many other programs appeared as part of the *Mystery Movie* series of television movies, none of them as successful as the original three. The rotating television movie format remained popular and was still in use in the 1990s.

In the late 1970s the content of made-for-television movies changed somewhat, with women stars becoming more common and some movies dealing with serious social issues. Elizabeth Montgomery emerged as the "Queen of TV movies" with her frequent

appearances in the 1970s and 1980s; she starred in 22 television movies before her death in 1995. (Montgomery's primary competition for television movie queen is Jane Seymour, who had had roles in 39 made-for-television movies or mini-series by 1998; other contenders include Melissa Gilbert with 35; Meredith Baxter with 34; Cheryl Ladd with 27; and Jaclyn Smith with 25.) Perhaps the most acclaimed "social problem" made-for-television movie was *Sybil*, the story of a multiple-personality victim that won an Emmy for Sally Field. Other television movies addressed spousal abuse (*Battered, Intimate Strangers*), rape (*A Case of Rape*), and the physically challenged (*Special Olympics*). One of the most influential of the social dramas was *Walking through Fire*, a 1979 made-for-television movie about a woman with Hodgkin's disease. The success of this movie inspired many similar television films in the 1980s, which some critics sardonically referred to as "disease of the week" movies. In addition to the social problem films of this period, there were many quality literary adaptations in the late 1970s, among them *Captains Courageous*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and *Too Far to Go*, based on a series of John Updike stories. Many of the literary adaptations were produced by Hallmark Cards as part of its *Hallmark Hall of Fame* series.

Not all television movies of the late 1970s were serious dramas. A generally escapist air permeated network television during this period, and many television movies of the late 1970s reflected that escapism. Action movies were fairly common, supernatural thrillers appeared occasionally, and the success of *Charlie's Angels*, a television movie before it was a series, led to several "jiggle" movies. Typical movies of the time included *Sex and the Married Woman*, *The Initiation of Sarah*, *The Seeding of Sarah Burns*, *Exo-Man*, *The Spell*, *Institute for Revenge*, *Gold of the Amazon Women*, and the highest-rated made-for-television movie of the 1978-1979 season, *Dallas Cowboy Cheerleaders*, one of the first television movies to generate a sequel. Even some of the social problem dramas relied heavily on sensationalism; *Little Ladies of the Night*, a movie about teen prostitutes that remains one of the highest-rated television movies of all time, spent more time showing its cast in various stages of undress than it did addressing the problem of prostitution.

Another trend emerging in the 1970s was the television series revival. *Gilligan's Island*, *The Mod Squad*, and *Dobie Gillis* all were revived as television movies in the 1970s, a practice now quite common. A surprise success in 1979 was the television movie *Elvis*; airing against *Gone with the Wind* and *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest*, the dramatization of the life of Elvis Presley drew bigger audiences than either of the other movies. During the 1978-79 television season, more television movies aired on the three major television networks than were released in theaters. A decade later the ratio of television movies to theatrical movies was almost three to one.

The increasing trend toward serious drama resulted in two particularly controversial made-for-television movies in the early 1980s. *The Day After* depicted a nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the war's aftermath. The film was the subject of much debate before it even aired: some teachers and ministers encouraged families to watch it together and discuss it, nuclear freeze supporters applauded ABC's decision to air the film, and conservative critics feared that it might lead to a relaxed stance toward the Soviets. The movie did become the highest-rated television movie to that date and remains one of the highest rated movies, television or theatrical, ever broadcast. *Something about Amelia* focused on a teenage girl who suffers from an incestuous relationship with her father. The film was rather frank and certainly not innocuous family fare; the casting of *Cheers* star Ted Danson as the father

shocked some viewers. Television movies had certainly matured since their introduction in 1964; indeed, some critics argued that one was more likely to find rewarding drama on television than at the movie theater.

As HBO and other cable channels recognized the need for original programming, they also began making television movies. The first cable television movie, *The Terry Fox Story*, was made for HBO in 1983. Today that cable channel makes dozens of television movies each year, as does its rival, Showtime. HBO in particular has undertaken some ambitious projects, including a biography of Stalin starring Robert Duvall and an adaptation of Randy Shilts's history of AIDS research, *And the Band Played On*. Among basic cable channels, the USA Network is the largest producer of made-for-television movies. USA has been making original movies since 1989, and its 1990 film *The China Lake Murders* is the highest rated made-for-cable movie ever to be broadcast on a nonpremium channel.

—Randall Clark

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Madonna (1958—)

In late 1983, an unfamiliar, high, piercing female voice emerged on American pop radio with increasing and puzzling frequency. Shortly thereafter, a sexually obsessed, self-involved, and irregularly clad young woman writhed on music video screens in homes and in dance clubs in urban areas across the United States imploring “Everybody” to dance her dance of liberation. The intriguing figure with the jarring voice turned out to be a white neo-disco singer who frequented the bohemian enclaves of lower Manhattan during the early 1980s, seemingly just trying to make it in show business. When asked her real ambition, the young woman told a stunned Dick Clark: “To rule the world.” Madonna Louise Ciccone meant it. Over the course of the next decade, the self-proclaimed “Boy Toy” fought to dominate every corner of the entertainment world with seductive films, consistently successful music, and disturbingly magnetic public gestures, while at the same time expressing a more generous desire to convert everyone to her cause of personal freedom.

Madonna's rise to “world domination” did not come in a vacuum. The Bay City, Michigan native first appeared as a mere aftershock to a series of large and small pop explosions that rocked the music world during the 1980s. After Michael Jackson's thunderous transformation from former child prodigy to Elvis-sized icon, the next tremor came from thirtyish female singer Cyndi Lauper who couched her broad-based feminism in a cloak of gentle weirdness and cute, cuddly charm. Lauper was soon swept aside by the triumph of the young black musician, writer, producer, and singer from Minneapolis once called Prince, who pushed an ethos of sex as salvation in his film *Purple Rain*. While Prince had been performing and fomenting nervous unrest over his themes of overt sexuality at his Warner Bros. record label for several years, it wasn't until he found his place in the post-Jackson hysteria that he crossed over to the mainstream. Not long after Prince's biggest pop moment, the nearly middle-aged blue-collar rocker Bruce Springsteen found himself sucked into the post-Thriller whirlwind. Unlike artist's like Prince, Jackson, and Elvis



Madonna

Presley, whose fame seemed to cause them personal strife, Madonna seemed especially capable of handling her own rise to celebrity.

Madonna Ciccone had a bittersweet childhood in a suburban town in Michigan, losing her mother to breast cancer when Madonna was five years old. As a young adult, Madonna left her studies at the University of Michigan to pursue her career with vigor in New York. Seemingly impervious to most criticism, Madonna trusted her own instincts as she embarked on her own path.

Madonna's initial acceptance by the critical mainstream of rock was, to say the least, chilly. Madonna originally appeared too glossy, too egocentric for the left-leaning, humanist rock critical establishment. It was easy for such critics to like Prince—himself a sexually obsessed, ego-centric male ex-disco singer. He was described as “daring,” and “challenging.” He too had a decidedly less than charming voice, was capable of producing glossy records, yet his violence and machismo saved him from the scorn experienced by Madonna. Even his desire to leave R&B behind in favor of a rock style so whitened that MTV played his videos before they would touch those of the “too black” Michael Jackson earned him immediate praise as another great barrier-smasher in the rock pantheon. Prince was the critics' darling years before he hit it really big.

That Madonna accomplished similar maneuvers from the opposite direction initially earned her derision. When the general music

buying and listening public connected immediately with her, the dissenters wrote her off as a concoction of pure music-biz hype. By early 1985, however, this became an increasingly laborious task. After Madonna's first single, "Everybody," crossed over from the dance charts to *Billboard's* "Hot 100" and her first and second albums, *Madonna* and *Like a Virgin*, had become the latest post-Thriller sensations, she demanded some serious attention.

Madonna is the one performer of all those caught in the mid-1980s pop mania who used it successfully to make her point. Madonna relished the massive attention, knew how to use it to further her personal and artistic interests, and literally had no other ambition than to dominate popular entertainment for as long as possible. If it meant hiring Michael Jackson's manager, she did that; if it meant creating disconcerting publicity stunts that deliberately subverted religious, sexual, and racial mores, she also did that. "Unlike the others, I'd do anything/I'm not the same; I have no shame" she sang in "Burning Up," a single from *Madonna*, her first album. She courted mass attention and her pursuit of it became an essential part of her presentation. Madonna quickly found her voice and it was and remained for a long time a dead-on connection with her audience. Her work needed no further justification. Her personal striving, at first glance so redolent of an 1980s Reagan-era ethic, contrasted intriguingly with her clear ambition to share this sense of limitless possibility with her largely adolescent female audience.

Even as Madonna achieved sensation status, she continued to have critics. *Rolling Stone* magazine accused Madonna of having "one guiding emotion: ambition." While it is difficult to recall any male rocker taken to task for committing that particular infraction, *Rolling Stone* leveled a worse claim: that she had "used her boy-friends" in her climb to the top. "The men who have gotten close to her—tough guys a lot of them—have gotten their hearts broken as often as not." Unlike many other women, Madonna seemed aware of and able to use her sexuality to further her own ideas.

As her popularity increased, many tried to find comparisons and influences. Some tried to equate Madonna to Marilyn Monroe, especially given the 1984 "Material Girl" video, with her take on "Diamonds Are a Girl's Best Friend." But Madonna soon made it clear that she was really nothing at all like Monroe. Madonna projected an image of the self-possessed woman who will get out of life exactly what she wants regardless of what any man might want her to be. She conveyed a strength of will rarely matched by any other pop singer, woman or man.

Madonna had the ability to stir violent emotions. As the years progressed, she used this ability in increasingly daring ways. In one particularly audacious episode, Madonna used a 1989 video for the song "Like A Prayer" (also featured in a simultaneously released Pepsi-Cola commercial) to create a firestorm of barely suppressed racial and sexual anxiety. In the video, Madonna depicted a black man crucified for trying to save a white woman from a gang of white rapists. Catholics were outraged, and Pepsi pulled the more innocuous ad. With 1986's "Papa Don't Preach," Madonna offers an unorthodox pro-choice message rejecting abortion as her personal choice. In another 1986 video, Madonna played with a more serious taboo and depicted a pre-pubescent boy lusting after the sexually potent female pop star. In the early 1990s, Madonna depicted lesbianism in the video for "Like A Prayer," and suffered an interrogation of sorts on ABC's "Nightline" program. She later remarked in a taped interview with MTV that it felt like being called into "the principal's office." She acquitted herself by defending her first amendment rights to artistic expression on the program. By the early 1990s, everyone had

an opinion about Madonna. People were either attracted to her or violently repulsed by her. Some even felt themselves pulled in both directions at once.

But in her 1991 rockumentary *Truth or Dare*, Madonna seemed to lose her focus and simply tried to create controversy for its own sake. And though her book called, simply, *Sex*, featured a series of sexually explicit and sexually violent photographs, its publication elicited indifference instead of outrage. It wasn't that "she went too far," as some thought; it was more that she seemed to be going in circles, trapped in her own idea of her cultural significance.

She did recover from the episode, and continued to have consistent success during the mid-to-late 1990s, a time when many artists were having trouble selling records. By century's end, it was clear for the first time that perhaps Madonna's music was what mattered most of all. It did not take her long to recoup and redouble her efforts in this area. When she made films, she seriously considered the music. Her part in *Evita* remains a musical triumph before it is anything else. Despite her more controlled public presence after the birth of her first daughter in 1996, Madonna's defiance, her shamelessly violent sexuality, her basic honesty of spirit, as well as her ambition, continued to permeate her music. And her first two albums had created an indomitable radio presence that, by the late 1990s, never entirely subsided.

During her rise to fame, Madonna had resisted the censure of some traditionalist "feminists" who insisted her embrace of pure sexuality was counterproductive and had become one of the first artists to stir the cauldron of "political correctness." Her initial self-titled album presented an entirely new persona for a female pop singer. Unlike Cyndi Lauper, Madonna would never write a line like the one Lauper changed for her version of "Girls Just Wanna Have Fun" which claimed "we're not the fortunate ones." Cyndi had imposed a feminist subtext on a song written by a man. But Madonna already considered herself quite fortunate; she reveled in her womanhood even as she drew the very concept into question. She negotiated the idea of sexism carefully: not directly confronting it using traditional means yet never denying its reality. Madonna continued to wear her boy-toy belt buckle beneath her bare navel in the face of resentment on the part of sexists, ultra-conservatives, and protectors of feminism alike.

But in the 1990s, Madonna became the new darling of young feminists who found her work to be a sophisticated critique of post-seventies patriarchy. Young academics padded their curriculum vitas with their "Madonna studies" and this too became a point of controversy among conservative cultural critics. While this is unusual in pop music, it is not unheard of in pop culture; Mae West put across a very similar persona in much tougher times. Cyndi Lauper appealed to a mass audience because she was simply able to cut her feminism with an endearing weirdness and cuddliness. Madonna has never been cuddly; she is not weird either, merely offensive.

Madonna carries this defiant offensiveness right into her singing. Although critics have always questioned Madonna's talent, her longevity has proved the cynics wrong. Madonna's singing is not formally soulful, not tasteful, finally, not actually pleasant. Her voice cuts right through a listener so that the listener is forced to either become involved with her singing or be repelled enough to turn her off—the voice's very offensiveness is absolutely essential to its power. In this she has perhaps more in common with punk originator Johnny Rotten than with master vocalists like Michael Jackson or Sam Cooke or Tammi Terrell or any of a number of others. The sharp, childlike, high and husky tones communicate all the sexuality,

violence, self-possession, and extreme confidence of the image she projects. In her music, the image, the ideas, the voice are all a totality, inseparable.

Madonna sums up her achievement on “Dress You Up,” a very early single and video where she clarifies the breadth, contradiction, and ultimate scope of her ambition. In the complete version of the video, we see what at first appears to be typical rockumentary pre-concert footage of young fans, dressed “up” as Madonna, excitedly heading for a concert. Unlike other similar “live concert” videos by other artists that appeared at this time, there is nothing self-congratulatory about this one; Madonna was out to dress her fans up in whole new way of looking at themselves and their world. Madonna’s projection here, as elsewhere, is essentially about freedom—personal freedom, freedom of expression, perhaps most importantly a freedom from fear. Critic Dave Marsh pointed out early on in his *Rock and Roll Confidential* newsletter that while Cyndi Lauper sings of girls who want to have fun, Madonna is a girl actually having fun without regard for the consequences. The consequences are, of course, of great importance, but Madonna has not solved the riddles of all that which divides and unites men and women. What she did is to bravely attempt to crash through some very limiting barriers to understanding what such freedoms might be about.

—Robin Markowitz

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Mafia/Organized Crime

From the 1920s onward, the Mafia, and organized crime in general, have retained a hold on the popular imagination. Bank robbers, bootleggers, and Mafia dons have received considerable press, not all unfavorable. Cast as anti-heroes, fictional and real-life mobsters like Al Capone, Vito Corleone, and John Gotti have often been portrayed in a sympathetic light. Drawn with a romantic touch, literary and cinematic Mafiosi, in particular, have been depicted as honorable men, in their own fashion. Their luxurious life-styles have enabled them to serve as anti-Horatio Alger exemplars of the American Dream. The Mafia’s appeal is often ambivalent, as exemplified by the fate that generally befalls even the greatest of the Dons. Nevertheless, it suggests the subversive potential that popular culture possesses: its ability to provoke, incite, or agitate, while challenging established verities.

Organized criminal groups have had a long history in American society. Among the most popular were outlaw bands that ran with the Reno brothers in Indiana or with Jesse James and Cole Younger, who operated out of Missouri, following the Civil War. Dime novels

written in the latter stages of the nineteenth century, songs written by the likes of Woody Guthrie several decades later, and films starring Tyrone Power and Henry Fonda, attested to the staying power of the outlaw image of Jesse and Frank James. The Mafia, author Stephen Fox contends, first emerged in New Orleans following the Civil War, headed by Joseph Machecca, whose parents were Sicilian immigrants. During the 1880s, control of Mafia operations in the city was taken over by Charles and Tony Matranga, who engaged in a power struggle with the Provenzano family.

Around the turn of the century, Irish, Jewish, and “native American” criminal societies still remained largely rooted in their own communities. In Chicago, syndicates controlled criminal activity, led by Mont Tennes’s gambling ring and James “Big Jim” Colosimo’s saloons and prostitution dens. In New York, police lieutenant Charles Becker wielded his vice squad to ensure protection payments. While no national organization had yet emerged, talk soon abounded of conspiratorial fixes of one kind or another. Such scuttlebutt thrived in the wake of the 1919 World Series, in which several members of the heavily favored Chicago White Sox cast their lot with gamblers to ensure Chicago’s defeat at the hands of the Cincinnati Reds. The “Big Fixer” was reputed to be New York gambler Arnold Rothstein, later immortalized in F. Scott Fitzgerald’s *The Great Gatsby*.

“He’s a gambler,” Gatsby hesitated, then added coolly: “He’s the man who fixed the World Series back in 1919.”

“Fixed the World Series?” I repeated. The idea staggered me. It never occurred to me that one man could start to play with the faith of fifty million people—with the singlemindedness of a burglar blowing a safe. “How did he happen to do that?” I asked after a minute.

“He just saw the opportunity.”

“Why isn’t he in jail?”

“They can’t get him, old sport. He’s a smart man.”

A different kind of fix cropped up as the Volstead Act, which officially ushered in Prohibition, became effective on the morning of January 7, 1920. For the first time, illegal commodities began to be distributed on a nationwide basis, while the numbers of syndicates mushroomed. Smuggling, moon-shining, and bootlegging all thrived. Important too was Benito Mussolini’s takeover of power in Italy, his efforts to reign in the Mafia, and the migration of Mafiosi—such as Joe Bonanno and Joe Profaci—to the United States. Major east coast syndicates—the “Big Seven”—were headed by underworld chieftains like Charles “Lucky” Luciano, Frank Costello, Benjamin “Bugsy” Siegel, and Meyer Lansky. Most, along with Al Capone and important syndicate figures from the Midwest, appeared in Atlantic City in 1929 to attend what some analysts refer to as organized crime’s first national convention; others point to a 1928 meeting in Cleveland featuring mobsters from the East, South, and Midwest. Ties to political machines continued, with Italians, Poles, and other groups joining the Irish in establishing such connections. In Chicago, Capone performed that function for Italians and Sicilians. By the mid-1920s, Capone supplanted Johnny Torrio as the head of a vast syndicate. New York’s top underworld figure was Giuseppe “The Boss” Masseria, who ran vice operations in Brooklyn and Manhattan. In 1930, Masseria and Salvatore Maranzano battled for control of the Italian underworld. Maranzano agreed to end a crime war, provided that Masseria’s lieutenants, Lucky Luciano and Vito



The body of Mafia boss Albert Anastasia lies on the floor of the barbershop at the Park Sheraton Hotel in New York after his murder, 1957.

Genovese, murdered their chieftain. Luciano then orchestrated the killing of Maranzano, who was demanding allegiance from family bosses nationwide. Subsequently, Luciano spearheaded policy, narcotic, and prostitution syndicates. With Prohibition's repeal, crime bosses also took control of several liquor dealerships.

Throughout this era, organized crime had a hand in a host of entertainment venues. Gangsters controlled top nightclubs such as Chicago's Grand Terrace, Harlem's Cotton Club, and Kansas City jazz joints along Twelfth and Eighteen Streets; connected managers also shepherded musical greats like Duke Ellington and Louis "Satchmo" Armstrong. Mobsters were likewise involved in the fight game, including boxing's most prestigious division before Joe Louis captured the heavyweight crown in 1937. Long afterwards, fixes, real and imagined, were hinted at throughout professional boxing, involving such luminaries as Jake LaMotta, Sugar Ray Robinson, Rocky Marciano, and Sonny Liston. The same held true for horse racing, with federal agents discovering in 1934 that over 300 horses had received narcotic injections to induce faster performances. Wielding his racing sheets and the *Nationwide News Service* that reported on

developments at the tracks, Moe Annenberg became a powerful organized crime figure, before serving time for tax evasion. The *New York Daily Mirror's* gossip columnist Walter Winchell constantly received tidbits from mobsters like Capone and Frank Costello. Damon Runyon, William Randolph Hearst's top feature writer, penned tales like *Guys and Dolls*—eventually a Broadway and Hollywood smash—that portrayed mobsters as amiable in their own fashion. Entertainers prone to gambling, such as Joe E. Lewis, George Raft, and Milton Berle, became associated with connected figures.

In the early 1930s, as the Great Depression afflicted the American landscape, a series of well-received gangster films were released by Hollywood, some based on real-life events and underworld elements. Gangsters appeared in the guise of truck-drivers, slum kids, Italian immigrants, and stockyard laborers, in such films as *Quick Millions* and *The Secret Six*. The tales of Tommy Powers, played by Jimmy Cagney in *Public Enemy*, Tony Camonte, starring Paul Muni in *Scarface*, and Rico, performed by Edward G. Robinson in *Little Caesar*, read like the rise and fall of organized crime figures. Tommy emerged from the Irish ghetto, determined to live by his wits and to

have it all: expensive clothes, sleek cars, and penthouses. Tony, a Capone-like character, took over from his Torrio-styled boss, before his own human frailties doomed him. Rico ascended to the very top of the organized crime ladder, but was felled by hubris, “a figure out of a Greek epic tragedy,” as Mordaunt Hall, a *New York Times* film critic, referred to him. The gangster film’s early heyday was 1930-1932, but its impact lingered, as exemplified by its cynical, rapid-fire, topical quality, as well as its sharp dialogue and naturalistic approach. Gangsterism remained a popular genre, with over 900 such films purportedly made before 1970. Robinson and Cagney alone appeared in 29 and 16 gangster films, respectively.

While FBI director J. Edgar Hoover continued to deny the existence of organized crime, some of its top figures faced criminal indictments. In late 1931, Capone was sentenced to eleven years in prison for tax evasion, a prosecution assisted by prominent Chicago businessmen; in public folklore, Elliot Ness and his “Untouchables,” later immortalized in the television series of the same name, brought Capone down. Five years later, Luciano began serving a 30-50 year sentence, a conviction obtained by New York City district attorney Thomas E. Dewey. During that same period, legends regarding the crime-fighting prowess of the Bureau of Investigation—renamed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in 1935—mushroomed, with Hoover receiving considerable positive press as the nation’s “Number One G-Man.” That reputation hardly resulted from the FBI’s efforts in reigning in organized crime, but rather drew from tales of its agents’s encounters with bank robbers like Charles “Baby Face” Nelson, Pretty Boy Floyd, and John Dillinger.

Organized crime’s reach widened, with a focus on gambling, labor racketeering, loan-shark operations, narcotics, and prostitution. Increasingly, profits garnered from such illegal activities were invested in legitimate or semi-legitimate businesses, including hotels, restaurants, and entertainment enterprises. In Louisiana, Florida, and Nevada, mobsters from back east set up plush gambling casinos. Costello and Dany Phil Kastel constructed the Beverly Club, just outside of New Orleans. In Miami Beach, Costello, Lansky, Siegel, and Joe Adonis financed the Colonial Inn, another gambling showcase. Throughout the Miami Beach area, Costello also took control of horse tracks, dog tracks, and bookie joints. He purchased real estate, bars, hotels, restaurants, a radio station, and other commercial enterprises. Capone’s influence spread through the Midwest and on to Dallas, Texas, where the newly elected sheriff, Steve Guthrie, was promised an annual income of \$150,000 to allow “clean” operations to thrive. These included “horse booking, slot machines, dice, numbers, everything.” While Guthrie refused to go along, a Chicago hoodlum, Jacob Rubenstein—who referred to himself as Jack Ruby—remained in town. Las Vegas acquired still greater allure for mobsters, including Siegel, Lansky, and Capone. Among the hotels organized crime helped to establish were the Flamingo, the Desert Inn, the Thunderbird, the Sands, the Riviera, the Stardust, the Dunes, and the Tropicana.

During World War II and its aftermath, the federal government’s response to organized crime proved highly contradictory. In 1945, Dewey, now serving as governor of New York, commuted Luciano’s sentence, allegedly because the mob boss had helped to prevent sabotage on the docks. Then in 1950, Estes Kefauver, chairman of the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in the United States, began holding public hearings throughout the land. Reliance on the Fifth Amendment—“I decline to answer on the grounds that it might tend to incriminate me”—hardly served the organized figures well. Televised hearings, watched by an estimated

30 million viewers, captured mobsters like Costello, now head of the family previously spearheaded by Genovese and Luciano, and his unsteady hands. The Kefauver committee reported dealings between Costello and top New York City politicians, including former district attorney and mayor William O’Dwyer. Costello was convicted of contempt of Congress and tax evasion. Writing in *The Nation* in early 1957, Sidney Lens discussed the overall makeup of organized crime: “It is a loose federation, highly centralized in some respects (such as dealing out ‘justice’ to its traitors), but decentralized in execution of business ventures. . . . It is certainly not a membership organization. It is more of a loosely-knit force with tens of thousands of ‘fellow-travelers.’”

Talk of a more elaborate crime structure soon developed. A police raid in Apalachin, New York, in November 1957, resulted in the holding of Genovese, Joe Bonanno, Carlo Gambino, and several other syndicate big-shots. Promises of deportations and tax examinations proved illusory, but a conspiracy trial began in May 1959 involving many of the participants at the Apalachin gathering. The issue of ethnicity was not far from the surface as indicated by a *Newsweek* analysis: “Actually, the old Mafia, with its blood feuds and black hands, has changed. It no longer is the Murder, Inc., division that enforced mob discipline . . . The nation’s crime syndicates are not directed by a sort of underworld holding company. The group doesn’t call itself the Mafia, but others do, because most of the top executives are Sicilians and other southern Italians.” The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations headed by John McClellan explored organized crime’s ties to labor organizations, particularly the Teamsters; John F. Kennedy was a member of the subcommittee, while his younger brother Robert served as chief counsel. Discussion of the Mafia appeared more frequently in popular publications, while academic explorations of the subject heightened. *The Enemy Within*, written by Robert F. Kennedy, was published in 1960, relating his involvement with McClellan’s subcommittee while focusing on Dave Beck and Jimmy Hoffa of the Teamsters. In 1963, Joseph Valachi, testifying before McClellan’s subcommittee, traced the evolution of organized crime—which he referred to as the Cosa Nostra—while focusing on developments in New York City. Valachi also discussed the Apalachin meeting, reputedly held by the Mafia’s Grand Council or the Commission of the Cosa Nostra, thus seemingly verifying organized crime’s existence. Following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas on November 22, 1963, talk of organized crime involvement proliferated, including participation by Louisiana don Carlos Marcello.

Following Valachi’s testimony, media interest in the Mafia immediately heightened once more, and a firestorm arose regarding publication of *The Valachi Papers*. Charges that ethnic groups—particularly Italians and Jews—were being slandered arose, and 22 publishers turned down Maas’s book before Putnam agreed to print it in 1969. It proved to be a bestseller, as did another book published that year: Mario Puzo’s *The Godfather*. In contrast to Mickey Spillane’s hard-boiled approach, Puzo devised a businessman protagonist who ran any number of illegal enterprises. Simply put, Puzo’s heroic anti-hero controlled a Mafia organization, and he did so relying on longstanding relationships and family—blood—ties. Puzo’s approach involved returning to earlier characterizations of organized crime as ethnically-driven. Shaped by a distinctive Italianness, *The Godfather* also employed, as Dwight C. Smith, Jr. noted, the word “Mafia” scores of times, “mafioso” eleven times, and “cosa nostra” twice. *The Godfather* traced Vito Corleone’s rise to organized crime preeminence, and the syndicate’s subsequent takeover by his son Michael,

the reluctant new Don, who proved to be as ruthless as his father. Reviewers perceived the book to be about “America’s most powerful and least understood subculture, the Mafia.” Fred Cook insisted that “if anyone wants to know about the power of the Mafia . . . Mario Puzo’s brawling, irresistible tale brings the reality home more vividly and realistically than the drier stuff of fact ever can. . . . *The Godfather* is deeply imbedded in reality.” But most important, Smith argued, was why *The Godfather* resonated so fully. “Its success was a matter of timing. The public was ripe for a book that would demonstrate the ‘reality’ of the twenty-year campaign of the law-enforcement community to depict organized crime as an evil, alien, conspiratorial entity comprised of Italians bearing the ‘Mafia’ label.”

While the first two cinematic-versions of *The Godfather* proved to be huge commercial and artistic successes, the return of the gangster genre had not awaited Puzo’s best-selling novel. Arthur Penn’s *Bonnie and Clyde* was released in 1967, and portrayed Depression-era bank-robbers Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow, played by a radiant Faye Dunaway and the dashing Warren Beaty, in a heroic light. However, the box-office smashes that *Godfathers I and II* proved to be, in addition to Francis Ford Coppola’s receipt of best Oscars for film direction in 1972 and 1974, resulted in a new spate of gangster films like *The Untouchables* and *GoodFellas*.

Also appearing, in books and on film, were the memoirs of organized crime figures, including those of Joe Bonanno, Jimmy the Weasel Fratianno, Willie Sutton, and others. Before 1980, only Valachi and Fratianno had reneged on the Mafia code of silence or *omerta*; Gay Talese’s 1971 book, *Honor Thy Father*, had benefited from a series of interviews undertaken with Joe Bonanno’s son Bill, a crime figure in his own right. Now, an increasing number of figures did so, including Sammy “the Bull” Gravano, one-time lieutenant of the Gambino crime family, and other high ranking members of various families.

From the 1970s onward, organized crime spread its tentacles still further, delving into child prostitution, banking, and environmental schemes. Reports indicated, however, that the Mafia’s influence had lessened, thanks to defections by key players-turned government witnesses, deadly internecine squabbles, and concerted prosecutorial action by local and federal officials. Newer bands of organized criminals emerged, including outlaw motorcycle groups, black gangs, and new immigrant groups. The bikers specialized in synthetic drugs popular during the period, including speed, PCP, and LSD. At the same time, black hoodlums shifted from gambling to drugs, including heroin and cocaine. Southeast Asian, Caribbean, South American, and Eastern European groups, among others, also became involved in the sale of narcotics and arms. All appeared in cinematic guise as foils for top stars like Mel Gibson, Danny Glover, Harrison Ford, and Michael Douglas.

—Robert C. Cottrell

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The Magnificent Seven

“They were seven—and they fought like seven hundred!” screamed the posters for this 1960 western film, which spawned a number of sequels and helped launch the careers of Steve McQueen, James Coburn, and Charles Bronson. Remade from Akira Kurosawa’s Japanese classic *The Seven Samurai*, the picture’s macho élan lifts it above the formulaic and into the high canon of film.

Directed by Hollywood craftsman John Sturges, *The Magnificent Seven* starred Yul Brynner, still basking in the glory of his star turns in *The King and I* (1956) and *The Brothers Karamazov* (1958). Brynner plays Chris Adams, the laconic leader of a band of seven gunmen recruited by a Mexican farming village to defend it from an army of 100 bandits. McQueen, naturally, is the hotshot marksman of the bunch. Eli Wallach is inexplicably cast—and surprisingly effective—as the head bandito, providing the precedent for a similar turn as a Mexican rogue six years later in *The Good, The Bad, and the Ugly*.

Sturges’ film has none of the technical wizardry of the Kurosawa original. *The Seven Samurai*’s innovative use of slow motion, a rapidly moving camera, and long-lens photography had helped capture the ferocious conflict in a series of spectacular battle sequences. Sturges opts for more conventional shoot-’em-up scenes that derive their impact from the audience’s empathetic association with the main characters. With his black hat and limited vocabulary, Brynner is the epitome of western cool, almost iconic in his glacial stoicism. By contrast, McQueen is still working on the brash rebel persona he



The Magnificent Seven (l-r) Steve McQueen, James Coburn, Horst Buchholz, Yul Brynner, Eli Wallach, Robert Vaughn, and Charles Bronson.

would later perfect in films like *Bullitt* (1968), *The Cincinnati Kid* (1965), and Sturges' own *The Great Escape* (1963). The latter film is notable in its use of many of the same actors, large ensemble cast, and the exploration of male bonding to the exclusion of all other themes (*Magnificent Seven*, to its credit, at least has a few female characters).

That guys love *The Magnificent Seven* cannot be denied, especially male filmmakers. The film's visual style and antiheroic iconography clearly influenced Sergio Leone and the other pioneers of "spaghetti western" cinema. Clint Eastwood's steely-eyed "Man with No Name" would have fit in perfectly with this band of trigger-happy fatalists. In its time, though, the film was only a moderate hit, though Elmer Bernstein's bombastic score was nominated for an Oscar. The fact that it did not set the world on fire was perhaps a sign that the days of the big Hollywood western were over.

The Magnificent Seven spawned three sequels, each one less interesting than the last. Yul Brynner returned as Chris for 1966's *Return of the Seven*. He passed on the hero's reins—figuratively and literally—to the less-compelling George Kennedy in 1969's *Guns of the Magnificent Seven*. Completing the cycle's descent into made-for-TV-style mediocrity was 1972's execrable *The Magnificent Seven Ride!* starring Lee Van Cleef, Mariette Hartley, and a young Gary Busey. No one was surprised when the property was spun into a short-lived television series in 1998. In an odd sidelight, a character named Chris (his last name changes from version to version) appears in all four iterations of the concept.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Magnum, P.I.

The 1980s CBS television series *Magnum, P.I.* was created to take advantage of the Hawaiian facilities built by CBS to produce *Hawaii 5-0*. On the surface, *Magnum* was a standard private eye drama, starring preternaturally handsome Tom Selleck as Thomas Magnum. The series' early success started a boomlet of crime dramas with good-looking male leads. However, it was the underlying subtext that set *Magnum* apart—the Vietnam veteran as hero. While *Magnum* was not the first series to feature Vietnam vets, it was the first to have Vietnam as a subtext, and the show set off a mid-1980s trend of heroes with Vietnam backgrounds, including *The A-Team*, *Riptide*, *Stingray*, and *Miami Vice*. Previously portrayed mostly as victims of post-traumatic stress, the success of these series changed the way Vietnam was viewed, at least in popular culture.

In the pilot, which aired December 11, 1980, former Navy lieutenant Thomas Magnum was hired by mysterious millionaire pulp writer Robin Masters to test the security of his Hawaiian estate, Robin's Nest. Magnum successfully evaded the Dobermans, Zeus and Apollo, and the estate's major domo, Higgins, and thus became the estate's new security chief, living in its guesthouse. Magnum's presence rankled Jonathan Quayle Higgins (John Hillerman), the very British former military commando, to no end. Higgins, forever writing his memoirs of years in military service in Africa and Asia, regarded Magnum as a nuisance. Eventually, however, they bonded through their experiences in war.

The Masters estate became the base of Magnum's struggling private investigation operation. Magnum was often aided in his investigations, usually unwillingly, by two of his fellow vets—Marines Theodore "T.C." Calvin (Roger E. Mosley) and Orville "Rick" Wright (Larry Manetti). Magnum continually "borrowed" T.C.'s chopper, Rick's underworld contacts, and Robin Masters's red Ferrari to solve crimes and protect people on the estate. Higgins eventually became another unwilling helper in Magnum's investigations.

Magnum became much more than a standard-issue action drama due to co-creator Donald Bellisario, himself a former Marine (who would later create *Quantum Leap* and *JAG*). Bellisario turned the series into a meditation on Vietnam and friendship. Glen Larson had created Magnum as an ex-CIA agent, a playboy freeloading on the estate, much in the mold of his other successful action series, *Knight Rider*. Bellisario was brought in when Selleck objected. Bellisario changed Magnum into the Vietnam veteran of Naval intelligence and added Rick and T.C.

In the first six years of *Magnum*, Vietnam was practically another character. The pilot tied smuggled gold to a member of Magnum's commando team in Vietnam, and introduced Rick and T.C. as members of that team, all marked by their *croix de guerre* rings (the symbol of the French Resistance). In the second season Magnum's long lost wife Michele (who wears her croix on a pendant) returned from Vietnam, then went back as a spy. In various episodes, Magnum had Vietnam flashbacks, which usually tied the past into the present day plot. These cinematic flashbacks, the other Vietnam references, the sometimes psychic flashes of Magnum, marked *Magnum* as different, as did Selleck's voiceovers of Magnum's thoughts, one of the few times this has been done in series television. Within those monologues, Magnum often referred to his "little voice," a variation on his conscience, that warned him of danger. The little voice was always counseling him and making the leaps of intuition he needed to escape or solve the crime.

Once Bellisario left during the sixth season and Selleck and other producers took over, *Magnum* became a more traditional detective show. The series was to end in 1987, and the finale depicted Magnum dying and going to heaven, complete with cameos by all the recurring characters. However, the series came back for one more year and the death became near-death. The two-hour series finale airing May 1, 1988 was highly rated and wrapped up the series: Magnum gained custody of Lily (his daughter with Michele), abruptly quit the private eye business, and rejoined the Navy. Rick married, and it was implied that Higgins might be in reality the unseen Robin Masters. Since the series' end, there have been rumors it may be revived in movie form.

—Michele Lellouche

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Mah-Jongg

Mah-Jongg, an ancient gambling game which originated among the Chinese ruling class over 2000 years ago, gained widespread popularity in the United States from the 1930s, particularly as a leisure pastime among American Jewish women. Recognized the world over by its ritualized play and the satisfying clack of tile against tile, Mah-Jongg is a complicated four-handed game, whose rules are similar to the card game rummy. It is played with 152 tiles, colorfully painted with three suits (bamboo, characters, and dots), four winds, eight flowers, and three dragons. The popularity of the game spread through all classes in China and soon throughout Asia and the world, with different versions evolving in Japan, the Philippines, Europe, and the United States. Since 1937, The National Mah-Jongg League has governed the rules of the American game, although enthusiasm for Mah-Jongg faded at the end of the 1960s, due in part to the increasing popularity of contract bridge. However, during the 1980s and 1990s, the game began to enjoy something of a renaissance as nostalgic baby-boomers sought to revive the once-favored social pastime of their mothers.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Mailer, Norman (1923—)

With the publication of his brilliant first novel *The Naked and the Dead* (1948), Norman Mailer established himself as the next important writer of his age; and indeed, over the next five decades, he has fulfilled that promise many times over. Mailer's literary output has been extraordinary—over 30 volumes of fiction and nonfiction; his prolificness, in fact, is matched only by the prodigiousness of his public persona. But his work has consistently aroused controversy and elicited as much scorn as acclaim. Even today—after garnering numerous literary awards, including the National Book Award and two Pulitzer Prizes, and after being repeatedly mentioned as a contender for the Nobel Prize—Mailer is as relentlessly criticized by detractors for his views on sex, violence, and politics as he is applauded by admirers for his bold experimentation. Yet the essential Mailer remains elusive, a kind of curiosity to many of his critics and readers, who seem unable to agree on the literary merits of his books, the quality of his ideas, or his ultimate place in American letters.

The critical disagreement results in part from the protean nature of Mailer's work. Since 1941, the year he won first prize in *Story* magazine's annual college contest, Mailer has written widely, if not always well. In addition to poetry (*Deaths for the Ladies, and Other Disasters*, 1962), drama (*The Deer Park—A Play*, 1967), and screenplays (such as *Maidstone*, 1971, scripted for one of the experimental films he produced), Mailer has explored numerous prose forms,

including autobiography, biography (*Marilyn*, 1973 and *Pablo and Fernande: Portrait of Picasso as a Young Man: An Interpretive Biography*, 1995), novella (the graphic, erotic *The Time of Her Time*, included in *Advertisements for Myself*, 1959), short stories (*Short Fiction*, 1967), sports reportage (*The Fight*, 1975, about the Ali-Foreman championship match in Zaire), political reportage (*St. George and the Godfather*, 1972, and his other accounts of the national conventions and of contemporary events like the march on the Pentagon), literary criticism (*Genius and Lust*, 1976, his extended commentary on the works of Henry Miller), interviews, essays, newspaper columns, letters, book reviews, and memoirs. Although Mailer considers himself above all a novelist, his versatility has defied easy categorization, and his forays outside of high culture have occasionally confounded even his strongest supporters.

Moreover, Mailer has helped to undermine his own reputation as a serious writer by his tireless self-promotion and his penchant for celebrity. "Every time I get into the newspapers," he once remarked, "I injure myself professionally." To be sure, much of Mailer's life reads like the stuff of fiction: his six marriages, including his stabbing of second wife Adele, for which he was briefly jailed and committed to Bellevue Hospital; his legal and financial problems; his pugnaciousness and affinity for drugs and alcohol; his co-founding of the *Village Voice*; his ubiquitousness as a television talk show guest; his politics, including his costly campaign for mayor of New York City; his odd personal alliances with people like convicted murderer Jack Henry Abbott (whose prison letters Mailer helped to get published and whose release he facilitated, only to have Abbott kill again); and his public feuds (with, among others, writers Gore Vidal, whom he punched out at a party, and former friend William Styron). Mailer, in turn, has transformed that outrageous life into the stuff of his own popular essays and fiction. But such melding of life and art has led many critics to analyze and dissect the figure behind the books rather than to judge the quality of the books themselves. His "crude celebrity," as Vidal dubbed it, has made Mailer's name familiar to readers and non-readers alike and assured his status as a literary personality; but Mailer is still struggling to achieve universal admiration as a true literary "champ."

Born in Long Branch, New Jersey, in 1923 and raised in Brooklyn, Mailer graduated with honors from Harvard in 1943 with a degree in aeronautical engineering. Drafted by the Army in early 1944, Mailer served as a rifleman with a combat unit in the South Pacific. After his discharge two years later, he returned to Brooklyn, where he began his celebrated first novel, a realistic and naturalistic account of the dialectic contest between authoritarian General Cummings and his liberal aide Lieutenant Hearn (a contest that recurs in much of Mailer's later fiction) and of the fates of the other members in their platoon on the fictional island of Anopopei.

In the two novels that followed, Mailer shifted his artistic focus from the omniscient narrator who probed the consciousness of the multiple characters in *The Naked and the Dead*, to more existential first-person narratives that redefine the role of the hero in an unheroic world. Despite its bold depiction of Cold War American politics and idealism, however, *Barbary Shore* (1951) was a critical and popular failure; and, while *The Deer Park* (1955) received more favorable reviews, it too was panned for its sexual explicitness and cynicism. Several collections of Mailer's prose pieces, many of them attacking technological society, appeared over the next decade: *Advertisements for Myself* (1959), which included such important essays as "The White Negro," his Beat-influenced treatise on the hipster-hero; *The Presidential Papers* (1963); and *Cannibals and Christians* (1966).

Mailer returned to fiction with *An American Dream* (1965), the compelling story of Stephen Rojack's regeneration through sex and violence, and *Why Are We in Vietnam?* (1967), in which a bear hunt serves as a metaphor for America's involvement in Vietnam. He continued his reflections on the American character in nonfictional works like *The Armies of the Night* (1968), a disarmingly passionate and award-winning account of the 1967 march on the Pentagon; *Miami and the Siege of Chicago* (1968), about that year's tumultuous political conventions; *Of a Fire on the Moon* (1970), an analysis of the first lunar landing; and *The Prisoner of Sex* (1971), a critical examination of the women's movement that incurred the wrath of feminists and launched a series of vitriolic attacks on Mailer as well as on his work—one reviewer dismissed *Prisoner* as "dribble: long and continuous."

Much of Mailer's writing during the 1970s focused on famous and infamous Americans, including Marilyn Monroe (in *Marilyn*, 1973, and again in *Of Women and Their Elegance*, 1980), Muhammad Ali (in *The Fight*, 1975), and murderer Gary Gilmore, the first person to be executed in the United States in over a decade (in *The Executioner's Song*, 1979). *Ancient Evenings*, the massive and surprisingly successful novel of epistemological adventure in ancient Egypt that Mailer began in 1971, was finally published in 1983 and was followed by other spirited works, such as the bestselling murder mystery *Tough Guys Don't Dance* (1984), one of several of Mailer's books to be adapted to film. *Harlot's Ghost* (1991)—another lengthy novel, about CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) operations over two generations—*Oswald's Tale: An American Mystery* (1995)—in which Mailer returns to his "nonfiction fiction" narrative techniques to explore the mind of Kennedy's assassin Lee Harvey Oswald—and *The Gospel According to the Son* (1997)—an unconventional "autobiographical" retelling of portions of the Biblical story—mark his most work of the late twentieth century.

Ambitious, egotistical, often controversial, always entertaining—Mailer continues to do what he has done so well for more than half a century: to challenge and to provoke with his ideas and techniques. Arguably "the greatest writer to come out of his generation" (as Sinclair Lewis declared), Mailer is unquestionably one of that generation's most astute social observers and literate spokespersons.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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Malcolm X (1925-1965)

Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, in 1925, Malcolm X was the son of a freelance Baptist preacher who followed the



Malcolm X, speaking at a rally in Harlem, New York City.

teachings of black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey. Following threats on his father from the local Ku Klux Klan, Malcolm and his family moved to Lansing, Michigan. There, in the face of similar threats, Malcolm's father defiantly continued to urge African Americans to take control of their lives, a stand that cost him his life when the Klan-like Black Legion murdered him in 1931. Although found with his head crushed and nearly severed from his body, authorities deemed the death a suicide. As a result, the Littles were denied much-needed insurance benefits. The family deteriorated rapidly as welfare workers sought to turn the children against each other and their mother. Ultimately, Malcolm was removed from his mother's care at age six and placed in a foster home. Shortly thereafter, his mother suffered a mental breakdown from which she never recovered.

In 1941, Malcolm moved to Boston to live with his half-sister, but soon quit school and drifted into the urban underworld of narcotics, prostitution, gambling, and burglary. Known as "Detroit Red," Malcolm was arrested for robbery in 1946 and sentenced to prison. There, he first learned the importance of education, reading and copying the entire dictionary and then moving on to devour works of history, politics, and literature. Later, at the urging of his siblings, Malcolm converted to the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims, an

ascetic sect that brought discipline into the lives of its members, especially those in prison. Upon joining the Nation of Islam, Malcolm abandoned his "slave name" in favor of Malcolm X, the "X" standing for his lost African name.

After serving six years in prison, Malcolm was released in 1952 and immediately traveled to Detroit to meet Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. Assigned to Temple No. 7 in Harlem, Malcolm quickly emerged as the sect's most dynamic minister. His charisma helped boost membership in the Nation of Islam to an estimated 40,000 by 1960. The Nation of Islam preached strict moral purity and the superiority of the black race. Like Garvey's followers in the 1920s, Black Muslims denounced whites as "blue-eyed devils," opposed integration, and called for black pride, independent black institutions, and, ultimately, a separate black nation. Only after African Americans were united, Malcolm insisted, could they contemplate integration with whites.

In contrast to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, advocacy of non-violence, integration, and inter-racial harmony, Malcolm X utilized fiery rhetoric to launch an uncompromising and fearless assault on America's racial hypocrisy at home and abroad. When confronted by a violent white oppressor, he argued, the oppressed must use "any

means necessary” to achieve their liberation. “‘Afro-Americans should not be victims any longer. . . ,” he declared. “‘Bloodshed is a two-way street. . . , dying is a two-way street. . . , killing is a two-way street.’” By 1963, Malcolm, not Martin, appeared most often on TV screens, in newspaper interviews, and in public forums. Often surrounded by menacing body guards, speaking with determined confidence, and jabbing his finger in the air to underscore his points, Malcolm made an unforgettable impression, eliciting admiration among many black Americans and fear among whites. Civil rights leaders committed to non-violence and integration publicly repudiated his separatist message and his advocacy of armed self-defense.

Malcolm X became restive, though, as the Nation of Islam failed to join the rising tide of civil rights activity. Convinced that Elijah Muhammad was not sincere, a view validated by evidence of corruption within the organization and compounded by Muhammad’s mounting jealousy of Malcolm’s blossoming personal influence, Malcolm X’s relationship with the Nation of Islam began to falter. Malcolm’s public assertion in 1963 that President John F. Kennedy’s assassination amounted to “‘chickens coming home to roost” gave Muhammad reason to suspend him. During this suspension, Malcolm traveled to Mecca and throughout North Africa where he discovered Orthodox Islam. Upon his return to the United States in 1964, Malcolm shifted his ethical stance. Still convinced that racism “‘corroded the spirit of America” and that only black people could free themselves, Malcolm rejected racism of all kinds, spoke of a common bond linking humanity, and conceded that some whites did want to end racism. He also formally broke with the Nation of Islam and changed his name to El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, a move which reflected his Mecca pilgrimage. In June of 1964, Malcolm X founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), moved increasingly in the direction of socialism, and expressed growing interest in China. Still in transition, on February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated by three Black Muslim loyalists as he spoke in a Harlem ballroom.

As Malcolm X had predicted in his autobiography, he would become more important in death than life. Malcolm’s message profoundly influenced the development of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Black Power, the Black Panther Party, and George L. Jackson. The anger that Malcolm sought to channel into political action exploded in the 1965 Watts riot and the string of rebellions culminating in Newark and Detroit in 1967. By the 1990s, Malcolm X had become a folk hero to African Americans living in decaying American cities. Rap artists chanted his words; murals, hats, T-shirts, and posters displayed his piercing gaze; and filmmaker Spike Lee memorialized his life in a 1992 feature film. In death, Malcolm has come to symbolize racial pride, dignity, self-defense, and human transcendence.

—Patrick D. Jones

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Mall of America

Since opening its doors in 1992, Bloomington, Minnesota’s mammoth Mall of America—with 4.2 million square feet of floor space, the largest shopping mall in the United States—has emerged as



The Mall of America in Bloomington, Minnesota.

one of the country's most popular tourist destinations. In 1996 alone, it attracted some 43 million visitors, more people than visited Disney World, the Grand Canyon, and Graceland combined. The mall features four anchor stores—Nordstrom, Macy's, Sears, and Bloomingdale's—and over 520 different specialty shops and merchandise kiosks. But its popularity owes as much to entertainment and cultural amenities as it does to shopping. At the center of the giant four-story structure is Knotts Berry Farm's Camp Snoopy, a theme park with fifty rides and amusements, including a roller coaster, a water ride, and a Ferris wheel. In addition, the mall is home to an 18-hole miniature golf course and Underwater World, a 1.2 million gallon walk-through aquarium. Its top floor is devoted entirely to glitzy nightclubs, restaurants, and a 14-screen movie theater. It also houses a branch campus of National College, a "learning lab" for high school students, a wedding chapel, a post office, and a police substation. "The Mall of America is a city inside a piece at the edge of a city," observed Minneapolis architect Richard Varda. "It is a new definition of what a downtown is."

The Mall began as the brain child of Canada's Triple Five Corp., the company that built the famous West Edmonton Mall (which in the late 1990s was still the largest such building in North America). The company's initial 1985 proposal for a 1.3 billion dollar "megamall" at the site of the old Twins stadium in the booming Minneapolis suburb of Bloomington, envisioned a leisure and shopping complex even larger and more spectacular than the one that was eventually built. After failing to secure a long term loan, however, Triple Five Corp. was forced, in 1987, to relinquish control of the development to Marvin Simon and Associates and the Simon DeBartolo Group—both of which promptly scaled back the proportions of the project to its current dimensions. In May of 1988, the Bloomington Port Authority—over the objections of many of the city's citizens—agreed to contribute \$100 million towards improvements in infrastructure for the development. Construction began in June of 1989 and the mall opened for business in August of 1992. The final price tag for the entire project was more than \$680 million.

Designed by architect Jon Jerde and the Jerde Partnership, the Mall of America is laid out as a multi-story "rectangular doughnut" with thoroughfares lined by 4.2 miles of storefronts connecting the department stores on the perimeter and Camp Snoopy at its center. Without a doubt the mall's most impressive architectural feature is the vast skylight which spans the entire seven acres of Camp Snoopy. Jerde has also given each of the sides of the rectangle a distinct architectural theme and matching decor. The corridors on the North side of the Mall—called "the North Garden"—are painted garden green and scattered with gazebos, wooden trellises, and pavilion-like structures, as well as airy terraces overlooking the amusement park. With their barrel vaulted ceilings and industrial green color scheme, the corridors in the "West Market" area recall European arcades of the late nineteenth century. The thoroughfares in the "South Avenue" area have an elegant Rodeo Drive feel created by their upscale boutiques, arches, and peach and cream color scheme. The "East Broadway" area is meant to suggest "modernity" through its polished steel railings, neon, and slick black and gray floors. And the fourth floor's collection of bars and nightclubs, known as "The Upper East Side," self-consciously simulates a big city entertainment district. The total effect of the place is more than a little disorienting, precisely as the designers had planned. "We want people to get lost in the Mall," confessed Tim Magill of the Jerde Partnership. "We want to tweak your perceptions so you'll be exposed to areas you would regularly pass by."

In its first five years of existence, the mall has silenced critics who doubted it could consistently draw the crowds necessary to turn a profit. In 1997, the mall's stores did \$725 million in sales, employed over 12,000 people, and 92 percent of its retail space was occupied. Economists estimate that the mall and the legions of out-of-state tourists it attracts pump \$1.5 billion a year into the local economy.

Thanks to its enormous popularity and mind-boggling size, the mall in the late 1990s has become something of a cultural icon. Camp Snoopy made its film debut in *The Mighty Ducks* (1992) and appeared again in *Mighty Ducks II* (1997). In 1996, Arnold Schwarzenegger filmed his Christmas movie *Jingle All the Way* there. And throughout the 1990s celebrities from Bruce Willis to Newt Gingrich have made regular appearances within the mall's confines.

Despite all its successes, the Mall of America has had its share of both problems and critics. Though it presents its enclosed environs as a safe alternative to city streets, it has been unable to prevent rapes and robberies from occurring on its premises. In addition, because it is a favorite meeting place and hang-out for teenagers from around the Twin Cities metro region, youth crime has been an especially nagging problem. In 1996, the mall's managers responded by implementing a policy requiring children 15 or younger to be accompanied by an adult after 6 p.m. on Fridays and Saturdays, a move which brought about a steep decline in youth crimes and consequently increased adult traffic on weekend nights.

More significantly, the Mall of America in 1996 was thrust into the center of a debate about the public's right to political expression in commercially owned and operated spaces. On May 19 of that year, a group of ten animal rights activists entered the mall and distributed fliers in front of Macy's urging people to boycott the store because it sold furs. Mall security told the protesters to leave and four were issued tickets for trespassing. On July 24, 1997, Hennepin County Judge Jack Nordby sided with the protesters in ruling that Minnesota citizens have reasonable rights to free speech and assembly at publicly-supported shopping malls. Nordby's decision was reversed on appeal but the protesters and the Minnesota ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) have vowed to appeal the case all the way to the United States Supreme Court.

It is hardly surprising that the mall finds itself in the middle of a controversy over whether or not shopping malls are the functional equivalent of city streets, public parks, and town squares. After all, its amazing assortment of activities collected under one roof make it the closest thing to a fully enclosed city America has yet seen. Whatever the courts ultimately decide about its status as "public" space, the Mall of America has been and will continue to be a gathering place not simply for Minnesotans but for the whole world.

—Steve Macek

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Malls

The mall is a ubiquitous part of the modern landscape. Acting as the modern town center, the mall provides space for shopping and commerce, as well as social interaction and cultural events. But the careful design of the mall articulates a vision of society that goes beyond the mall's function as a shopping location. As social commentator Molly Ivans proclaimed upon her first visit to the Mall of America, "Great Caesar's armpit! Sweet suffering catfish! Holy Gamoly! I have been to the pyramids of America. I have seen the cathedral of commerce. Our Parthenon, our Coliseum, our Chartres." Malls have been conferred with a kind of religiosity because of the abundance and frequency of shoppers seeking their treasures. The influence of the mall is evidenced by its placement on *Consumer Reports'* list of the top 50 wonders in the past 50 years that have revolutionized the lives of consumers; other notable innovations include birth control pills, antibiotics, smoke detectors, air-conditioners, gas mowers, the computer, and the transistor.

Though malls have become one of the most recognizable features of America towns, the mall is not an American invention. The mall dates back to The Kapali Carsi, or Covered Bazaar, in Istanbul,



The concourse of the Circle Centre Mall in Indianapolis, Indiana.

Turkey, in the 8th century. Encompassing 65 streets and passages with more than 4,000 shops and cafes, it is reputed to have the largest number of shops under one roof anywhere in the world. Throughout the years, commerce has frequently developed in centralized locations. In the 1700s public plazas in Venice, Italy, featured shops and restaurants ringed around a central square. Built around a courtyard, the Palais Royale in Paris, France, was a five-story building filled with shops in 1784. Baltimore, Maryland, had Roland Park in 1900, which consisted of six stores and a parking area for horses and carriages. The National Register of Historic Places lists Market Square in Lake Forest, Illinois, built in 1916, as the first suburban shopping center.

But, according to various histories, the predecessor of the modern shopping center came in 1922 with the Country Club Plaza of Kansas City, Missouri. There a planned group of stores was built which were accessible only by car. The idea soon became popular. Grandview Plaza Shopping Center in Columbus, Ohio, included 30 stores and parking for 400 cars in 1928. The next step toward the modern shopping center came when the first enclosed mall was constructed in 1956. Built in a suburb of Minneapolis, the Southdale Mall had a clear objective: to keep the Minnesota weather out. Shoppers could shop in climate-controlled comfort year-round, but the Southdale Mall was spartan in comparison to newer malls. It had no food vendors, no skylights, no life-like statues, no fountains, and no neon signs.

The growth and economic, social, political, and psychological significance of the mall can only be understood in the context of a confluence of forces that followed World War II. Before 1950 people lived in urban areas where people's needs were supported within the borders of the city and were usually neighborhood based. Fueled by government guarantees for veterans and the vision of men like William Levitt, ownership of single family housing grew more after World War II than it had in the previous 150 years. The construction of homes occurred just outside city limits and a massive movement of people left the cities for these developing suburbs. By 1980 the population shift was completed: almost 50 percent of the population lived in suburban and rural areas.

The suburbs permanently altered the consumer landscape. A general dispersal of commercial, cultural, manufacturing, employment, service, financial, and entertainment and recreational activities accompanied the development of Levittown-type suburban communities across the United States. Without the structure of city neighborhood retail space, new retail sources were created. Malls were visionaries' answer to central business districts left in the cities.

Malls and shopping centers come in many shapes, sizes, and varieties. At one end of the scale are community convenience centers, retail spaces of 30,000 to 100,000 square feet housing small businesses like dry cleaners, pizza places, and frame shops. These neighborhood convenience centers survive without large tenants, called anchors, to draw from larger areas. At the end of the twentieth century, neighborhood shopping centers accounted for 63 percent of all shopping centers, 25 percent of all selling space, and 29 percent of shopping center sales.

At the next level are community centers of 100,000 to 400,000 square feet of retail space. A large grocery store, drug store, discount store, or department store typically acts as the anchor for these community centers. These community centers made up 32 percent of all shopping centers, 46 percent of all selling space, and 41 percent of shopping center sales.

Large regional shopping centers, behemoths with typically more than 400,000 square feet of retail space, have multiple anchors and attract consumers from multi-county areas. Regional shopping centers account for five percent of all shopping centers, 29 percent of selling space, and 30 percent of shopping center sales. At the far end of the scale, there are “megamalls.” Megamalls have four- to five-million square feet of retail space and draw consumers worldwide. Two examples of megamalls include West Edmonton Mall in Canada (5.2 million sq. ft.) and The Mall of America (4.2 million sq. ft.) in Minnesota. West Edmonton has 825 specialty stores, 11 department stores, two auto dealerships, 132 restaurants, 32 movie screens, a five-acre water park with 22 slides, the world’s largest indoor amusement park (with roller coaster), an 18-hole miniature golf course modeled after Pebble Beach, an ice skating rink, a lake, a bingo parlor, a medieval torture chamber, a hotel with 1,220 rooms, a chapel, an 80-foot replica of the Santa Maria, a miniature Bourbon Street, four submarines, 16 doctors, sharks, dolphins, flamingos, jaguars, alligators, availability of golf cart and rickshaw transportation, and plenty of parking. The Mall of America has 500 specialty stores, 49 restaurants, eight night clubs, 14 movie screens, a seven-acre amusement park with 28 rides, 100,000 guests each day, a 1.2 million gallon aquarium, and 14,000 parking spaces. Built in 1992, it attracted 190 million visitors from 1993 to 1998, generated 24,450 tons of waste in its first three years, and is five times larger than Red Square.

The proliferation of shopping malls over the past 30 years has had an indelible impact on the structure of retailing. In 1950 there were no retail sales in self-contained malls. In 1960 there were 4,500 malls, which accounted for 14 percent of retail sales. By 1975 16,400 malls accounted for 33 percent of retail sales. In 1987, there were 30,000 malls in the United States. In 1998 there were more than 42,000 malls with 5.1 billion square feet of retail space accounting for 933 billion retail dollars, about 40 percent of all retail sales, eight percent of the labor force, and 13 percent of the GNP. Between 1995 and 1998 an average of 900 new malls were built each year. At the end of the century, there was approximately 20 square feet of mall space for each American.

As the new town centers of the suburbs, malls have centralized commerce more than old town centers by providing all sorts of goods under one roof. At their best, malls represent a vision of utopia, promising to free Americans from crime, dirt, heat and cold, and uncertainty. The controlled environment of the mall is carefully designed. The barren exteriors of malls are designed so that people are encouraged to be inside and not outside the walled city. The enclosed mall is a stage upon which a fantasized and created world is played out. Retailers and mall marketers create the lighting, props, staging, and train actors (mall employees) to ensure customers will return. Retailers and common areas of the mall are designed to appeal to all five senses of consumers because the décor, noise, lighting, intensity, layout, and presence of others all may affect consumer behavior. Despite the newness of many aspects of the mall, the large center area, with seating and entertainment, recaptures the town square environment that was lost as people moved from urban centers, and the food courts resemble the old Italian Squares where people came to shop but stayed for food.

Conceptually, Disneyland is the prototype in principle, philosophy, and operation of the modern mall. Opened one year before the Southdale Mall, Disneyland offered Mainstreet, USA, where shops lined the street. Once inside, a visitor could walk inside through the entire Main Street, making Main Street Disneyland perhaps the real

first enclosed shopping mall. And like Disneyland, some malls—including The Mall of America in Minnesota, Tyson’s Corner in Virginia, and Woodfield Mall in Illinois—are the biggest tourist attractions in their states. The Mall of America is one of the top three attractions in the entire United States. The mall’s 40 million customers in 1998 totalled more visitors than the Statue of Liberty, the Grand Canyon, and The Washington Monument combined.

The geography of the mall, like the geography of Disneyland, is a pretty fair representation of the American consumer consciousness. Both are areas designed to evoke happiness and a friendly, familiar environment. The point of Main Street Disneyland was to allow a long view of utopia ending at the Castle. The long view at the mall ends at its own utopia: an anchor department store. In Disneyland the end of Main Street radiates into the various lands of opportunity. So too does the mall, which spokes off into the other anchor and specialty areas. Like Disneyland, malls represent ideal environments where nothing bad ever happens, where everything is new and shiny, where everyone is happily consuming.

The abundance of mall offerings is mesmerizing. Malls offer child care, doctor and dental services, professional services, fine dining, entertainment, and education (one mall recently started an MBA program) and of course the “stuff” that makes us look better, feel better, live better, that makes life fun, interesting, easier, rewarding, and more satisfying. The mall offers the American dream under one roof. The walls of the mall, like the walls of a castle, preserve a way of life that is not only desired by all Americans but is the envy of the world. The mall is a version of an imperial city where anyone is admitted. The mall makes everything in society available to everyone.

But to the extent that consumers suffer from envy, jealousy, anxiety, and insecurity based on what they see in the mall and cannot have, their insecurity is reinforced. Malls are the manifestation, and maybe the continued cause, of a world that is defined by commercialization, as seen in schools, art museums, and not-for-profit institutions. William Kowinski posited in his book, *The Malling of America: An Inside Look at the Great Consumer Paradise*, that malls may be the important economic, cultural, social, and psychological identifier of our time:

Someday it may be possible—if it isn’t already—to be born, go from preschool through college, get a job, date, marry, have children, fool around, get a divorce, advance through a career or two, receive your medical care, even get arrested, tried, and jailed; live a relatively full life of culture and entertainment and eventually die and be given funeral rites without ever leaving a particular mall complex—because every one of these possibilities exists now in some shopping center somewhere.

The mall is open to anyone, but a 1998 study indicated that the average mall shopper was a 36-year-old female with about \$40,000 annual family income. This average shopper visited malls 9.9 times in a 30-day period and spent \$75 per visit. The study went on to report that 75 percent of Americans shop at a mall at least once a month and listed the mall as the third most frequent destination after home and work. A mere 16 percent of Americans do not shop in a mall.

Malls have fit well into many changes in America. In a time of dual income families and single parent households, time-impoorished consumers can save time and effort by going to the mall. But those with extra time can enjoy the social atmosphere of the mall.

Malls provide a social hall for senior citizens, a teenage hangout, and an exercise venue for walkers.

Despite the public embrace of malls, some signs of consumer disillusionment appeared at the end of the twentieth century. Changes in consumer behavior indicate that consumers are becoming disenchanting with the mall experience. Mall visits per month have decreased one third over a ten-year period. And as consumers are visiting the mall less they are also spending one third less time per visit in the mall. In a 1996 national survey of mall consumers, the Purdue University Retail Institute found that consumers could easily identify their dissatisfaction with their mall experiences. The following is a list of the five most frequently mentioned negative impressions of malls:

- 1) Malls were crowded. Ironically, efforts to increase traffic with special events may actually reinforce the notion of malls as crowded places.
- 2) Mall parking had poor lighting, required a lengthy walk, and/or required payment.
- 3) Loitering teenagers irritated the consumer.
- 4) Poor interior layout and climate lead to a negative shopping experience. Some malls were reportedly confusing, unkempt, and poorly lit; others played loud music and had "bad" smells.
- 5) Poor treatment in stores.

Other negative aspects of shopping at malls included: a lack of visible security, an inability to find help in the store, little selection/variety (store and merchandise sameness), paying more than expected, and an inability to find desired merchandise.

Mall managers and developers must pay attention to the nature of the retail experience in the mall, in the stores, and even in the parking lot. The customer satisfaction with the entire mall experience is related to purchase intent, loyalty, amount of purchase, and positive word of mouth. If customer satisfaction is ignored malls will face significant decline as other competitive venues—such as home shopping, Internet, catalog, and freestanding stores—serve customers better.

At their best, malls are simply the partnership of commercialism and community in harmony. The dedication plaque to Disneyland presented on July 17, 1955 is as much a call to the mall as it is to Disneyland: "To all who come to this happy place: Welcome. Disneyland ("The Mall") is your land. Here age relives fond memories of the past . . . and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future." And like the 15 million people who visited Disneyland, the 14 million who visited the Magic Kingdom, and the 12 million people who visited Epcot Center in 1998, the 40 million people who visited the Mall of America did so because they found it pleasurable.

—Richard Feinberg and Cindy Evans

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The Maltese Falcon

In his 1929 novel, *The Maltese Falcon*, Dashiell Hammett introduced the novel reading public to the hard-boiled private detective as central character. Samuel Spade, of Spade and Archer Investigations, is a cynical, violent and socially unattractive man who thinks nothing of having an affair with his partner's wife or taking part in the evil perfidy of shabby San Francisco neighborhoods. Because of his criminal associations, the police do not trust him. The District Attorney's Office periodically calls him in for questioning. Spade, mindful that his environment has tarnished him, uses his reputation to his advantage. While the authorities often suspect him of complicity, his clients, ranging from the tawdry to the downright evil, take him into their confidence. To Sam Spade, life is not a rational, orderly affair, but a series of random, often baneful happenings. Aware of, and adjusting to, the decadence around him, Spade maintains a strong moral awareness and a strict adherence to his own code of professional ethics. He judges people by his standards, not their or society's standards. Spade is a descendent of the hard-boiled heroes of detective stories in pulp magazines of the 1920s. These private detectives were a new breed. They didn't shun violence, they embraced it, used it to their advantage. Their mannerisms were unrefined, their language was pungent. They moved with ease among the lawless. Their reactions to events were instinctive, not reasoned. They sacrificed love and sentiment for principle. Like the lone Western heroes before them, they adhered to their professional codes and lived by their guns



Humphrey Bogart and Mary Astor in *The Maltese Falcon*.

and fists. The book is written in a sparse, objective narrative, devoid of excess verbiage. Not merely a landmark detective novel that profoundly influenced later detective novels, *The Maltese Falcon* stands on its own merits as a quality literary work.

When a Miss Wonderly retains the Spade/Archer agency to trail the mysterious Thursby, Miles Archer—believing that she might possibly be another sexual conquest—takes the case. When Archer is killed and then, shortly thereafter, Thursby is found shot to death, Spade is propelled into a complex web of mystery occupied by a cast of characters who plumb the depths of moral corruption and betrayal. Shortly after Archer's death, Spade is visited by Joel Cairo, an effeminate, gardenia-scented thief, who retains him to find a jewel-encrusted statuette, the Maltese Falcon. Spade discovers a connection between Cairo and Miss Wonderly, whose real name is Bridget O'Shaughnessy. This leads, in turn, to the mysterious fat man, Casper Gutman, a mincing international swindler and crime baron, and his psychopathic gunsel/bodyguard, Wilmer. Gutman reveals that he, too, is after the Falcon, estimating its worth at an enormous fortune. In searching Cairo's hotel room for information about the bird, Spade notices that the ship arrival schedules have been clipped from the newspaper. After purchasing a paper, he discovers that the *La Paloma* will arrive that day from Hong Kong. Knowing that Bridget has been in the Orient, Spade goes to the dock and discovers that Gutman, Cairo, Bridget, and Wilmer have been on the ship and have talked to Captain Jacoby, who has since disappeared. Back at his office, Spade and his loyal secretary Effie are interrupted by the arrival of Captain Jacoby, who gives Spade a bundle and then drops dead on the floor. The bundle contains the Falcon. After attempting to contact Bridget and being sent on a wild goose chase by Gutman's daughter, Spade finally goes to his apartment to find Bridget waiting outside and Cairo, Gutman, and Wilmer waiting for him inside. They all want the Falcon. Spade announces that he has the bird. He wants \$10,000 and someone to turn over to the police for the murders. Gutman, who knows that Wilmer killed Captain Jacoby and assumes that Thursby killed Archer, agrees to turn Wilmer over to the cops in exchange for the statue. After Gutman counts out ten \$1,000 bills, Spade calls Effie and tells her to deliver the bird. Gutman then admits that he had tried to bribe Thursby, but Thursby was too loyal to Bridget and would not throw in with them. This revelation points out Archer's killer to Spade.

The Falcon turns out to be a lead imitation, a fake, symbolizing the cast of characters in the story. After notifying the police, Spade turns to Bridget and forces her to confess that she killed Archer. She picked the agency at random, believing that Thursby would kill any detective who followed him. When Thursby failed to kill Archer, Bridget killed him with Thursby's gun in hopes that the police would arrest him and she would be free to get the Falcon for herself. But Thursby was killed by Wilmer a short time later, which told Bridget that the fat man was in town. She then used her sexual wiles to get Spade to help her. In the end, Spade is forced to turn her over to the authorities, knowing that she would have something on him if he didn't, and that he would never be able to turn his back on her. Besides, killing a detective is bad for the detective business. His moral code will not allow his feelings for Bridget to get in the way of punishing his partner's murderer. His code might allow him to profit from the Falcon, to deceive criminals and to pretend to throw in with them, even to accept Gutman's bribe. It would even allow him to have an affair with his partner's wife and to have a passionate affair with Bridget while she is a client. But there is a line he cannot and will not cross. He is committed to removing polluting elements from society and to punishing the murderer of a partner he did not respect. His code

will not allow him to violate the principles he has established for himself in his profession. He is as fallible as any man, but he will not sacrifice his own code of professional ethics.

Filmed three times by Warner Brothers, the movie versions transformed Sam Spade from a debonair ladies' man in the 1930s to a lonely, possessed detective in the early 1940s. In 1931, Roy del Ruth directed Ricardo Cortez playing Sam Spade as a charming, captivating ladies' man. This pre-code film depicts Spade in a suggestive bedroom scene with Bebe Daniels as Bridget O'Shaughnessy. It also includes a silent mouthing of "S.O.B." by Joel Cairo, and partial nude scenes of Bridget. Because of these and other explicit scenes, the Breen Office rejected a 1934 re-release of the film. In most respects, the film adheres closely to the story line of the novel. It was later retitled *Dangerous Lady* to distinguish it from the 1941 version. It was remade in 1937 as *Satan Met a Lady* with Warren William as a wisecracking Ted Shayne and Bette Davis as Valerie, a mysterious client, who hires Shayne to hunt down a mysterious fat woman, who is hunting for a ram's horn filled with jewels (Alison Skipworth). Shayne sets a trap, pitting the various crooks against each other and solves his partner's murder. The film was an attempt to bring humor to the story and to depict the Sam Spade character as a sophisticated, all knowing, nightclubbing ladies' man, somewhat in the mold of Nick Charles of *The Thin Man* series produced at MGM. Neither version made much of an impact on the critics, or the moviegoing public.

The definitive movie version was produced in 1941 by Hal Wallace, and was written and directed by John Huston. It is a landmark film that has become a classic of modern popular culture. The 1941 version created the hard-boiled screen detective, the prototype for countless detective movies that followed. It also introduced the cinematic genre later termed "film noir," a style that dominated over 300 Hollywood films between 1944 and 1958. This version is a faithful rendition of the book's storyline, and stars Humphrey Bogart as the our, obsessed Sam Spade, and Mary Astor as the sinister Bridget O'Shaughnessy. Peter Lorre plays the elusive, effeminate Joel Cairo; Sidney Greenstreet, in his first film, is the amoral fat man, Gutman; and Elisha Cook plays the psychopathic killer, Wilmer Cook. This film version is as streamlined and as devoid of description as the novel. The characters describe themselves by their actions and their words. In a terse, almost documentary style, the secrets are revealed to the audience at the same time that Spade learns of them.

Cinematically the film was a departure from the standard Hollywood fare of the 1930s. The odd camera angles, the intrusion of light and shadow into scenes at unexpected angles, the dishonorable motivation and expectations of the main characters, including the protagonist Sam Spade, were somewhat jarring to critics and audiences. In addition, Astor's portrayal of Bridget was much darker and more menacing than audiences were accustomed to in female antagonists. But by 1944, after millions of people had lost friends and family members in World War II, this style of film making seemed to have some relevance to the movie-going public. French critics, who had missed seeing American films from 1940-1945, originated the film noir tag. After the war ended, as the world plunged into the Cold War and as the specter of the atom bomb cast its pall over civilization, the noir style became popular. The confusing, pessimistic plots, the emphasis on alienation and goals gone awry, and the intrusion of the normal clamor of city life into the movies, exposing a dark underside of American life, were accepted as a realistic portrayal of the complexity of modern post war civilization.

Roger Corman, under the pseudonym Harry Neil, made a low-budget parody of *The Maltese Falcon* entitled *Target Harry* in 1968,

and David Giles wrote and directed a similar rip-off, *The Black Bird*, in 1975. Both films were unsuccessful. A radio series, *The Adventures of Sam Spade*, began on CBS on July 12, 1946, as a summer replacement, but became instantly popular. It moved into the fall lineup in September on Sunday nights, sponsored by Wildroot Creme Oil. It was directed by William Speir and starred Howard Duff as Sam Spade and Lurene Tuttle as Effie Perrine. In 1949 CBS dropped the show when Dashiell Hammett's name cropped up in the House Un-American Activities Committee investigations, although he was never charged with disloyalty. NBC picked up the show in the fall of 1949 with Steve Dunne as Spade and Tuttle as Effie. The show went off the air in 1951.

—James R. Belpedio

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The Mamas and the Papas

One of the most commercially successful folk-rock groups of the mid-1960s, the Mamas and the Papas were known for their rich vocal harmonies as well as their unconventional appearance. The group's four founding members only sang together for a few years, but their recordings, which included nine Top Forty hits, made a lasting impact on pop music. Their first single, "California Dreamin'," established them as part of a new Los Angeles-based hippie music scene, even though they initially came together as a folk act in New York's Greenwich Village. Few pop groups featured a combination of male and female voices, and this rare sound became a factor in the Mamas and the Papas' popularity among adults. During the early 1960s, pop music was designed primarily for teenagers. With the advent of performers like the Mamas and the Papas, who used their folk background to create complex arrangements for catchy, intelligent songs, older listeners began buying pop albums. By the time the group disbanded due to personal differences in 1968, other artists such as the Beach Boys and the Beatles were also producing more intricate music. In a relatively short time, the Mamas and the Papas managed to earn the appreciation of a substantial audience that endured for decades after they ceased singing together.

The son of a Marine Corps officer, John Edmund Andrew Phillips was born in 1935, on Parris Island, South Carolina. He played the guitar in high school, and he began performing at folk clubs in his early twenties. In addition to his interest in folk music, Phillips was

intrigued by vocal groups with smooth harmonies such as the Hi-Los. He formed his own folk quartet, which evolved into the Journeymen, a trio that included Scott McKenzie and Dick Weissman. They were successful during the early 1960s as part of the urban folk revival that had begun at the end of the previous decade. While performing in San Francisco, Phillips met and fell in love with Holly Michelle Gilliam (1944—), a seventeen-year-old California native. They were married on New Year's Eve in 1962, and by 1964, John, Michelle, and Marshall Brickman were singing together as the New Journeymen. As the group toured, John recruited a tenor from Nova Scotia named Denny Doherty (1941—), who had previously sung with the Halifax Three. In 1965, Brickman left the group, and the three remaining members traveled to St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands to rehearse new songs John had written. There they were joined by a friend of Doherty's named Cass Elliot (1941-1974), born Ellen Naomi Cohen in Baltimore, Maryland. Doherty and Elliot had sung together as part of the Big Three, which became the Mugwumps, a group that included John Sebastian and Zal Yanovsky, future founders of the Lovin' Spoonful. Later, John Phillips would mention these and other names in the song "Creeque Alley," which explained how the Mamas and the Papas came together.

Phillips realized that folk music's popularity was waning, and his new compositions were designed for a pop act using electric instruments. After working on this material in the Virgin Islands, John and Michelle Phillips, Doherty, and Elliot went to Los Angeles, where they auditioned for producer Lou Adler of Dunhill Records. He offered them a contract, and they decided to call themselves the Mamas and the Papas. Their first single was to be "Go Where You Wanna Go," until Adler changed his mind and released "California Dreamin'," which became a Top Ten record early in 1966. It was followed a few months later by the single "Monday, Monday" and the group's first album, *If You Can Believe Your Eyes and Ears*, both of which went to number one on the *Billboard* charts. The group developed a hippie image, often wearing long, flowing robes on stage. Despite their sudden tremendous success as performers, the Mamas and the Papas were not faring well offstage. Shortly after the band was signed, John discovered that Michelle and Doherty were having an affair. In June of 1966, Michelle was fired from the group for a few months, until she and John reconciled their differences. During 1967, John and Adler helped organize the Monterey Pop Festival, and John wrote a song for his former bandmate Scott McKenzie entitled "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)" that became a pop anthem for young people seeking out the California counterculture. That year the Mamas and the Papas continued recording and performing sporadically, but by the end of the following year they made the decision to split up.

Mama Cass, as Elliot was commonly known, was the only member of the group to become a successful solo artist, and she performed up until her death in 1974 from heart failure caused by her excessive weight and drug abuse. A false report that she died choking on a ham sandwich became a widely believed myth that persisted for decades after her death. John and Michelle Phillips were divorced in 1970, two years after the birth of their daughter Chynna, who became part of the pop act Wilson Phillips in the early 1990s. Michelle took up acting, appearing in various films and on television during the 1970s and 1980s. John continued songwriting and producing while suffering from an increasingly severe drug addiction that lasted until 1980, when he was arrested on federal charges. After serving a very



The Mamas and the Papas, from left: John Phillips, Michelle Phillips, Dennis Doherty, and Cass Elliot.

brief sentence, he stopped using narcotics and became an anti-drug spokesperson. He made numerous public appearances, accompanied by his daughter Mackenzie, a star on television's *One Day at a Time* and also a recovering drug addict. In the early 1980s, John and Mackenzie revived the Mamas and the Papas, along with Doherty, who had failed in his efforts to pursue a solo career, and Elaine "Spanky" McFarlane, from the 1960s group Spanky and Our Gang. The original Mamas and Papas were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1998, as their recordings continued to demonstrate a collective vocal talent rarely found in pop music.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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Mamet, David (1947—)

One of the most important American playwrights of the twentieth century, David Mamet is the voice of the common man—or even criminal—in the theater. He has been acclaimed for his gritty depictions of con men, thieves, and other morally bereft characters whose language is rife with the kind of stuttering, pausing, and obscenities that occur in real-life conversation. Despite the spartan phrasing and lack of eloquence in the dialogue, the staccato rhythm ends up flowing naturally, making Mamet's dialogue unique, though he is sometimes roughly compared to fellow author Harold Pinter. Mamet was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for drama in 1984 for *Glengarry Glen Ross*, the tale of shady salesmen in a cutthroat real estate sales office.

He has also cultivated a career in feature films as a screenwriter, director, and sometimes producer.

—Geri Speace

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The Man from U.N.C.L.E.

Conceived as a spoof on the James Bond films, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was rooted in the cultural climate of the 1960s and was American television's most noteworthy nod to the international success of author Ian Fleming's spy hero. Created by Dr. Kildare producer Norman Felton, with initial support and assistance from Fleming, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* introduced audiences to Napoleon Solo (played by Robert Vaughn) and his Russian partner Ilya Kuryakin (David McCallum), secret agents for the United Network Command for Law and Enforcement. Their weekly battles against the evil minions of THRUSH attracted little critical or popular attention when the show made its debut in the fall of 1964. However, when NBC moved the show from Tuesday to Monday nights in early 1965, it rapidly gained a cult-like popularity, particularly among young viewers for whom lines of U.N.C.L.E. toys and books were manufactured. (In 1966 the network even commissioned a spinoff, *The Girl from U.N.C.L.E.*, to take further advantage of the fad; the series ended after 29 episodes). However, *U.N.C.L.E.*'s outlandish plots and arch humor became too ridiculous to retain sufficiently wide appeal, and despite efforts to refocus the show on straight adventure, *The Man from U.N.C.L.E.* was retired to syndication in 1968. Various episodes were made up into feature films that enjoyed a modest success outside of the United States.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance

Although John Ford made three more films after its release in 1962, *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* is generally thought of as his final masterpiece and one of the best-made Westerns of all time. Critics initially derided the film as unoriginal and a seeming rehash of themes Ford had dealt with more successfully in earlier oeuvres, but *Liberty Valance* has ultimately come to be recognized as Ford's most self-reflective work, a film in which he examined the loss of the frontier traits that forged America's early identity. In the decades after the release of *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, the film has gained a reputation as a seminal revisionist Western—ironically for the very reasons *Liberty Valance* was initially dismissed: its derivative nature



John Wayne in a scene from the film *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*.

and seeming reworking of Ford's earlier movies. In referring to his own past works and re-addressing his major thematic interests over a half-century film career, Ford created a film that serves as his final commentary on the conflict between the frontier and civilization that permeated his Westerns.

The story concerns Senator Ransom Stoddard (Jimmy Stewart), his wife Hallie (Vera Miles), and their relationship with Tom Doniphon (John Wayne). At the outset of the film, the Stoddards, visibly middle-aged, arrive in the town of Shinbone to attend the funeral of Doniphon, ostensibly an old friend. Stoddard has become a Senator on the basis of his reputation as the man who shot Liberty Valance (Lee Marvin). But shortly after the film begins, Senator Stoddard recounts the actual events of Valance's death to a local newspaper editor. The greater part of the film is a flashback in which Doniphon is revealed as the real killer of Liberty Valance. Wayne is particularly effective in this role given his screen persona as a Western hero, which confers on Tom Doniphon a melancholic resonance he might not have otherwise had. In the end, Doniphon dies ignominiously, a long forgotten remnant of Shinbone's frontier past. At the conclusion of the flashback, the editor rips up his story. When Ransom asks if he is going to print it, the editor tellingly replies, "No sir! This is the West, sir. When the legend becomes fact, print the legend." Whereas in earlier works Ford glorified the legendary aspects of America's Western past, in *Liberty Valance* the glorification is bitingly ironic. As John Baxter observes, *Liberty Valance* shows "in detail that civilization, though inevitable, destroys everything honest and good in frontier life." As Ronald Davis notes, Brendan Gill's *New Yorker* review, in which he writes, "John Ford's *The Man Who Shot Liberty*

Valance is a parody of Mr. Ford's best work," typifies the commonly held view at the time.

In Ford's earlier Westerns—*My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Wagon Master* (1950), and *She Wore A Yellow Ribbon* (1949), to name just a few—the conflict between the frontier and encroaching civilization is amicably resolved. As Mike Yawn and Bob Beatty observe, "Ford's West was a place where the best—and the noble—traits of the frontier and of civilization could not only coexist, but actually synthesize into a purely American set of values." Although others made notable contributions to the genre, Ford's Westerns of the 1940s and early 1950s invented the patterns most commonly associated with classical Hollywood Westerns. Accordingly, as Richard Maltby notes, the Western is sometimes dismissed as being simply "where Hollywood discusses American history, in which the wilderness becomes a garden." But in *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance*, the optimistic reconciliation of the frontier and civilization that characterized Ford's earlier Westerns is no more; instead, Ford questions the Western mythology that he himself had done so much to create.

In *Liberty Valance*, Ford wanted to create a mood and tone that paralleled his wavering optimism. As a result, as Ronald Davis notes, "he insisted on shooting it in black and white, wanting a dark, anachronistic look, since the picture incorporated his diminishing faith in American values. No longer did he feel like celebrating the course of civilization, which he accepted, but did not necessarily see as progress." In addition, Ford's trademark panoramic shots are notably absent. Instead, the majority of the film was shot inside the Paramount studio. The film begins in the town of Shinbone, which can be seen as a cinematic descendant of *My Darling Clementine*'s Tombstone. But whereas Tombstone was a frontier town on the edge of civilization, Shinbone has long been urbanized, as evidenced by the notable presence of a train, a telephone, and telephone poles and wires in the film's early scenes. The city's streets are cramped and claustrophobic, more reminiscent of film noir than of Westerns. In Shinbone, a city in which frontier values can no longer coexist with civilization, the results of the closing of the frontier and the rise of American urbanization can be seen.

After years of making films that asserted that the West could be civilized without losing its frontier qualities, Ford here abandoned his optimism to his realization that progress had ultimately robbed the West of its identity. As a genre, the Western film no longer flourishes as it did during Ford's time. The few serious Westerns that have been made by Hollywood since the release of *Liberty Valance* have most often been ones in which the legends and myths associated with the American West are exposed as hollow.

—Robert C. Sickels

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The Manchurian Candidate

A highly successful, popular novel written in the late 1950s and brought to the screen in the early 1960s shortly before the death of John F. Kennedy, *The Manchurian Candidate* outlines the assassination of the United States president. Its limited release in the wake of Kennedy's death and its somewhat prophetic storyline has helped the work gain cult status. Yet this status is not just a mark of good timing. As a novel and film it was one of the earliest direct attacks on the nature of McCarthyism, as well as one of the first successful indigenous spy novels in America. Its characterization of the lone insane gunman would take on iconic meaning, but its cynical representation of the American political machine and its increasing connection with the media was also something to which the public could relate.

The Manchurian Candidate, written by Richard Condon (1915-1996) and published in 1959, is an unusual work for its time, being what might be generically termed spy fiction. The spy genre, as Clive Bloom terms it in *Spy Thrillers*, is "the genre tied to international political and social tensions," responding "to a need to represent covert activity by state organizations," via works dealing with the questions of espionage at home and abroad. Hardly anything approaching spy fiction appeared in America until the 1940s and in any numbers until the 1960s, perhaps, as some suggest, because of the nature of American democracy or a foreign policy tending towards isolationism. In the 1960s and 1970s, following in the wake of Ian Fleming's James Bond, the writings of American intelligence "insiders" like Victor Marchetti and William F. Buckley, along with America's ever increasing involvement in world affairs, the spy thriller came into its own as an American phenomenon. *The Manchurian Candidate* is a relatively early, and surprisingly successful, attempt to deal with the issues of the spy novel.

The book's popularity (it was one of the 50 best-sellers of the decade) may lie with its drawing together many of the decade's traumas—it starts in the Korean War, has a Senator who, in tactics and aims, is the double of Joe McCarthy, and showcases a strong mother figure as a Russian agent, harking back to Ethel Rosenberg and reflecting male postwar fears concerning the power of women. Underlying the whole story is the fear that the Communists have mastered a technological superiority that could threaten apocalypse for the American nation (in this case not the bomb, but a sophisticated form of brainwashing). The book cleverly taps into a fear of Communism, the effects of rationalism and domestic prosperity on American individualism, and many other issues concerning the nature of sexuality and of male/female roles. Lastly, all these issues feed into the question of nationhood. For America, now of central importance in world affairs, carrying the self-proclaimed mantle of defenders of democracy, every foreign conflict becomes a site of potential American destruction.

The Manchurian Candidate, however, also looks into the future. It is suggestive of the more disorientating war narratives of Vietnam; suggestive of Nixon—the criminal politician who went all the way; of an enemy growing more amorphous than the melodramatic picture of the enemy that dominated in the 1950s; and, of course, it develops the idea of a presidential assassination. It is a prophetic novel if you like, but it is also one that shows many of the elements of post-assassination America in place, as they had to be for the assassination to be explicable at all. The world does not change the day Kennedy dies . . . those changes are already in process.



Frank Sinatra (left) and Laurence Harvey in a scene from the film *The Manchurian Candidate*.

Though the novel faded once it fell off the best-seller's list, Condon's cynical political satire has survived through its cult film version. Directed by John Frankenheimer (1930—), the film is a tense, dark, and relatively faithful rendition of the novel, maintaining a documentary-like style with a number of striking and imaginative scenes. Laurence Harvey's stuffy assassin, Frank Sinatra's twitching hero, and Angela Lansbury's superb, Oscar-nominated mother figure, manage to put across many of the major themes of the novel, even some of the nuances of the incestuous relationship between mother and son (Lansbury was only three years Harvey's senior). The film received mixed reviews and mixed reactions—it was picketed in Orange County for being left wing and picketed in Paris for being right wing—but its original and gripping delineation of the lone gunman and his preparations for the murder of the president, so close to the actual death of Kennedy, propelled it into a kind of obscurity. Over the next 15 years it was difficult to see the film, increasing its aura and, as the amount of contradictory information mounted on the death of Kennedy, the work seemed prophetic not only in foreseeing a president murdered, but in foreseeing a political atmosphere that could make any conspiracy seem imaginable.

The Manchurian Candidate is generally considered Condon's best novel and Frankenheimer's best film. The story offers a twisted overview of the whole period—a reflection on the cynicism of the domestic politics of the time, on the anxiety at the fragility of individual will, and on the nature of paranoia. It also works, most interestingly, as an early American spy novel. Added to this is the force of Frankenheimer's film and its successful characterization of the novel's main strands. Its proximity to the death of John F. Kennedy gives its representation of the single mad unseen gunman—who was soon to have such an iconic presence in the post-assassination society—an extra potency.

—Kyle Smith

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Mancini, Henry (1924-1994)

Although he was a highly gifted composer/arranger capable of scoring films of any genre, Henry Mancini is probably best known to the general public for the jazzy, light-hearted, cocktail-confection themes from *Peter Gunn* and *The Pink Panther*, and as the melodist behind such wistful songs as "Moon River" and "The Days of Wine and Roses." A product of the big-band era who ended up in Hollywood in the early 1950s, Mancini served his cinematic apprenticeship as a staff composer (mostly for "B" movies) at Universal. His big break came in 1958 when writer-director Blake Edwards offered him the opportunity to score the private-eye series, *Peter Gunn*. Mancini's main-title theme pioneered the use of jazz music in TV background music and became a hit single from one of the best-selling LP's of all time. Soon Mancini scores were gracing some of Hollywood's most stylish big-screen productions, and his music was almost as much a star of these films as Audrey Hepburn, Cary Grant, and John Wayne. Record albums and concert tours helped to make the shy musician from Pennsylvania one of the few film-composers



Henry Mancini

whose name had public recognition. Although Mancini died suddenly in 1994 while working on his first Broadway musical, his legacy is a lasting one. The adult, sophisticated comedies and romances graced by Mancini scores are no longer made in modern Hollywood, but his songs have become standards, an indelible contribution to the soundtrack of our lives.

Mancini was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 16, 1924, but grew up in West Aliquippa, Pennsylvania. His Italian immigrant father was a steelworker who loved music and insisted that his only child learn the flute and the piccolo. Young Hank played in the school band and also studied piano, but his most important instruction was self-administered: listening to recordings of the popular big bands, young Mancini taught himself how to arrange music. More formal schooling came later from Pittsburgh theater arranger-conductor Max Adkins. Although Adkins created an opportunity for his student to audition an arrangement for the great Benny Goodman in 1942, the famed clarinetist did not think the young man was ready yet for the big time. (Ironically, years later, Mancini would arrange the music for the film *The Benny Goodman Story*.) Mancini spent a fruitful year studying at the Julliard School of Music in New York, but a draft notice interrupted his education. A brief encounter with Glenn Miller saved the young man from the perilous duty of a tail-gunner and transferred him into an Air Force band. Following the war, Mancini became pianist and arranger for the newly-formed band of Miller veteran Tex Beneke, a move that proved decisive for Mancini's personal and professional life. Hank fell in love with Ginny O'Connor, a member of Mel Tormé's singing group, The Meltones, and they were soon married. O'Connor eventually joined another group, the Mello-Larks, and when the singers made a short film at Universal, Mancini got the assignment to arrange their music.

Joseph Gershenson, head of the studio's music department, offered the young musician a couple of weeks' work on an Abbott and Costello picture, and this assignment stretched into a six-year apprenticeship in the art and craft of film scoring. With his Beneke background, Mancini was a natural to assist Gershenson on 1953's *The Glenn Miller Story*, and their joint work was nominated for an Academy Award—the first of eighteen for Mancini. (He would eventually win four Oscars.) Mancini's on-the-job training involved composition for virtually every genre at the Universal film factory, from westerns to Ma and Pa Kettle comedies, from gangster movies and mysteries to such science-fiction/horror thrillers (often in collaboration with Herman Stein) as *The Creature From the Black Lagoon* and *This Island Earth*. Because the budgets often didn't allow for complete original scores, Mancini would frequently be assigned to cobble together music from the scores of older pictures. This afforded Mancini another opportunity for self-instruction, studying the work of such veteran film composers as Frank Skinner, Hans J. Salter, and Miklos Rozsa.

But Mancini was about to make his own distinctive mark on film scoring. The first sign of the new direction which Mancini would be taking film music came in 1958 with his score for Orson Welles' *Touch of Evil*. A neglected film in its day, but regarded as a cult classic—particularly in the version which restores Welles' original editing—*Touch* featured a most unusual score. For his gritty *film noir* set in American and Mexican border towns, Welles decided against the customary practice of providing a dramatic underscore. Instead, nearly all of the music heard in *Touch* was source music: the music which would realistically be heard coming from radios and jukeboxes. Nevertheless, with his jazz and pop expertise, Mancini managed to make this music suitably menacing. In its way, it was as essential to

the film's mood and as memorable as the famous zither source music in Carol Reed's *The Third Man* (which had starred Welles). Unfortunately for Mancini, the influx of television was causing the movie studios to cut back on their payrolls, and, shortly after *Touch of Evil*, the composer was let go. Ironically, it was television that proved to be Mancini's salvation. Writer-director Blake Edwards, who had known Mancini at Universal, was about to start a new private eye series for NBC, *Peter Gunn*. Bumping into Mancini by chance one day, on the spur of the moment Edwards offered Mancini the job of scoring his upcoming program.

Peter Gunn was the breakthrough moment for Mancini, and the beginning of the Americanization of film music. Edwards wanted a fresh sound for his series, which often found the detective visiting a jazz club called Mother's. Taking his cue from the milieu, Mancini injected jazz inflections into the dramatic underscore. Distinguished film composers prior to Mancini had pioneered the use of jazz in movie scoring. Chief among these composers were Alex North in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951) and Elmer Bernstein in *The Man With the Golden Arm* (1955). But jazz had rarely been given the emphasis Mancini gave it in *Gunn*; and it had never been used on television, which reached a wider audience than the movies. The now-famous main-title theme, with its hard-driving piano base, gained such immediate popularity that RCA commissioned an entire album of Mancini's *Peter Gunn* music. The LP became a runaway bestseller, earning a Grammy Award as album of the year and generating a follow-up disc, *More Music From Peter Gunn*. Mancini's gift for innovative, pop-oriented orchestration demonstrated itself again with the score (and LP) for Edwards' next TV series, *Mr. Lucky*, whose main theme featured a jazz organ against strings.

It was Edwards who brought Mancini back into the movie scoring fold with the Bing Crosby comedy *High Time* in 1960. From then on, movies were Mancini's chief occupation, with occasional forays back into television. He was also persuaded to inaugurate a series of "pops" concert tours that proved immensely successful and, coupled with the continued success of his soundtrack recordings, kept Mancini in the public eye more than any film composer until the advent of John Williams. Many of Mancini's most important movies were written and directed by Blake Edwards, chief among them *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, *The Days of Wine and Roses*, and *The Pink Panther*. The title theme for *Panther*, and the "Baby Elephant Walk" from Howard Hawks' *Hatari!*, became popular instrumental hits which are still heard to this day. The title songs from *Wine and Roses* and *Charade*, with lyrics by Johnny Mercer, also made the hit parade and remain standards. But Mancini's most enduring achievement was written for Audrey Hepburn in *Breakfast at Tiffany's*. Having heard her sing the Gershwin's "How Long Has This Been Going On?" in *Funny Face*, Mancini knew that Miss Hepburn could handle a range of an octave plus a note. Noodling at the keyboard with that range of notes, Mancini in the space of half an hour came up with the melody which, again with Mercer's masterful lyric, has become immortal under the name, "Moon River." (After the first preview of *Tiffany's*, the studio executives wanted to cut the song, but Edwards fought for its inclusion; ironically, the same near-disaster once befell "Over the Rainbow" after a preview of *The Wizard of Oz*.)

Film composers can become as typecast as film actors, and Mancini sometimes had difficulty convincing producers to give him something more weighty than his usual assignments. But with such films as *The Molly Maguires* and *The Glass Menagerie*, Mancini proved that his range was not limited to frothy romances and comedies. Mancini wrote some delightful songs, with lyrics by Leslie

Bricusse, for Julie Andrews and Robert Preston to sing in Blake Edwards' *Victor/Victoria*, (1982), perhaps the last original screen musical in the classic tradition. While preparing a Broadway stage version of *Victor* in 1994, Henry Mancini discovered that he had inoperable cancer; before the year was out, the composer was gone. In the timeline of American popular music, Mancini made it in just under the wire. His career blossomed just as rock and roll was taking the stage, but there were still a few years left in which the classic song-writing craft of men like Mercer and Mancini could produce elegant, touching songs, which would become popular and, eventually, stand the test of time. With the passing of Mancini, we may never again see a songwriter rise to join the ranks of men like Berlin and Kern. The song is ended, but "Moon River" just keeps rolling along.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Manhattan Transfer

The Manhattan Transfer is a versatile vocal group that sings many different styles of music but, is essentially a jazz group. Through its showmanship and willingness to sing music as diverse as R&B (rhythm and blues), doo-wop, Brazilian Bossa Nova, and rock 'n' roll, it has managed to have an impact beyond jazz in its 25 year history. The Manhattan Transfer has clearly declined to be stereotyped as a jazz group. Tim Hauser of the Transfer notes that the group modeled itself on the saxophone section of the Count Basie Band, using its sound as a model for its four-part harmony.

The group has kept its basic personnel throughout most of its history. It consists of Tim Hauser, Cheryl Bentyne, Alan Paul, and Janis Siegel. Each contributes a unique sound to the overall ensemble and each is a fine soloist in his or her own right. Working as a marketing executive and a New York cab driver in 1972, Tim Hauser never lost sight of his hope to create a vocal group. One of his passengers was Laurel Masse, who was familiar with *Jukin'*, an album Hauser had made with an earlier Manhattan Transfer incarnation. Soon after Hauser met Janis Siegel at a party. Hauser convinced Siegel to leave her current singing group and join him and Masse in the Manhattan Transfer. He was also able to convince Alan Paul, from the original cast of *Grease*, to join the group.

The group spent three years working around Manhattan, gaining a cult following. They made their debut in 1975 on Atlantic Records with *The Manhattan Transfer*. They originally had greater success in Europe and had a string of top ten hits from their next two albums, *Coming Out* and *Pastiche*. The group even had its own short-lived television show on CBS.

Masse left the group in 1978 and was replaced by Cheryl Bentyne. Their first album with Bentyne was a major domestic hit.



Manhattan Transfer: (from left) Alan Paul, Janis Siegel, Cheryl Bentyne, and Tim Hauser.

Entitled *Extensions*, it featured the song “Twilight Zone/Twilight Tone.” It also features “Birdland,” a vocalese version of Weather Report’s great tune. It earned the group and Janis Siegel their first Grammys. Siegel won for best arrangement and the group for Best Jazz-Fusion Performance, Vocal or Instrumental. In 1981 the Transfer won Grammys for pop and jazz performances. It was the first time that had happened in Grammy history. They won the pop award for “The Boy from New York City” and the jazz Grammy for Count Basie’s “Corner Pocket.” Over the next few years, they continued their success.

In 1985 they recorded *Vocalese*, and this album became recognized as their peak effort. Jon Hendricks, the man generally recognized as the founder of the art form which sets jazz lyrics to jazz solos, joined them. The album was nominated for 12 Grammys and won two; best jazz vocal performance and best arrangement for voices. They followed this success with albums featuring Brazilian music, Christmas music, a children’s album, doo-wop music, and others.

Overall, the Manhattan Transfer has issued 20 albums over their 25 years. Along the way the group has won eight Grammy Awards.

Janis Siegel and Cheryl Bentyn have each won individual arranger Grammys. Their success has included worldwide sales in the millions as well as numerous sold-out world concert tours. Other awards include being named the “Best Vocal Group” for an entire decade (1980-1990) in the annual *Down Beat* and *Playboy* jazz polls.

—Frank A. Salamone, Ph.D.

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Manilow, Barry (1946—)

Best known for his romantic and borderline saccharine songs, Barry Manilow was a whipping boy for the critics through much of

the 1970s even as he sold millions of albums and gained a huge audience base. Though he didn't always write the songs, even when recording work by other artists Manilow still cultivated a lush and melodic musical style that was popular during the pre-rock era. His style evolved during the early-1980s from tame, string-laden, AM-radio pop to a more classic, jazzy sound that was heavily influenced by swing and 1930s and 1940s Broadway show tunes (many of which he later covered).

Unabashedly embracing a sentimental style that appealed primarily to white middle-class women of the working and homemaking sort, it is unsurprising that this Brooklyn born and raised songwriter was frequently denounced by the male-dominated rock and rock critic worlds. Because forms of entertainment associated with women—such as soap operas, romance novels, and the like—have historically been devalued, those who cater to that audience have been routinely dismissed by mainstream critics.

Unlike his ragtag rock 'n' roll world counterparts, however, Barry Manilow's resume has "professionalism" written all over it. After taking up a variety of instruments at an early age, Manilow attended both the New York College of Music and the Juilliard School, and in 1967 he went on to work as the musical director of a



Barry Manilow

CBS network television show. From there Manilow remained busy writing a successful Off-Broadway adaptation of *The Drunkard*, doing musical arrangement work for Ed Sullivan Productions, and writing a number of well-known commercial jingles for Dr. Pepper, Band-Aids, and other advertisements. Throughout the 1970s his voice could be heard singing the McDonald's jingle—"You deserve a break today." He even released a medley of his commercials on one of his 1970s albums.

He got his foot in the door of the pop music world while working as part of a duo with the then-unknown Bette Midler. Working out of New York City gay bathhouses as her pianist, Manilow soon became her musical director and arranger, co-producing and arranging her Grammy-winning debut album and its follow-up. His own debut album, on the other hand, went nowhere, but his second album featured the number one *Billboard* Pop single, "Mandy," laying the groundwork for his rise to fame throughout the rest of the 1970s. Many more hit songs—"I Write the Songs," "Looks Like We Made It," "Could It Be Magic," and "Copacabana (At the Copa)"—soon followed, as did a Grammy and a Tony for a Broadway performance.

In the early 1980s, Manilow began to position himself as a modern interpreter of showtunes and pop standards, working with singers Mel Torme and Sarah Vaughan and veteran jazz instrumentalists Gerry Mulligan and Shelly Manne on 1984's *2:00 AM Paradise Cafe*. He followed this same path on 1987's *Swing Street* and 1991's *Showstoppers*, on which he sang with Michael Crawford and Barbara Cook. One of Manilow's self-described career highlights was scoring music to a collection of unpublished lyrics by Johnny Mercer, the famed lyricist who penned a multitude of pop standards from the 1930s to the 1950s. From pop standards to show tunes, Manilow has captured a devoted audience who continue to maintain his importance to American music and popular culture.

—Kembrew McLeod

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Mansfield, Jayne (1933-1967)

Although many people have never seen her movies, Jayne Mansfield remains, long after her death, one of the most recognizable icons of 1950s celebrity culture. More so than for her acting ability, Mansfield is remembered as a glamorous, big-busted sex kitten in competition with Hollywood rivals such as Marilyn Monroe and Mamie Van Doren. Because of her hour-glass figure, newspapers in the 1950s routinely published her body measurements, which led evangelist Billy Graham to once exclaim, "This country knows more about Jayne Mansfield's statistics than the Second Commandment."

The peculiar aspect of Mansfield's life is that although she symbolized sex appeal, perhaps more than any other American actress in the 1950s, she was never a major box office attraction. Still, she kept in the limelight because she was skilled at the art of publicity. Mansfield knew the importance of name and face recognition in the development of stardom. She strived to keep the public interested in



Jayne Mansfield

her life, and she generated daily publicity to keep her name and pictures in the news. Mansfield's movie career was so brief that she would not have obtained cult status had it not been for the countless number of photos and news stories she generated during her lifetime.

Mansfield was born on April 19, 1933, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Her parents, Herbert and Vera Palmer, named her Vera Jayne. The family moved to Phillipsburg, New Jersey, where her father practiced law and her mother was a school teacher who retired to raise a family. When Jayne was three, her father died of a heart attack at age thirty. Upon the father's death, her mother returned to teaching to support the family. When Jayne's mother remarried in 1939, the family moved to Dallas. Throughout her childhood, Jayne was fascinated with movie stars, with Shirley Temple being one of her favorites. She avidly collected Hollywood fan magazines and dreamed of being a film star. As she matured, her idol became Marilyn Monroe.

At age seventeen, on May 6, 1950, Jayne married twenty-one-year-old Paul Mansfield in Fort Worth, Texas. In June of that year, Jayne graduated from Highland Park High School, and in November she gave birth to a daughter, Jayne Marie. Paul Mansfield served in the Army during the Korean War, and at various times during the early 1950s, both Jayne and her husband acted in little theater

productions in Dallas. By 1954, the couple moved to Hollywood so Jayne could have a chance at being the movie star she always dreamed of becoming. She initially did a bevy of screen tests, but no studio would sign her. In the meantime, Jayne sold candy in a Los Angeles theater and worked as a part-time model for the agency where Marilyn Monroe got her start.

Jayne Mansfield's first successful acting assignment occurred on October 21, 1954, when she appeared on television in the *Lux Theater* production of "An Angel Went A.W.O.L." This appearance led her to her first film role in *The Female Jungle*. After her first taste of stardom, Mansfield began cranking up her publicity machine, adopting the color pink as her trademark. She decorated her house in pink, drove pink cars, and wore pink clothes for the publicity she received from the color. In January 1955, Mansfield appeared at a Silver Springs, Florida, press junket promoting the film *Underwater*, which starred Jane Russell and Mansfield. Because Mansfield purposely wore a swimsuit that was too small, her top fell off before an astonished press corps, upstaging Russell's appearance at the junket. This burst of publicity led Warner Brothers to place Mansfield under contract. During this time, Mansfield's marriage fell apart, with the couple separating and then divorcing in 1956. In 1955, Warner Brothers paraded Mansfield through a series of small roles in films such as *Illegal*, *Pete Kelly's Blues*, and *Hell on Frisco Bay*. And although it was rumored that Mansfield would appear with James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause*, that breakthrough vanished when Warner Brothers abruptly dropped her contract.

Mansfield rebounded that same year by landing a larger role in the independent film, *The Burglar*. Her agent also insisted that she test for the lead in the Broadway play *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* which she landed when the play's director liked her exaggerated portrayal of a dumb blond movie star. Mansfield proved to be a Broadway sensation, and won awards in 1956 for her work. Because America became infatuated with the sex kitten persona she developed in the play, Mansfield appeared in about 2,500 newspaper photographs between September 1956 and May 1957, and had about 122,000 lines of newspaper copy written about her during this time. Because of the successful media blitz, Jayne Mansfield was a household name even though few people had seen her perform. While performing in the play, Mansfield also appeared on such New York-based television shows as *What's My Line?*, *Person to Person*, and *Sunday Spectacular*.

By 1957, Twentieth Century-Fox had signed Mansfield in hopes of her becoming a new Marilyn Monroe, who, at the time, was refusing to make movies unless the studio gave her more money and treated her with respect. Mansfield appeared in two comedy roles for Twentieth Century-Fox as a dumb blond—*The Girl Can't Help It* and the film version of *Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?* The studio then cast Mansfield in a dramatic role for the movie version of the John Steinbeck novel *The Wayward Bus*. In the spring of 1957, she received a number of "most-promising" awards for her acting on Broadway and on the screen, and in that year, she continued to be a focal point for the press and appeared on a number of television variety shows.

Mansfield married former Mr. Universe Mickey Hargitay in Palos Verdes, California, on January 13, 1958. The marriage displeased Twentieth Century-Fox because the studio preferred their sex kittens to be unmarried. However, the marriage proved to be a boost

for the careers of both Mansfield and Hargitay, with the couple appearing in Las Vegas together on stage. Mansfield and Hargitay became a famous publicity and performing team, with many people watching their performance just to see this pair together. They appeared in nightclub acts from 1958 to 1961, featuring the busty Mansfield and the muscular Hargitay in skimpy costumes.

Although she was a master publicist, Mansfield received her first negative publicity between April and September 1958 when she and Mickey Hargitay said they were too poor to pay child support payments being requested by Hargitay's first wife. The press had a field day reporting that the couple had just purchased a \$76,000 mansion and spent \$75,000 to remodel it and were far from being broke. As of 1959, Twentieth Century-Fox no longer considered Mansfield star material and instead loaned her out for low-budget English and Italian movies. Despite being rejected by American movie studios, Mansfield was still a welcomed guest on television, appearing in dramatic parts and on game shows and talk shows.

From 1962 to 1964, Mansfield continued to receive bad press because of ongoing marital problems and a messy divorce with Hargitay, as well as public fights with her third husband, Matt Cimber. And by 1965, her career had hit its lowest level, with two movies announced for Mansfield that were never made and her performing in two plays that were critically panned. In 1966, she starred in two low-budget American films, *The Fat Spy* and *The Las Vegas Hillbillies*, and that same year she performed in her last major nightclub appearance at the Latin Quarter. She also spent much of the year touring in small-town productions of the play *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*.

In 1967, Mansfield's last year, her career descended into lesser nightclub appearances and TV talk shows. She also spent two months touring South Vietnam and entertaining the troops. Her personal life that year was reported to be a living hell, with her fourth marriage to attorney Sam Brody involving physical abuse and a stream of lawsuits. At 2:25 a.m. on June 29, 1967, Mansfield's turbulent life came to an end when she, Brody, and driver Ronnie Harrison were killed instantly in a freak car accident thirty miles outside of New Orleans. Mansfield was decapitated when the car slammed into the rear of a semi-truck in a white cloud of fog produced by City of New Orleans mosquito spraying equipment.

Despite the fact that Jayne Mansfield was never a major box-office draw, she remains a pop-culture icon because of the massive amounts of publicity she generated, her image as a well-endowed Hollywood sex kitten, and the public's fascination with her gruesome and untimely death. She married four times, had five children, and although her work was rarely lauded by the critics, Mansfield did fulfill her childhood dream of achieving fame.

—Dennis Russell

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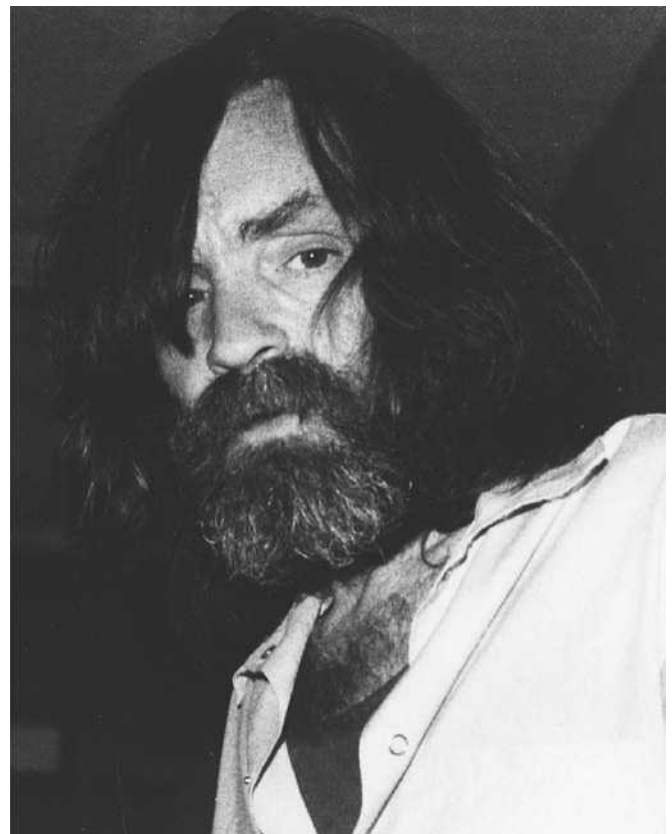
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Manson, Charles (1934—)

A hardened recidivist criminal, Charles Manson sought vengeance on a society he felt perpetuated his vicious cycle of incarceration. With a charismatic litany of love/hate, life/death mind games and heavy drug use, he attracted followers—"the Family"—who beheld him in messianic awe, yet were terrified of his brutality. Manson wanted attention, prison psychiatrists would explain, and eventually he would make famous (and infamous) the hippie thrill kill cult that murdered in his name to bring down "the Establishment" at the close of the tumultuous 1960s.

Born Charles Milles Manson on November 12, 1934, in Cincinnati, Ohio, Manson was often left in the care of a religiously strict aunt while his mother committed petty crimes. He was placed in a boys' school, and upon escaping, stole to survive, committing his first armed robbery at age 13. Described by case workers as "aggressively antisocial," Manson was considered a lost cause until he married Rosalie Joan Willis in 1955. Standing trial in Los Angeles for grand theft auto, Manson was nearly released on probation due to his marriage and newborn son. When he was jailed anyway, Rosalie divorced him and took Charles Manson, Jr., away. Manson never saw them again. After a brief probation, during which he was arrested for prostitution, Manson was returned to prison to serve the remainder of a ten-year sentence.

Though largely illiterate, Manson began studying the Bible, Scientology, and the science fiction of Robert Heinlein which—combined with his own song writing aspirations—formed the basis



Charles Manson

for Manson's concepts of group love and communal living. He was also blown away by Beatlemania which hit the United States in 1964, and he became obsessed with stardom, claiming he could be bigger than the Beatles given the opportunity.

After a transfer to Los Angeles in 1967, Charles Manson was released from the only home he'd ever known. He roamed California, traveling to San Francisco, panhandling, playing his music in Berkeley coffee houses, and attracting a cadre of runaways among those flocking to the mecca of the "Summer of Love." Manson also experimented with LSD, and encouraged others to do so, spouting his misinformed spiritualism and ingratiating himself into the flower power scene.

"The Family," as they called themselves, were mostly small-time criminals from broken or dysfunctional nuclear homes, and Manson played the role of father, teacher, lover, God, and Devil. He was everything they needed, and, through emotional manipulation and isolation from a society he claimed had thrown them away, he became everything they wanted as well. Together they cruised California's highways, picking up wayward teenagers, teaching them how to forage, prostitute, and live communally. As the hippie aesthetic became fashionable in Hollywood, the Family was welcomed into the homes of L.A.'s hippest, well intentioned celebrities: filmmaker Kenneth Anger, producer Terry Melcher, and significantly Beach Boy Dennis Wilson, who recorded some of Manson's jangly sociopathic folk tunes and from whom the Family took cash, credit cards, and clothing.

In 1968, the Family moved to the Spahn movie ranch in Simi Valley, a short drive from downtown Hollywood. Numbering as many as fifty, they worked as ranch hands in exchange for lodging in the dilapidated Western movie sets, scavenged for food in area dumpsters, and kept a steady stream of runaways flowing toward Manson's already crowded mattress. Meanwhile, he fueled their disenfranchisement with a barrage of synchronicities involving the Bible (specifically the Book of Revelations), Beatles lyrics (specifically the *White Album*), and the sordid events of his own life. He prophesied that a race war would erupt destroying all major cities and decimating the white population, and that he would rise up from the desert to rule over the remains of the human race. But Manson couldn't wait for his theory of "Helter Skelter" (named after the Beatles song of the same name) to come of its own accord; he and the Family began executing those individuals perceived as threats to this master plan.

The rejection of Manson's music by industry executives who had once befriended him only sparked more murders, the most famous (and grisly) occurring August 9 and 10, 1969, historically known as the Tate-LaBianca murders. Though Manson was not present for these, he incited Family members to slay coffee magnate Abigail Folger, pregnant actress Sharon Tate, and three others in the Hollywood home of director Roman Polanski. By leaving pseudo-political clues—"Piggy" and "Rise" smeared on the wall in the victims' blood and an American flag draped over a couch—the Family hoped to place blame away from their mission of salvation-through-murder. The next night, Family members killed prominent businessman Leno LaBianca and his wife Rosemary in a similar fashion in their home.

Months later, Manson's pathology was uncovered due largely to the tenacious investigative work of district attorney Vincent Bugliosi, who reconstructed the events of those August nights and extracted the bizarre motive. After Manson and the murderers were arrested, advocates of the Family held vigils and shaved their heads in a show of

solidarity, creating a media circus outside the courthouse, and Manson egged on the investigation by claiming he had already been judged and couldn't be punished more than he already had been.

Manson and eight Family members were convicted of first-degree murder in 1971. Though Manson was sentenced to death, the death penalty was abolished in California in 1972, and his sentence was reduced to life in prison. He made his first unsuccessful appearance before a parole board in 1978. This opportunity for release comes every seven years, and has always been met with stern opposition by the public as well as the families of the victims. Manson rarely seems disappointed with the prospect of returning to his cell though, claiming it's safer there than out in society and that his influence is far greater behind bars.

The lurid visual appeal of murder scenes, the intricacies of forensic testimony, the demonization of hippies, cults, and communes, and Manson's sinister theories on society's ills have forever changed the public view of "common" criminals and their influence on youth culture. Though the connection between dysfunctional families and crime had always been evident, Manson demonstrated to his followers—and, with media exposure, to the world—that one could become famous through misplaced aggression. Even underground institutions are divided on whether he is a sick symbol of our times or a martyred prophet; nevertheless, Charles Manson has become one of the most despicable media darlings in popular culture.

—Tony Brewer

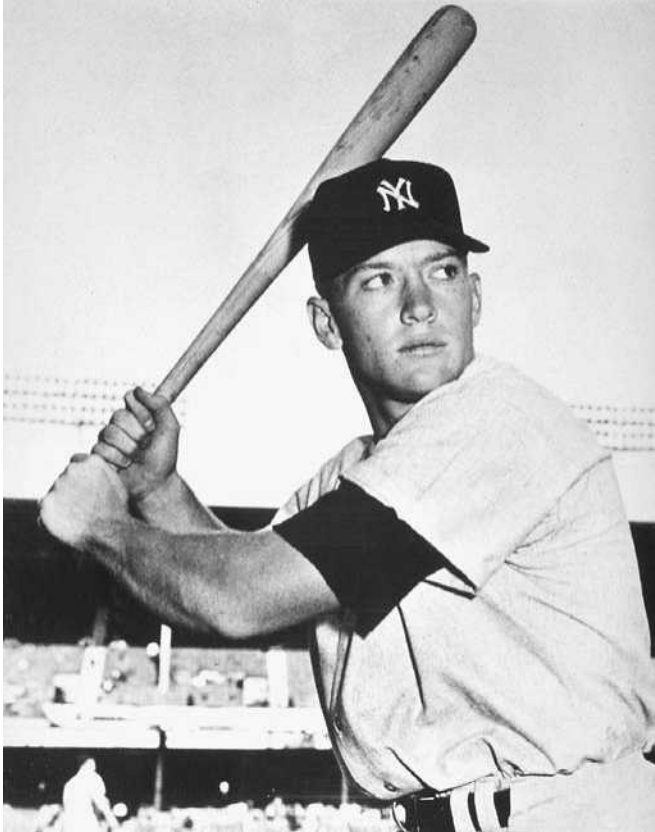
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Mantle, Mickey (1931-1995)

In 1951, nineteen-year-old Mickey Mantle joined the fabled New York Yankees. In the ensuing decade—a time when baseball was still America's Pastime, representing all that was good in sports and in the nation—Mantle would evolve into a legend. This innocent boy from Oklahoma became one of the most beloved players in the history of the game. Known as a genuine and humble young man, the kid whose mother had sewn all of his baseball uniforms for him came to evoke the soul of baseball.

It was Mantle's father, Mutt, who directed his son's life toward baseball from birth when he named him after his favorite player, Mickey Cochrane. A natural right-handed hitter, Mickey was taught by his father to become a switch-hitter, making the young man a double threat at the plate. A powerful batter from either side, Mantle switch-hit with great success. When his career with the Yankees ended, he had hit 536 home runs, batted in 1,509 runs on 2,415 hits and had 10 out of 18 seasons when he hit .300 or better. He also, however, struck out a record 1,710 times. Three times he was named the Most Valuable Player in the American League—in 1956, 1957, and 1962—and he was unanimously inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1974. His greatest single-season achievement came in 1956 when he won the triple crown—with 52 home runs, 130 runs batted in, and a .353 batting average.



Mickey Mantle

But Mantle is probably best remembered for just one season—1961—when he and teammate Roger Maris (1934-1985) matched each other homer for homer as they attempted to break Babe Ruth's record of 60 home runs in one season. That Ruth was also a Yankee added a certain poignancy and excitement to the competition. When the popular Mantle did not win—Maris hit a record 61 homers that year—the public never threw their support behind Maris; thereafter, the record became a burden to Maris while Mantle's popularity only grew.

Television helped make Mantle a figure of popular culture. He joined the Yankees when baseball was at the peak of its popularity: television had begun broadcasting games, thus increasing the audience for the sport. Mantle played centerfield for the New York Yankees at a time when Willie Mays played centerfield for the New York Giants and Duke Snider played centerfield for the Brooklyn Dodgers. All three were great players playing in the same city, which also happened to be the media capital of the world. Everyone could follow their exploits. People who didn't have television sets in the early to mid-1950s would stand outside appliance store windows in October to watch the World Series—and Mickey Mantle was a hero in many of those games.

But being a hero came with a burden. Mantle not only hit with the best, he also drank with the best. Most of his off-field exploits with alcohol and women never made the sports pages and so his good-boy image went virtually untarnished. As he once said after one of his sons, then 8, fixed a bicycle he had assembled incorrectly: "Even eight-year-olds made excuses for me." He and his wife eventually separated and the entire family battled alcoholism.

It was not until 1994 that Mantle confronted his alcoholism and checked himself into the Betty Ford clinic. At first it appeared Mantle had hit another home run. But it was too late. He had damaged his liver beyond repair and eventually he became ill with cancer. A liver transplant buoyed everyone's hopes—family and fans alike—that he had won the latest battle. But the cancer had spread. The soul of baseball died on August 13, 1995, remembered for his innocence, his exploits, his honesty. He was 63.

—R. Thomas Berner

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Manufactured Homes

Manufactured homes have become an increasingly attractive and affordable alternative to the traditional site-built house. Factory-built and delivered to the home site in one or more sections by tractor-trailer, these structures now come in all shapes and sizes, with exteriors of varying styles, textures, and materials, and with interior space and layout approximating that found in more conventional houses—and they cost less. Once considered suitable only for the two extremes of the market spectrum, young first-time buyers or retirees, today manufactured homes allow homeownership to be within the reach of a much larger segment of society. Whether in a specifically designated manufactured housing subdivision or on an individual lot in town or country, the modern factory-built home is largely fulfilling America's urgent need for affordable housing.

A descendant of the mobile home, manufactured homes no longer are considered temporary in any sense of that word: they are not simply a stepping stone to a larger house, and, perhaps most significantly, they are intended, just like the stick-built dwelling, to remain permanently in place on their established lot. Numerous technical problems and design flaws have been overcome. Impediments to financing and mortgage arrangements have been removed. Institutional barriers such as local zoning ordinances that once blocked their way have been modified and compromised to enable their proliferation. One of the main obstacles to greater social acceptance of manufactured housing is its association in the minds of many with the earlier forms of the type: people still think of them as trailers.

While some wish to differentiate between the mobile home and the strictly modular prefabricated housing units manufactured in a factory, this distinction has been clouded by the industry's own semantics. From its humble beginnings, the "travel trailer," the term for the predominant type of mass-produced transportable shelter in

this country, has made a progression through “house trailer,” “mobile home,” and finally to “manufactured home.” Taking a cue from the popularity of British “motor caravans,” American companies began production of travel trailers designed primarily for camping or road trips. During the 1930s, Arthur Sherman’s Covered Wagon models rolled off the production line like Henry Ford’s automobiles. Yet people soon began using them as year-round accommodations. This was the beginning of the application of an industrial mass-production mode to housing. Sherman advertised his product in popular magazines such as *National Geographic* and *Field and Stream*, and the public responded to the availability of this new way of building shelter. In 1936, noted financial analyst Roger Babson, who had earlier foreseen the stock market crash, predicted that soon more than half of all Americans would be living in trailers.

Several visionaries, including Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and R. Buckminster Fuller, had espoused the concept of mass-produced industrialized housing during the early decades of the twentieth century; but the initial departure away from a towable trailer in manufactured housing may be attributed to the modular unit known as the Durham House, designed in 1938 by two architecture professors at the University of Illinois. This structure had no underlying chassis, was presented in a double or single scheme, and was designed for more or less permanent placement on a cinder block foundation. While the double unit may indeed be viewed as the precursor of today’s popular “double-wides,” prospective home-buyers then did not seem as interested in manufactured housing that was decidedly something other than a trailer, and the Durham House never caught on. The so-called Lustron House was another failed attempt. General Houses Corporation of Chicago tried to market prefabricated designs during the 1930s, and a few government agencies, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, experimented at this time with transportable, sectional housing. Yet during the late 1930s, the notion that mobile homes could serve as permanent housing captured consumer consciousness. And it was then that the industry first changed the name for their product from “travel trailer” to “house trailer.”

World War II created a ready market for the house trailer, as thousands of units were ordered by the government to shelter workers involved in construction and war-time production projects across the country. When hostilities ended and the flight to the suburbs began, the trailer house provided a competitive alternative to standardized models of the new subdivision home such as those being developed in places like Levittown. Trailer parks, once associated with seasonal camps and “Tin Can Tourists,” began to offer instead a sense of permanent community. Moreover, basic designs for house trailers changed with their name, and they especially relinquished those elements symbolically associated with movement, substituting the suggestion of a real home fixed in place: exteriors became less streamlined, and interiors appeared less yacht-like; foldout porches and bay windows contributed to the new implication of permanence; skirting and suggested landscaping schemes covered up the hitch and chassis. In 1954, the eight-foot-width barrier was broken when Marshfield Homes introduced a ten-foot-wide model. During this same time, manufacturers and trade magazines initiated the newest label for their product in recognition of its now unmistakable role: it was to be called the “mobile home.” Transportation regulations were modified to allow shipment over public rights of way, and manufacturers made their models wider, with 12- and 14-foot widths becoming standard. Soon buyers were favoring the “double-wide” home,

designed to be transported in halves down the highway and joined together at the site.

In the post-World War II period, deliberate attempts at mass producing industrialized modular housing units apart from the mobile home industry have been sporadic and unsuccessful, despite a number of notable ventures. During the 1940s, a collaborative effort by several architects exiled from Hitler’s Germany set a course toward production of the “Packaged House,” an enterprise that engaged much fanfare but little else. One tangible result was that during the late 1940s, the General Panel Company turned out a limited quantity of Packaged House kits from their California plant. Contemporary attempts at marketing manufactured homes by firms such as Uni-Seco Structures, Arcon, and Aluminum Bungalow were equally less than successful. Prefabrication was seen as the application of systems design to the problem of shelter, but all the dreams of efficiency and technique could not meet the wishes of the market. Even Buckminster Fuller had labeled his famous Dymaxion House a “theory only.” Improvements in design and technological breakthroughs over the years have not seemed to improve the chances for commercial success. The Marlette Company, for instance, produced a sophisticated industrial design in 1963 that went nowhere. That same year, Kaiser Aluminum introduced several innovative floor plans in modular homes. And in 1970 a distinctive Frank Lloyd Wright-inspired “prairie style” manufactured home was developed but never commercially produced.

In 1975, however, an official industry name change prompted recognition of reality: mobile homes were now called manufactured housing, and since that time any additional efforts at prefabricated factory-built housing have been subsumed within the mobile home/manufactured housing industry. In terms of overall output, the percentage of all new housing represented by mobile/manufactured home shipments rose steadily following the end of World War II and peaked during the end of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, when for several years they comprised about a third of all housing starts. This ratio has declined recently and remains relatively stable at approximately 20 percent in the late 1990s, according to figures compiled by the Manufactured Housing Institute. At a national level, government recognition of the legitimacy of the manufactured home as a fully acceptable housing unit only came in 1969, when HUD loans were authorized for their purchase and financing no matter where they were to be located. The local legal landscape is still contested terrain, however. In a 1982 decision upholding restrictions against their placement anywhere other than in a designated park, the Texas Supreme Court ruled that “mobile homes are different and thus may be classified separately from other residential structures for purposes of regulation.” But in a Michigan case, that state’s highest court overturned such restrictions as not being a proper exercise of the police power, and affirmed that “mobile homes today can compare favorably with site-built housing in size, safety, and attractiveness.”

To be sure, from all outward appearances many manufactured homes are virtually indistinguishable from those constructed on site. As Allan Wallis says in *Wheel Estate*: “They have pitched shingled roofs, overhanging eaves with gutters, and permanent foundations . . . often sited parallel to the street like conventional homes, rather than in the perpendicular arrangement characteristic of the mobile home park.” While aesthetics are no longer an issue, there remains social prejudice built on the long-term association of trailers with lower socioeconomic classes and impermanence, but few of today’s mobile homeowners select their house out of a desire for mobility, and nine

out of ten placements remain in their original location. Furthermore, evidence has shown that fears of neighborhoods looking more trashy are unfounded, and the industry is expanding its target market.

—Robert Kuhlken

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Mapplethorpe, Robert (1946-1989)

Robert Mapplethorpe's photography has become overshadowed by the controversy that surrounds much of it. Looking beyond the stir that his images generated reveals a body of work that includes elegant and rich black and white photographs of nudes, portraits, still lifes, and flowers. Mapplethorpe's imagery is clear and crisp, with a neutral background—he focuses completely on his subjects, composing everything as a still life. His nudes are reminiscent of classical sculpture, and his flowers are eroticized. The subject matter of some of his photographs is shocking, yet his fresh approach to image-making has the power to astonish.

The man who would shake up the art world grew up in a devoutly Catholic family in Floral Park, New York. Mapplethorpe always felt drawn to art and the power of expression that art could hold. At age 17, he left home to attend the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, a prominent art school. Originally, Mapplethorpe wanted to paint or sculpt; at that time, photography did not hold much credibility as a serious art form. Mapplethorpe, however, found photography by accident and continued to use it because it provided a viable outlet by which to express his ideas and make a statement. Many of his first artworks were constructions and collages, including pornographic images. As Mapplethorpe began taking his own photographs he started focusing on the human body as subject, first as a study in form—focusing on contours and tones—and also as portraiture. Some of Mapplethorpe's earliest portraits are of his friend, and later lover, rock singer Patti Smith. Mapplethorpe photographed Smith over a period of several years in the 1970s and 1980s. Other celebrities who later sat before his camera include Laurie Anderson, David Byrne, Truman Capote, Glenn

Close, Richard Gere, Peter Gabriel, Gregory Hines, Roy Lichtenstein, Norman Mailer, Isabella Rossellini, and Arnold Schwarzenegger. Mapplethorpe also photographed some of his sponsors, serious collectors, and prestigious art world personalities, including Andy Warhol and Sam Wagstaff, who later became both his patron and his lover.

Mapplethorpe had a fascination with human form. In the early 1980s, he extensively photographed the body builder Lisa Lyon, culminating in the publication of the book *Lady* in 1983. With this project, his interest was not only in the beauty of the body and the structure of musculature, but with gender roles; he wished to document that women could develop—physically—their bodies like men. Exemplifying his other studies of the human form are his images of nude black men. These images are reminiscent of classical sculpture. Mapplethorpe—with his series of photographs *Ajito* (1981), a nude black man seated on a pedestal—reinterpreted the nineteenth century artist Wilhelm von Glöden's photograph of a male nude in classical pose. Throughout his career Mapplethorpe also used himself as subject; creating self portraits with a variety of poses, props, and degrees of make-up, he explored different emotions, personas, and gender distinctions.

Later work includes his studies of still lifes and flowers. He arranged the objects precisely. His approach to this genre was no different than his approach to people. Objectifying all subjects, Mapplethorpe tried to transcend his subjects. He brought lighting, composition, and other additional elements to a level he considered almost perfection. Critic Emmanuel Cooper states in *Creative Camera*, "For Mapplethorpe, photographing flowers was not very different from body parts. He honed in on the sensual aspects of the flowers, often using them as metaphors for physical contact and the ephemeral nature of beauty."

It is some of his earliest work which brought Mapplethorpe the most notoriety. *Portfolio X*, dating from the mid-1970s, consists of homoerotic and sado-masochistic imagery often depicting graphic sex acts. This work exposed the gay subculture of the 1970s to the mainstream while allowing Mapplethorpe to investigate these areas on his own, and to embrace his own homosexuality; he always claimed that he did not "photograph things I've not been involved in myself." Also featured within this grouping of photographs are two images of children, one of which, *Rosie* (1976), proved particularly controversial. In this image, Rosie's dress, pulled up by her knee, exposes her genitals.

Included in Mapplethorpe's retrospective *The Perfect Moment* (1989) were these images. Organized by the Institute of Contemporary Art in Philadelphia, this exhibition became the catalyst for a public outcry regarding pornography and obscenity. One of the venues for the show, the Contemporary Art Center in Cincinnati, and its director Dennis Barry, had pornography charges brought against them leading to prosecution. Although acquittal was the outcome for both, the museum continued to deal with many repercussions. Similarly, a subsequent venue, the Corcoran Museum of Art in Washington, D.C., experienced withdrawn funding and a shake-up in personnel. Additionally, the sado-masochistic images and the photograph of Rosie became exploited by Jesse Helms, the Republican senator from North Carolina. The publicity generated from the pornography charges emboldened Senator Helms to introduce legislation prohibiting beneficiaries of National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funding from

creating work that “may be considered obscene, including but not limited to depictions of sadomasochism, homoeroticism, the sexual exploitation of children or individuals engaged in sex acts. . . .”

The debate surrounding Mapplethorpe’s artworks took place a year after his death at age 42 from an AIDS-related illness. Mapplethorpe’s legacy is far reaching. Previous to his death, he formed the Robert Mapplethorpe Foundation, an organization for funding AIDS-related medical research and the visual arts. Almost singlehandedly, Mapplethorpe focused the spotlight on photography as a viable art form. After his first major show in 1976, the prices for his images steadily rose, while also bringing other artists’ photographic works into the limelight. The largest impact created by Mapplethorpe and his art, however, resulted from the controversy that surrounded his images. The aftermath altered funding for artists and redefined the criteria used to judge whether a work can hold the classification of art.

—Jennifer Jankauskas

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March on Washington

The first March on Washington was proposed in 1941 by A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. During the Depression, African Americans did not benefit equally from New Deal programs. As the war effort accelerated and industry expanded, racial discrimination continued, as white employers denied black workers access to jobs in war industries. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt failed to act to remedy this situation, Randolph called for 50,000 African Americans to descend on the Capitol in Washington, D.C., to protest. Roosevelt turned to moderate civil rights leaders, like NAACP Executive Director Walter White, for aid in quelling the storm, but Randolph refused to back down. With the help of African-American newspapers like the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, and the *New York Amsterdam News*, which publicized the event, the estimated size of the proposed March on Washington continued to grow. Facing the prospects of an embarrassing march, FDR relented in June of 1941 and issued Executive Order 8802 which forbid racial discrimination by defense contractors and established a temporary Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).

When discrimination persisted in the United States and the promise of the “Double V” (“victory at home and victory abroad”) campaign failed to materialize after the war, the March on Washington group continued to meet annually to discuss African-American

demands for economic equality. As the Civil Rights movement emerged and developed in the wake of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Little Rock school desegregation crisis, and the student sit-in wave, the political climate changed and black leaders began to discuss and plan a new March on Washington aimed at pressuring the federal government to act on pending civil rights legislation lagging in the Congress. Chaired by Randolph and organized by Bayard Rustin, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom sought to bring over 100,000 people to the nation’s capitol. Significantly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) put aside their historic differences to support the event. Even so, tensions did simmer beneath the seemingly unified surface of the event when moderate leaders and clergymen forced John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to temper criticism of President John F. Kennedy in his remarks.

In the end, however, the March on Washington was a tremendous practical and symbolic success. Over 250,000 black and white Americans stood before the Lincoln Memorial, listened to speeches, songs, prayers, and poetry and registered their demand for racial justice in the United States. A wide variety of Civil Rights leaders, clergymen, politicians, labor leaders, entertainers, and thousands of local civil rights supporters participated in an event that climaxed with Martin Luther King, Jr.’s, “I Have a Dream” speech. In that speech, King appealed to the highest ideals of American democracy, stating, “I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed - we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal. . . I have a dream my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I still have a dream!”

The successful 1963 March on Washington represented the culmination of the first phase of the modern Civil Rights movement and expressed the ideals and aspirations of non-violent direct action. Following the march, Congress finally passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and, later, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Since then, numerous groups of varying political stripes, including poor people, women, environmentalists, gays and lesbians, black men, Christian men, and cancer patients, have attempted, none so successfully, to use the March on Washington as a model for delivering demands to the federal government. While none have achieved the success of the 1963 event, the March on Washington continues to symbolize for many the hopeful possibilities of mass-based protest and non-violent direct action in the United States.

—Patrick D. Jones

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One of the many marches on Washington.

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Marching Bands

From regimental bands parading with and accompanying soldiers into battle during the Revolutionary and Civil Wars, to the half-time spectacles of today's televised football games seen by millions, pulse-pounding march music rendered by colorful marching bands has been a part of America's heritage since the country's earliest days. Indeed, bands, parades, and Sousa's famous march, "The Stars and Stripes Forever," have come to symbolize freedom, democracy, and the good old United States of America itself.

The word "band" derives from the Latin *bandum* meaning "banner," and also "company" and "crowd." In popular usage "band" has come to mean any group of instruments, from jug to rock, but its specific meaning derives from the medieval musical ensemble of louder instruments, primarily brass, reeds, and percussion, geared

for performance out-of-doors; this is in contrast to the "orchestra" of softer instruments, strings and woodwinds, performing in interior settings.

The *New Grove Dictionary of American Music* comments: "As with other areas of musical culture, European customs and traditions of band music were brought to America in the 17th century by the colonists. The snare drum was an important and necessary part of colonial life. It served not only to set the cadence for marching men but also to bear orders, warnings, and signals for both military and civilian activities. Whenever possible a fife, bagpipe, or other instrument was used to add melodic interest. These instruments, referred to as the 'field music,' were used primarily for functional purposes." Other precursors of the modern marching band were military/regimental bands, and the wind ensembles which performed mid-eighteenth-century court and household music throughout Europe.

Over several centuries, the band expanded from a small ensemble of reed instruments to its larger modern counterpart. An interest in Turkish (or janissary) music at the end of the eighteenth century added exotic percussion to the band's instrumentation, of which only the bass drum and cymbals (and sometimes a kettledrum) survive today. As existing instruments were refined, and new ones invented

(such as Adolph Sax's saxophones in the mid-1800s), the band eventually grew to the grandiose ensembles of the late nineteenth century. The first all-brass band is thought to be the Boston Brass Band, first led by Edward Kendall in 1835. Key figures in the development of the modern band were Patrick S. Gilmore and John Philip Sousa, the latter dubbed America's "March King" and composer of the country's—and the world's—most famous marches. Sousa assumed leadership of the United States Marine Band in 1890, and formed his own world-famous "Sousa's Band" in 1892.

With the rise of jazz in the 1920s, public interest in traditional bands came to an end. But band music, along with such field music/militaristic traditions as color guards and precision/formation marching, not to mention majorettes and virtuoso baton twirling, soon found a home on America's campuses. Football half-time shows evolved into elaborate spectacles in which colleges vied to create the most unusual, exotic, and fantastic presentations; in a salute to pornography the Stanford University formation band spelled out "SMUT" in huge block letters at the 1972 Rose Bowl! With a few modern touches (such as lightweight, fiberglass sousaphones, and sometimes throngs of "extras" and perhaps even a celebrity "guest star" added for half-time), the marching band has again secured a traditional and apparently permanent place within the schools and universities of America.

Marching bands, parades, stirring marches, and their attendant symbolism have played a recurrent role in signifying America's traditions, patriotism, and exuberant emotions in many venues of serious and popular culture. Composer Charles Ives evoked a noisy holiday in his native New England when he scored different and overlapping tempi and rhythms to be played simultaneously, to create the effect of marching bands passing each other on the village green, in his innovative 1914 composition *Three Places in New England*. Other modern composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams and Samuel Barber have composed works specifically for concert band, and Frederick Fennell and the Eastman Symphonic Wind Ensemble popularized concert band music with their Mercury "Living Presence" high fidelity recording in the 1950s. In 1952 Clifton Web starred as Sousa in *Stars and Stripes Forever*, a film with one of the most unlikely Hollywood subplots ever: the story of invention of the sousaphone, a huge, tuba-like band instrument named after the maestro.

George Gershwin's late 1920s musical, *Strike Up The Band*, was revamped as a Mickey Rooney/Judy Garland musical in 1940, but other than the spirited title song, little else from the satiric Broadway original made it into the screen version. On 1950s Broadway Meredith Willson's hit, *The Music Man*, told the story of a personable con man fraudulently peddling musical instruments in the mid-west by convincing small towns that what they really needed to keep their young boys wholesome is a marching band. The hyperbolic imagery of the hit song, "Seventy-Six Trombones," the hustler's musical pitchline, was literalized in the finale of the 1962 film version. Parades as a symbol of all that is thrilling and meaningful in life, and even of the fatalistic progression of life itself, is a motif of several other Broadway songs: *Funny Girl's* "Don't Rain On My Parade," *Sweet Charity's* "I'm A Brass Band," and *Hello, Dolly's* "Before The Parade Passes By." In the 1969 film of *Hello, Dolly!* it took a marching band to accomplish what many film critics had previously deemed impossible: in one of the last and most spectacular production numbers ever staged for a Hollywood studio musical, a mightily expanded marching band, converging down a backlot version of New York's 14th Street, even managed to upstage Barbra Streisand!

—Ross Care

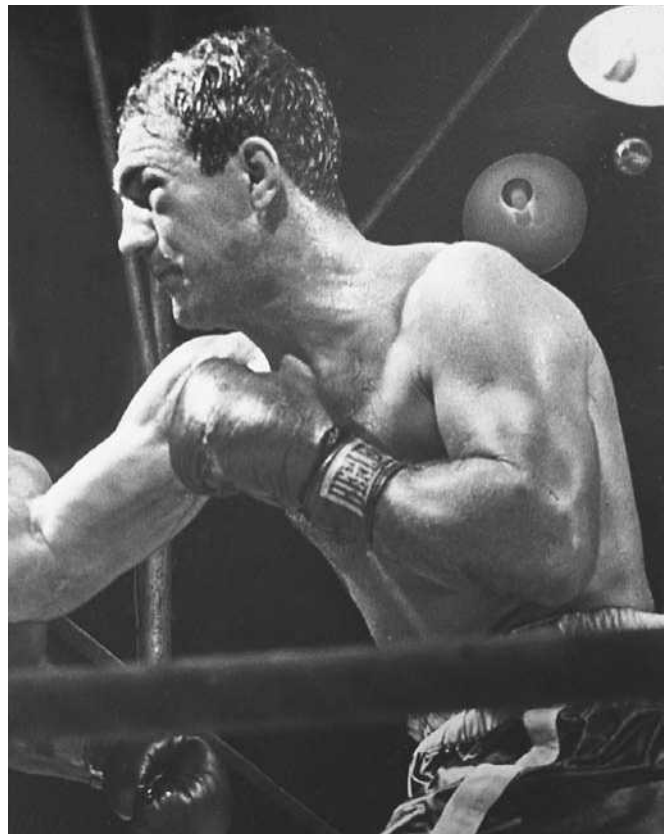
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Marciano, Rocky (1923-1969)

Rocky Marciano (born Rocco Francis Marchegiano) is the only champion in the history of boxing to remain officially unbeaten and untied throughout his entire professional career. Heavyweight champion from September 1952 to April 1956, "The Brockton Blockbuster" burst into the American consciousness with a brutal knockout of an aging, twice-retired Joe Louis. Rocky then cemented his status as a popular culture icon with championship performances against a triumvirate of dangerous veteran fighters: Jersey Joe Wallcott, Ezzard Charles, and Archie Moore. Once retired, Marciano never attempted a comeback, but in 1969, he did engage in a "computer fight" against a then exiled-from-the-ring Muhammad Ali. A computer was fed data on both Marciano and Ali and calculated who would win. Marciano and Ali then staged the fight according to the computer's projections, and the film was shown in closed circuit theaters throughout the world. Tragically killed in the crash of a private plane,



Rocky Marciano

Rocky Marciano never got to see his 13th round “knockout” of Muhammad Ali.

—Max Kellerman

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Marcus Welby, M.D.

A popular and groundbreaking medical melodrama, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* aired on ABC for seven seasons, from September 1969 until May 1976, with Robert Young in the title role. A star of the silver screen and well-known for his role as Jim Anderson on *Father Knows Best*, the sixty-two-year-old Young returned to television after a seven-year retirement to play Welby.

The plots of the hour-long weekly series revolved around the medical cases of Dr. Marcus Welby, a kind-hearted family doctor who ran his office out of his home in Santa Monica, California, and was associated with the Family Practice Center at Lang Memorial Hospital. Welby had an old-school work ethic and treated his patients with respect. After suffering a mild coronary, Welby hired a younger associate, Dr. Steven Kiley (James Brolin), to help him with his workload. Unlike the conservative Welby, Dr. Kiley was a handsome ladies’ man who rode his motorcycle to make house calls. Although a generation gap existed between Kiley and Welby, the two doctors shared the same heart of gold. Receptionist and nurse, Consuela Lopez (Elena Verdugo), ran their office.

Much of the appeal of the program surfaced in the way that Welby treated his patients. In 1965 President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Medicare Bill, raising many questions about the degree and quality of health care offered in the United States. Americans worried that they were going to be lost in the bureaucracy of the medical system and that their health would suffer for it. Marcus Welby allayed these fears of depersonalization.

Although Dr. Welby was supposed to be general practitioner, he treated much more than the common cold. The program spearheaded medical issues that raised social, moral, and ethical questions. Welby and Kiley treated ailments such as sickle cell anemia, autism, drug addiction, organ transplants, leukemia, LSD side effects, and mental retardation. *Marcus Welby, M.D.* even dealt with issues such as abortion and interracial marriage, both controversial topics in the early 1970s.

Little was revealed about Dr. Welby’s private life, even though much of the show was filmed in his home/office. There was no Mrs. Welby. In both the pilot film, which aired in March 1969, and during the first season, Marcus Welby had a lady friend, Myrna Sherwood (Anne Baxter); this character was dropped. It was not until the last season that Welby’s married daughter, Sandy (Ann Schemede), and grandson, Phil (Gavin Brendan), appeared on the series.

Romance was saved for the dapper Dr. Kiley. Kiley found a love interest in Janet Blake, the public relations director of Hope Memorial

Hospital. They were wed on the episode that aired on October 21, 1975.

Marcus Welby, M.D. was a popular and highly rated series. Many attribute its success to the fact that for the first two years it ran against less appealing programming: a CBS news documentary and often against similar type of programming on NBC. Nonetheless, *Marcus Welby, M.D.* was ranked the top television show during the 1970/71 season and continued to win a plethora of awards, including a Golden Globe for best television drama and an Emmy. The character of Marcus Welby was resurrected for the last time in the 1984 television movie, *The Return of Marcus Welby, M.D.* Dr. Kiley did not appear in that feature.

—Lara Bickell

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Mardi Gras

Mardi Gras, as we know it today, is the descendent of old fertility rites celebrating the coming of spring and the rebirth of vegetation. Gradually these pagan ceremonies were incorporated into orthodox Christianity, and the pre-Lenten celebration, which begins with the Feast of Epiphany and ends on Ash Wednesday, came generally to be known as Carnival. Derived from the old Italian *carnelevare*, which means taking meat away, Carnival became a kind of festival, or final fling, before a period of fasting. In France, and later in Mobile, Alabama and New Orleans, the celebration was known as Mardi Gras or Fat Tuesday. In England, it was called Shrove Tuesday or Pancake Tuesday, because the meat-fats were used to make pancakes.

Although Mardi Gras in America is generally associated with New Orleans, where half a million people or more gather to celebrate, Carnival actually began in Mobile in 1704, when Nicholas Langois established the *Societe de Saint Louis* at Fort Louis de la Mobile at 27-Mile Bluff. Later, when the city of Mobile moved to its present site, Michael Krafft, a 23-year-old Pennsylvanian working as a cotton broker, and several of his friends began a celebration on New Year’s Eve, 1830, after dining at a local restaurant. They left the restaurant, gathered up rakes, hoes, and cowbells, and initiated a parade through the city. Stopping at the home of the mayor, John Stocking, Jr., they were invited in for refreshments. The society Cowbellion de Rakin was born—and with it the mystic orders of Mardi Gras. From this beginning, New Orleans developed pageants of decorated floats and became famous for its parades.



Thousands of parade goers paying homage to Rex, King of the Mardi Gras.

Mardi Gras had a polarizing focus in New Orleans and Mobile due to its segregation and class participation. From the beginning, anyone could stand along the parade route, shout “throw me something mister,” and gather doubloons (those prized aluminum disks with the insignia of the krewe etched upon one side and the theme on the other) or “moon pies,” the marshmallow cookies frequently tossed from floats in Mobile. However, a distinction exists between those who ride the floats and those who lead the balls, between the King, Queen, maids, and dukes who dispense the trinkets and those who stand on the streets waiting to catch the “throws”—the beads, plastic cups, doubloons, and toys.

It may be said that the conservatism associated with Mardi Gras has been detrimental to progress. The expense of time, money, and energy involved in partying and revelry might be spent in more constructive ways, in spite of the fact that Carnival promotes the tourist industry and thus the local economy.

In fact, Mardi Gras has created the ultimate anti-establishment irony, in which a King of Mirth becomes elevated to the establishment whereby the eligible daughters of upper society leaders are presented at a coming-out ceremony. In spite of such pseudo—royal shenanigans, Mardi Gras actualizes a shared experience of joy. It brings people together to experience a time of mystery and magic—and that is perhaps why it has become one of the greatest parties on earth. As

they say in New Orleans: “Laissez les bon temps rouler.” Let the good times roll.

—Sue Walker

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Mariachi Music

Since its beginnings, mariachi music has been the music of the countryside and its inhabitants—a much-loved local and regional musical genre. But by the late twentieth century this changed, as mariachi music became a significant force in U.S. popular culture. It influenced the Tejano music that arose in the United States and helped to solidify the latter as a serious contender in the American music

scene. Mariachi music infiltrated into American ceremonies and rituals such as weddings, masses, birthdays, and other festive events that celebrate a rite of passage. Numerous American women of Hispanic descent have joined mariachi groups, in effect keeping alive this Mexican tradition in the United States. As a result, Americans have become aware of Mexican cultural identities and rural traditions that mesh with those indigenous to the United States. Mariachi music conveys stories with which people readily identify. It highlights great moments in peoples' lives through songs dealing with the rites of courtship, rural life and its people, animals, plants, and other interesting themes.

Popular folk belief has it that mariachi music originated in Mexico in the nineteenth century. Specifically, people have argued that it was born in the Mexican state of Jalisco during the ill-fated reign of the Emperor Maximilian, a Frenchman, in the 1860s. There has always been some dispute regarding the origin of the word mariachi. According to legend mariachi is a variation of the French word "mariage," which means "wedding." This was how many people believe the tradition of mariachis playing at weddings began. This line of thinking insists that mariachi was a term coined by the French themselves after watching the musicians perform at weddings. A more accurate scholarly argument maintains that the word mariachi and the music associated with it has roots in Mexico itself as opposed

to having European connections. Nevertheless, European instruments were adopted by the natives, and despite the ambiguity of the origins of mariachi music, one thing is clear—it was a brand of music that was created by and for the people of the rural areas of Mexico.

The mariachi group as it has been known in the mid- to late-twentieth century, then, began in Jalisco in the nineteenth century. But the genre came into its own and penetrated into American popular culture during the 1950s, when mariachi groups became a kind of musical orchestra with their own recordings and films. These groups acquired new musical tastes and styles while, at the same time, retaining their traditional base of support—though they gained new ones in the process, especially in the United States. Tejano music became very popular in the United States in the late twentieth century, and the music of the mariachi had much to do with that success. Popular Tejano singers, like Selena, utilized the beautiful harmony of mariachi music. Mariachis also influenced the Catholic Church in the United States, specifically the Sunday Mass. Many Spanish masses in the United States have incorporated mariachis into their Sunday rituals, lending a new musical taste to the way Mass is conducted in the American Catholic Church.

A parallel development has been the number of American women involved in mariachi music. American women of Hispanic descent have increasingly become a part of mariachi groups since the



The Colombian Mariachi group Juvenil Mexico play Mexican folk music in Guadalajara, Mexico, 1998.

mid-twentieth century. Women are considered to be on the same musical footing with men with regard to their playing, singing, and dancing, and in their overall dedication to express Mexican and American folk traditions through the medium of music. Mariachis have performed at many American festive occasions, including weddings, masses, concerts with symphony orchestras, fiestas (parties), and even funerals. The musical interests of the mariachis have expanded to include both classical and popular music.

Because of the growth of mariachi music Americans have grown both aware and appreciative of it and its themes. The stories told by the mariachis in their music have encouraged Americans of both Hispanic and non-Hispanic descent to look at the simpler things in life and enjoy them while they last. Indeed, the music of the mariachi has had a positive impact not only on the musical arena of the United States, but also the religious and social arena as well. The music and lyrics are simple but contain clear-cut depictions of rural life and all the symbols, pleasures, trials, and tribulations that come with that lifestyle. Perhaps it is those themes that best reflect what both Mexicans and Americans long to have—an understanding of the land, nature, and most importantly, love. All these themes will continue to be represented as long as the mariachi remains dedicated to representing Mexico's fascinating cultural heritage and sharing it with, and in the process enriching, America's popular culture.

—David Trevino

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Marichal, Juan (1937—)

Known for his unorthodox pitching motion and his immaculate control, Juan Marichal won more baseball games in the 1960s (191) than any other pitcher. The “Dominican Dandy” spent 14 of his 16 seasons with the San Francisco Giants, accumulating six 20 win seasons and throwing a no-hitter in 1963. Despite his efforts, he never won a Cy Young award. Marichal's success did, however, clear the path into major league baseball for other Latin American players and he remains influential in Dominican Republic baseball in the late 1990s. Marichal was also the all-time leader in wins by a Latin American pitcher (243) until Dennis Martinez eclipsed his record in 1998. He was inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame in 1983.

—Nathan R. Meyer

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Marie, Rose (1923—)

Singer and actress Rose Marie has entered the canon of popular entertainers as something of a cultural phenomenon. She flourished in two distinct, widely separated bursts of national popularity, but what set her apart was the sheer longevity of a professional career that began in earliest childhood. Born Rose Marie Mazetta in New York City on August 15, 1923, she began performing on radio when she was three years old, billed as “Baby Rose Marie,” singer of current popular songs. She sang and danced in a number of film shorts, including *Baby Rose Marie, the Child Wonder*, in 1929, and continued on her popular radio show into the early 1930s. Later, she appeared occasionally in Broadway revues, which included *Top Banana* with Phil Silvers in 1951. She did some guest shots on television in the 1940s and 1950s, and was featured in the television program *My Sister Eileen* in 1960. From 1961 to 1966 she starred on the *Dick Van Dyke Show* as Sally Rogers; this beloved character was a wisecracking, husband-hunting comedy writer, loosely based on the real-life, caustically witty comedy writer Selma Diamond. The role garnered three Emmy Award nominations for Rose Marie, who went on to play Myrna Gibbons on the *Doris Day Show* from 1969-1971, and appeared regularly on the *Hollywood Squares* game show for several years in the 1970s.

—James R. Belpedio

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Marijuana

Historically used as a renewable resource and a treatment for both minor and terminal illnesses, *cannabis* (variously called marihuana, marijuana, or hemp) was the harbinger of a contradictory attitude in the United States toward controlled substances. This pervasive weed can be smoked or eaten as a mild intoxicant, and has become the third most popular recreational drug after alcohol and tobacco. Marijuana was once an integral part of early American agrarian society, but advances in synthetic manufacturing eliminated its industrial applications and threatened its highly-debated medicinal use as well. Modern physicians are intrigued by marijuana's efficacy, but a wave of drug hysteria that started in the 1930s effectively negated the drug's positive reputation. Despite their checkered history, hemp and marijuana remain important aspects of American popular culture.

Cannabis generally grows in two forms: hemp and marijuana, the former producing more oil and fiber, the latter producing more of the intoxicating resin whose active ingredient (among 460 other compounds) is tetrahydrocannabinol, or THC. One of the oldest



A young man rolling a marijuana cigarette.

psychoactive plants on earth, cannabis is native to central Asia and was first cultivated some 10,000 years ago. Many cultures have used hemp to make paper and rope, and some revered marijuana as a sacrament. As early as 2737 B.C.E. in China, written accounts have extolled the use of marijuana as a treatment for malaria, rheumatism, fever, dysentery, depression, or as an appetite stimulant, or to induce sleep. The classical and Hellenistic eras also noted marijuana as a common remedy, and by the 1700s it had become a popular folk cure-all throughout eastern Europe.

Hemp cultivation in the United States dates back to the colonial crops in Virginia in 1611, when hemp was an important resource for sails, rope, paper, and clothing. King James I ordered colonists to cultivate the plant as an industrial commodity, and some historians contend that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson advocated a hemp-based economy as well. Western doctors first discovered marijuana in 1839, when W. B. O'Shaughnessy published the results of his experiments with humans and cannabis, lauding marijuana as an effective analgesic.

Soon doctors began studying the drug in earnest and found numerous practical applications, especially in its capacity to subdue restlessness and anxiety in terminal illness. But marijuana use declined in 1850 after the invention of the syringe, which allowed water-soluble drugs such as morphine to be injected intravenously. Also,

marijuana preparations were too variable, and other synthetic drugs such as aspirin, chloral hydrate, and barbiturates were far more stable and reliable.

In the 1920s and 1930s, marijuana was increasingly viewed as a catalyst for anti-social behavior, especially among minorities. The Federal Bureau of Narcotics launched a campaign to rid America of "Marihuana, the Devil's Weed," and spread exaggerated and unsubstantiated reports of violent crime, addiction, and psychosis induced by smoking marijuana. The Marihuana Tax Act of 1937 undermined scientific examination of cannabis by heavily taxing and regulating all transactions (medicinal, industrial, and recreational) and linking all forms of the plant with recreational drug use.

Some independent experts tried to dispel the myths but were shouted down by government agencies and the research institutions they supported. While its purpose was to discourage recreational marijuana smoking, the tax merely made it difficult or prohibitively expensive to procure the drug legally. Thus, manufacturers eventually switched from hemp to synthetic materials due to financial concerns and the stigma attached to cannabis.

By the 1960s anecdotes of the utility of hemp and marijuana began appearing in popular publications such as *Playboy* and *National Geographic*. These reports originated from a counterculture that equated drug use with social defiance and considered cannabis prohibition a violation of one's civil rights. Such attitudes only spurred harsher legislation, though, and in 1970 marijuana possession and cultivation were made illegal by the Controlled Substances Act, which categorized all psychoactive drugs into five schedules. Cannabis was placed on Schedule I (the most restrictive) which prohibited medicinal marijuana use even under a doctor's supervision due to high potential for addiction and abuse.

But in 1972 the National Organization for the Reform of Marihuana Laws (NORML) petitioned government agencies to reconsider the industrial applications of hemp and to reclassify marijuana as Schedule II, allowing its use in a medical setting. Finally in 1980 synthetic THC was placed on Schedule II while marijuana itself remained on Schedule I. But marijuana advocates criticized the fact that certain other drugs with documented histories of overdose, death, and addiction were given more lenient categorization. In 1986 hundreds of witnesses and medical experts testified before the Drug Enforcement Agency and produced thousands of pages of documentation supporting marijuana's merits, but the DEA issued its final rejection of reclassification in 1992.

State governments responded to public outcry, however. New Mexico was the first state to legislate in favor of the medicinal use of marijuana in 1978, and by 1992 thirty-four states were lobbying for a form of legalization. Only 17 states were permitted by the federal government to supply patients—mostly those suffering from glaucoma or undergoing chemotherapy to treat cancer—with marijuana. But many states discontinued their programs due to the mountain of paperwork involved and the glacial pace at which the bureaucracy moved.

A deluge of AIDS cases in the early 1990s created high demand for medicinal marijuana to combat nausea and appetite loss, and patients were often forced to procure marijuana by illicit means, since the application process for a legal supply could take 6-8 months. Moreover, government supplies of the drug were often abandoned by patients who felt "illegal" marijuana was more potent and effective.

Regardless, the U.S. government discontinued all medicinal marijuana distribution programs in 1992. While some imported hemp products are available, mass production using hemp remains a legal sticking point for most manufacturers in the United States.

A large number of specialized, sanctioned, and regulated drugs are available legally to the general public. Thus, it is difficult to rationalize the illegality of marijuana, let alone deny the far-reaching applications of hemp as a renewable resource. Nevertheless, while public opinion waffles on its view of cannabis as a controlled substance, the historically documented medical applications of marijuana are as real as the suffering it relieves.

—Tony Brewer

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Marin, Richard “Cheech”

See Cheech and Chong

Maris, Roger (1934-1985)

Roger Maris holds a significant place in sporting history as the baseball player who broke Babe Ruth's single-season home run record, and held that record from 1961 until 1998. He was voted the American League's Most Valuable Player in 1960 and 1961, while playing for the New York Yankees. Maris's pursuit of Babe Ruth's record was the focus of national media attention in 1961—and the attention clearly made him unhappy. An intensely private person, the glare of the media spotlight caused him to lose his hair and gave him insomnia, but he broke Ruth's record by hitting his 61st homer in the last game of the season.

Many people were not happy with Maris's achievement, and commissioner Ford Frick claimed the record was questionable because Maris hit 61 homers in 162 games, while Ruth had hit 60 in 154 games. This controversy became known as the “asterisk” after Maris's name in the official record listings, although no real asterisk existed. Maris's record was topped by Mark McGwire, who hit 70 home runs in 1998.

—Geoff Peterson

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Marlboro Man

Marlboro is America's best-selling cigarette, and a major reason for its popularity can be traced to a cowboy. He is not classically handsome, nor does he wear fancy clothes or a gunbelt cinched around his lean hips. Rather, he is a working man, his face weathered from the sun and wind, his clothing sturdy and functional. He works on a real ranch, and he works hard. And when he wants a smoke, he reaches for a Marlboro.

However, when Marlboro was first marketed in the 1920s, Philip Morris had women smokers in mind, and the advertising slogan was “Mild as May.” Consequently, Marlboro was a “ladies smoke” until the 1950s brought the first research linking smoking with lung cancer. This had many smokers searching for a “safer” cigarette. Filters provided that illusion, but many considered filters to be effeminate. Thus, if Philip Morris wanted to sell Marlboro to men, the product's image had to be made more macho. And soon, courtesy of Chicago's Leo Burnett ad agency, the Marlboro man was born.

—Justin Gustainis

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Marley, Bob (1945-1981)

One of the most important and charismatic champions of human freedoms in the 1970s, Bob Marley emerged from humble beginnings and an early life of austere poverty in his native Jamaica to bring reggae music to international popularity. A rebellious visionary who was unabashedly invested in Rastafari religion, Marley and his group the Wailers became known the world over for songs of universal love and Biblical prophecy, including “No Woman, No Cry,” “Jammin’,” and others. Although Marley died of cancer in 1981, the singer/songwriter left behind a legacy of socially conscious work that continues to remain popular with audiences worldwide.

The man who would come to be a superstar was born Nesta Robert Marley on February 6, 1945 in St. Ann, Jamaica. After Marley's father died in 1955, young Robert spent his childhood being shuffled between the homes of his grandfather, his aunt, and his mother, Cedella, in Kingston. By the late 1950s, Marley spent much of his time socializing with friends in a government yard (public housing) in Trench Town, a shantytown in Western Kingston. Marley's early abandonment and his rough, impoverished childhood would later become instrumental to his success in songwriting and musical composition. Heavily influenced by the imported sounds of American artists like The Moonglows, The Tams, The Impressions, Elvis, Sam Cooke, and Solomon Burke, Marley developed his adolescent tenor by harmonizing with his friends in the evenings after school.



An example of the Marlboro Man advertising campaign.

By 1959, Marley had been taking singing lessons, practicing his musicianship on the guitar and performing in local talent shows. Along with Peter McIntosh (who later came to be known as Peter Tosh), Junior Braithwaite, and two local girls, Marley formed a group called the Teenagers. At 16 years of age, the singer recorded his first single “Judge Not,” which demonstrated his budding, if raspy voice. The song also demonstrated his developing writing skills, and his affinity for an emerging sound called ska, which was a mix of calypso, rhythm and blues, and shuffle. In 1962, Marley’s mother remarried and relocated to America. Left homeless at 18 years of age, Marley began to frequent squatters’ camps and learn more about Rastafari religion, a form vested in contemplative spirituality, philosophy, and asceticism.

In 1964, Marley’s musical group renamed itself the Wailing Wailers. “Simmer Down,” a politically charged song about Jamaican youth, was released on the Downbeat label and went to number one on Jamaican radio stations. Throughout his career, Marley found himself able to latch on to the social turbulence of the era and channel it into politically charged music. In the 1960s, Marley became a key

promoter of what was known as “Rude Boy” music, a form of Jamaican music that spread an anti-racist, anti-colonial, revolutionary message. Eventually, Marley would become the world’s most recognized promoter of the Rastafarian religion and its lifestyles.

Over the course of the 1960s, Marley released a series of hit singles in Jamaica; yet his work had little effect outside of his home turf. On February 10, 1966, Marley married Rita Anderson, an 18-year-old member of the up and coming Jamaican singing group, The Soulettes. Throughout the rest of his career, Rita would perform as his back up singer. Marley eventually fathered as many as nine children in his lifetime, although many of his children had different mothers.

By the late 1960s, a new form of music was beginning to become popular in Jamaica. Reggae was directly influenced by Rasta culture, and featured a decidedly slower shuffle than ska. Working with musical producer and reggae mastermind Leslie Kong, Bob Marley and the Wailing Wailers developed a sound that was less polished than their previous recordings, more rough, cutting, and intense. In early summer of 1971, Marley released “Trench Town Rock,” a socially energized song that topped the Jamaican charts for five



Bob Marley

months, recasting Marley as a national folk hero. Soon after, the singer/songwriter began to barter for control of his career, establishing his own recording studio—Tuff Gong Records—at 56 Hope Road in Jamaica. His musical output became more prolific and more openly political, aligned with the People’s National Party of Jamaica.

By the early 1970s, Bob Marley was gaining a more significant degree of international recognition. Jamaican music and musicians had gained greater visibility as a result of the work of American artists like Paul Simon and Johnny Nash. After touring and recording with Johnny Nash in the early 1970s, Marley gained some popularity in England, where he met Chris Blackwell of Island Records. Blackwell financially backed Marley, allowing him to record an album in Jamaica called *Catch a Fire*. The album was released to great acclaim in the winter of 1973 and marked a milestone in the development of reggae music. Before the release of *Catch a Fire*, reggae had been more concerned with singles rather than the finished product of a full album. Using cutting rock guitars and synthesizers to create an innovative sound, *Catch a Fire* had great appeal to a lucrative rock audience. In its scathing lyrics that sought to indict slavery and colonialism, the album officially launched the era of reggae music.

Marley’s follow-up album *Burnin’* featured a more folk Jamaican sound, and garnered the hit single “I Shot the Sheriff.” The singer and his group toured Europe and the United States as an

opening act for artists like Bruce Springsteen, Sly and the Family Stone, and The Jackson Five. By 1974, the old Wailers had disbanded and Peter Tosh and Bunny Livingston were no longer active members. Already a highly charismatic figure in his native Jamaica and in Britain, Marley became more of a front man. His lead vocals were backed by the I-Threes, consisting of Marcia Griffith, Judy Mowatt, and his wife Rita. Marley also adopted the management of Marvin Gaye’s road manager, Don Taylor. The singer had not yet attained worldwide popularity, yet many of his songs were being actively remade by famous artists like Taj Mahal and Barbra Streisand. Eric Clapton’s version of “I Shot the Sheriff” topped the charts, surpassing the earlier success of Marley’s own rendition of the song. Clapton’s prestige, however, bestowed upon Marley a newfound rock authenticity, and the Jamaican reggae singer would eventually rise to visibility in many circles as a rock star on par with Mick Jagger.

In 1975, Marley released the now classic *Natty Dread* album, which was inspired by the political warfare that threatened Jamaica in early 1974. The album established Marley as a preeminent moral authority and a political visionary alongside peers like John Lennon. Marley made public his explicit fondness for the African continent, and he demonstrated an affiliation with African resistance struggles in South Africa and Zimbabwe (then Rhodesia). Sporting long, matted dreadlocks, Marley became synonymous with the mythical visionary

Rasta rebel character of his album's title. The singer/songwriter was undoubtedly recast as not only the prime proponent of reggae but as an international star. Marley's North American tour was highlighted by a performance at the L.A. Roxy Theater in 1975 which was attended by celebrities like the Grateful Dead, Joni Mitchell, The Band, and others. Through his attempts at publicity, Jamaican culture and Rasta religion came to mass visibility all over the world.

More successful albums followed, including *Bob Marley and the Wailers Live* (1976) and *Rastaman Vibration* (1976), his fifth album for Island Records. Although the latter album was something of a disappointment for reggae purists, it brought him to new levels of mainstream success. On December 5, 1976, an assassination attempt on Marley took place two weeks before a well-publicized "Smile Jamaica" concert in Kingston's National Heroes Park. Although Marley received gunshot wounds to his breastbone and biceps, and despite the fact that Rita Marley had been grazed in the head, the concert went on as planned. In 1977, Marley released the *Exodus* album, featuring the disco-influenced "Jammin'" and the gentle, rocking single "Waiting in Vain." The force of these singles finally brought Marley a significant amount of airplay on black American radio stations, which had previously been unable, or unwilling, to format his style of music.

On June 15, 1978, Marley was presented with the Third World Peace Medal by all the African delegations to the United Nations for his work on human rights. Soon after, the singer made a pilgrimage to Africa. The trip to his homeland instilled him with new hopes for black unity worldwide and brought back a militant edginess and explicit Pan-African bent to his music. This new bent was directly reflected in the lyrics and music for his ninth album for Island Records, *Survival*. His tenth album, *Uprising*, was released in May 1980 and featured the hit singles "Could You Be Loved" and the intensely personal "Redemption Song." By this time, however, Jamaica was rife in political conflict, and because of Marley's political alliances, his return to the island was deemed unsafe. Stranded in exile, Marley would never again return to the land of his birth.

After a collapse in 1981, Marley was diagnosed with a cancerous brain tumor that had spread to his lungs and stomach. He played his last concert with the Wailers at the Stanley Theater in Pittsburgh during the *Uprising* tour. While Marley officially claimed exhaustion as his reason for canceling the tour, news soon became public of his condition. In time, the singer went to reside in Germany where he received nontraditional treatment that sustained his strength for a time. After having received the Jamaican Order of Merit under new Prime Minister Edward Seaga, Bob Marley died in Miami on May 11, 1981, surrounded by his family. Marley died without a will, instigating a long struggle over the control of his studios and Tuff Gong Empire.

A powerful spokesman for human rights and a truly gifted singer/songwriter, Marley remains a vital force in popular music and consciousness long after his tragic death. One of his most memorable songs, "No Woman, No Cry" was remade by the international rap group the Fugees in 1996 and generated mass success. Many of his children became involved as performers in the music industry, and his son Ziggy achieved a tremendous amount of success throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s. Marley brought reggae music and the Caribbean to international visibility as never before, and his courageous and profoundly universal message of the power and dignity of

the human spirit made an unforgettable impact on the possibilities for social and political efficacy in the realm of popular music.

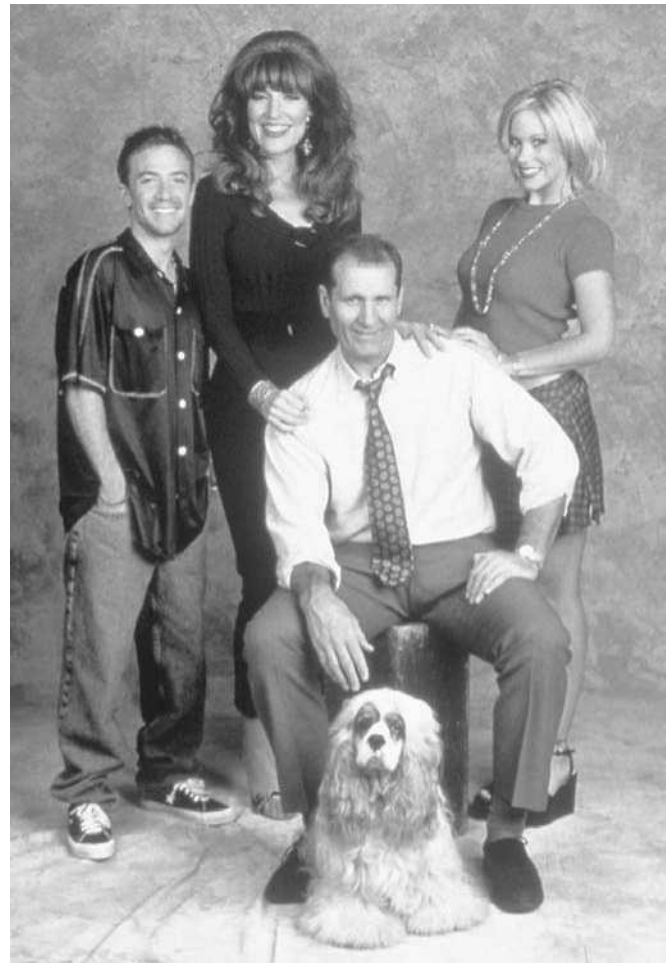
—Jason King

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Married . . . with Children

Out of the sugary-sweet ashes of the "happy family" fare of late 1980s television comedies, epitomized by *The Cosby Show*, *Family*



The stars of *Married . . . With Children* (from left): David Faustino, Katey Sagal, Ed O'Neill, and Christina Applegate.

Ties, and *Growing Pains* and their sweater-wearing characters, the unabashedly raunchy Fox sitcom *Married . . . with Children* rose up like a dysfunctional phoenix and outlasted almost every competitor on television.

Married . . . with Children was created by ex-*Jefferson*'s writers Ron Leavitt and Michael Moyer, who were given the green light by Fox to do something other than the standard TV fare. "We tried to take traditional sitcom clichés and subvert them," Michael Moyer said in *Newsweek* in 1996. He and his partner came up with the sexually-charged version of the old radio comedy *The Bickersons*. The cutting-edge show put Fox on the map (and set its tone, for a while), running from 1987 to 1997.

Married . . . with Children was set in suburban Chicago. The Bundys (who were named after one of Leavitt and Moyer's favorite pro wrestlers, King Kong Bundy) were the anti-Cosbys. Al (Ed O'Neill) was a lowly and chauvinistic shoe salesman with bad breath, armpit stains, and smelly feet. His wife Peg (Katey Sagal) was a lazy housewife with huge red hair and loud sleazy clothing, who never cleaned or cooked and spent the day eating bonbons and watching Oprah. Fifteen-year-old Kelly (Christina Applegate) was beyond stupid and beyond slutty. Eleven-year-old Bud (David Faustino) was a pervert-in-training. Buck was the scruffy, sometimes-voiced family dog. Topics for barbs and insults included Al's lack of bedroom prowess and earning power, Peg's lack of sexual satisfaction, Kelly's lack of brain power and sexual restraint, and Bud's lack of prowess with the ladies. Every now and then, they let it slip that they cared about each other, but not often. On one episode, a parody of *It's a Wonderful Life*, the late Sam Kinison was Al's guardian angel. Al sees how happy his family would have been had he never been born, and he can't allow it. "I want to live!" he cries.

The Bundys' first neighbors were the perfect counterpoints to Al and Peg, Steve (David Garrison) and Marcy (Amanda Bearse) Rhoades, insufferable newlywed yuppie accountants in love. Al and Peg took glee in bursting their collective bubble. During the 1988-89 season, Steve lost his job because of Al, indirectly; after months of unemployment he left Marcy to go to Yosemite to become a park ranger (in real life Garrison left to be in a play). Marcy later married Jefferson D'Arcy (Ted McGinley), thus making her name Marcy D'Arcy. She met him during a drinking binge at a banker's convention. Jefferson never worked; he lived off Marcy and hung out with Al.

The 1988-89 season was downright magical for *Married . . . with Children*. Ratings improved during the 1988 writers' strike when people started sampling other networks. Ratings were also boosted after a Michigan housewife named Terry Rakolta, outraged by a January 1989 episode wherein the female characters purchase bras, started a letter-writing campaign encouraging viewers and advertisers to boycott the show. The ironic result was that more people tuned in to see what the fuss was about; the audience grew and the ratings were strong, thus bringing in more sponsors. *Married . . . with Children* became Fox's first program to get double digit ratings (a 10). However, Fox did refuse to air the 1988 season premiere "A Period Piece," wherein Peg, Marcy, and Kelly all have their periods on a Bundy-Rhoades camping trip; after many changes, the show ran in a later timeslot as "The Camping Show." Another episode, in which Al and Peg are videotaped having sex in a sleazy motel room, was never aired.

In the fall of 1991, Sagal became pregnant, so Peg and Marcy became pregnant on the show. When Sagal later miscarried, both pregnancies were revealed to be a dream of Al's, in an homage to

Dallas. The next year brought Seven, the six-year-old son of one of Peg's cousins, who moved into the Bundy household. The writers couldn't integrate the character and he was gone, unexplained, a few months later. Al and his pals, Griff, Ike, Sticky, and Bob, hung out at a nudie bar; Al also formed NO MA' AM (The National Organization of Men Against Amazonian Masterhood), to preserve their right to drink excessively, act like slobs, and look at porn. As time went on, Kelly managed to graduate from high school, became a model, and lived at home. After getting a job as a waitress in a sleazy diner, she later tried TV commercials, first for Pest Boys Exterminating Co. as the Verminator, then as spokesperson for Ice Hole Beer. Bud actually went to college, but, of course, had no money, and also lived at home. He also worked part time at the Illinois motor vehicle department as a driving tester. He finally lost his virginity to Amber, Marcy's aggressive niece.

The blue-collar sitcom, which tried to reflect a more "normal" American homelife, warts and all, harkened back to *All in the Family* and broke ground for shows like *Roseanne*. The lowbrow *Married . . . with Children* was Fox's longest running sitcom and TV's longest-running network series, not counting news and sports, when it was canceled in 1997. Its theme song was Frank Sinatra's 1955 recording of "Love and Marriage" by Sammy Cahn and Jimmy Van Heusen, with a twist—it was punctuated by the sound of a jail cell slamming shut.

—Karen Lurie

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Marshall, Garry (1934—)

New Yorker Garry Marshall (born Marscharelli) wrote a memoir called *Wake Me When It's Funny*. The title reveals the creative drive behind a man who, whether as scriptwriter, producer, or director, became a linchpin in the growth of popular TV sitcoms from the mid-1960s. Nonetheless, he is most closely identified with directing *Pretty Woman* (1990), the hit film that unleashed Julia Roberts on an ecstatic public. Shamelessly commercial, and controversial for sugaring a fundamentally demeaning premise with a fairytale plot, the film presented a synthesis of Marshall's considerable skills at manipulating situation and character and combining sudsy emotion with comedy. A former news reporter, jazz drummer, and stand-up comic, he wrote for several TV shows (*Joey Bishop*, *Dick Van Dyke Show*, *Here's Lucy*) before masterminding (initially with Jerry Belson) over a dozen prime-time series successes, among them *The Odd Couple*,

Happy Days, and *Mork and Mindy*. An occasional actor (he had a recurring role in *Murphy Brown*), he began making glossy feature films in 1982.

—Robyn Karney

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Martha and the Vandellas

Arguably the most soulful of the Motown girl groups, Martha and the Vandellas established themselves as part of "The Sound of Young America" (Motown's company slogan) with the Top Ten single "(Love Is Like a) Heat Wave" in the fall of 1963. Although some of their hits were thought to have political undertones, the songs they made popular during the mid-1960s were, like most Motown singles, African-American dance records with a strong backbeat designed to appeal to a white audience. Martha and the Vandellas emerged as hitmakers almost a year before the Supremes began to dominate the charts, but by 1965 the latter group had overtaken the



Martha Reeves

former in popularity. As Motown president Berry Gordy, Jr., and the talented songwriting and production team of Holland-Dozier-Holland (brothers Brian and Eddie Holland and Lamont Dozier) focused their attention on the Supremes, they neglected Martha and the Vandellas, as well as other female Motown artists such as the Marvelettes. The success of any 1960s girl group was dependent upon a fragile union of songwriters, musicians, producers, and label executives, giving the female artists themselves very little control over their careers. Like a number of other girl groups, Martha and the Vandellas were unable to sustain their success as recording artists because of their lack of autonomy, in combination with changes in popular music tastes that took place during the mid-1960s.

In 1961, Martha Reeves (1941—) began working for Motown Records in Detroit, Michigan, as William "Mickey" Stevenson's secretary in the A&R (artists and repertoire) department. She was already a professional singer, having released a single on Check-Mate, a subsidiary of Chess Records, as part of a group called the Del-Phis, which consisted of Reeves, Rosalind Ashford, Annette Sterling, and lead vocalist Gloria Williams. Reeves was hoping to become a Motown artist, and her break came when she was invited to fill in for an absent background singer. This experience gave Reeves the opportunity to bring in Ashford, Sterling, and Williams, and together they provided backing vocals for several of Marvin Gaye's sessions. Having proved themselves to owner Berry Gordy, Jr., they were allowed to record a song designated for Mary Wells, who missed a scheduled session. Since the Del-Phis were under contract to Check-Mate, the group decided to call themselves the Vels, and the single was released on the Melody label, one of Motown's subsidiaries. When the record failed to become a hit, Gloria Williams quit the group and Reeves was chosen to succeed her as the lead singer.

Combining the names of Detroit's Van Dyke Avenue and Della Reese, one of her favorite singers, Reeves renamed her trio Martha and the Vandellas, and the group was signed by Motown's Gordy Records toward the end of 1962. Their first release bombed, while the second made it to #29 on the pop charts. But their third single was the smash hit "Heat Wave"—a Holland-Dozier-Holland creation featuring Motown's incomparable session players, including Benny Benjamin on drums and James Jamerson on bass guitar—released in the summer of 1963. Despite the group's success, Sterling dropped out the following year to get married. She was replaced by Betty Kelly, who had belonged to a Motown group known as the Velvelettes. A year after their first hit single, which was followed by several less successful releases, Martha and the Vandellas recorded their signature song, after it had been turned down by Kim Weston. "Dancing in the Street," written by Marvin Gaye and Mickey Stevenson, became an adolescent anthem that was later covered by a number of artists, including the Mamas and the Papas, David Bowie and Mick Jagger together, and Van Halen.

According to Reeves in Gerri Hershey's *Nowhere to Run: The Story of Soul Music*, some white listeners interpreted "Dancing in the Street" as "a call [for blacks] to riot." She explains that the song was intended to be nothing more than an up-tempo dance record. The intensity of this record was matched by the group's 1965 hit, "Nowhere to Run," a Holland-Dozier-Holland effort that to some listeners seemed to symbolize the plight of American soldiers fighting in the Vietnam War. At this point in their career, Martha and the Vandellas were being superseded by the Supremes. Their last Top

Forty single, “Jimmy Mack,” had been recorded approximately two years before it was released in 1967; the song was most likely withheld because of its similarity to the Supremes’ material. Imitating other Motown acts, the group changed their name to Martha Reeves and the Vandellas that same year. At the beginning of 1968, Reeves’s sister Lois replaced Kelly, and two years later Sandra Tilley took Ashford’s place. They continued to perform and record until they disbanded in 1972, when Reeves chose to leave Motown and pursue a solo career on other labels.

During the 1970s, Reeves released several unsuccessful solo albums. Eventually she decided to resurrect the group for oldies revival performances. During the early 1990s, she appeared with the original members of the group and separately with her sisters Lois and Delphine. In 1995, Martha and the Vandellas became members of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Often described as outspoken, Reeves may have failed to achieve the level of stardom reached by other Motown artists, such as Diana Ross, because of her reluctance to conform to the label’s strict rules of behavior. As she told Gerri Hershey, “Once I used ‘damn’ in a song and was heavily chastised.” Label owner Berry Gordy, Jr., also played a large role in determining who was worthy of stardom, giving the best songs to acts he favored. While Martha and the Vandellas were able to record a handful of unforgettable pop songs, like many other girl groups they were unable to sustain their careers without the continued support of those who initially helped to create their hit records.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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Martin, Dean (1917-1995)

Dean Martin remains an example of the consummate popular American entertainer in the post World War II era. A tremendous influence upon other entertainers of quality, such as Elvis Presley, Martin was equally adept at singing, acting, and live performance. An early pioneer in the entertainment field, Dean Martin saw the development of radio, film, recording, and television as viable options for his varied talents. His eagerness to try these new avenues allowed him to grow beyond nightclubs and other live venues. This resulted in a many-faceted career that functioned on a number of levels for almost 50 years. Additionally, as an entertainer and a member of the hip 1960s Las Vegas Rat Pack—along with Frank Sinatra, Sammy Davis, Jr., Joey Bishop, and Peter Lawford—Martin created a boozy, brash-but-lovable on-stage character, known as Dino, that became a part of the vernacular of popular American culture.

Dino Paul Crocetti was born in Steubenville, Ohio in 1917. Beginning his career as a big band singer in Ohio, he legally changed his name to Dean Martin in 1940. Already a local sensation, whose romantic, dark Italian good looks and charismatic humor caused female hearts to swoon, Martin signed his first contract with MCA in 1943. This exclusive deal brought him to New York City, where he performed at the Riobamba Room, the same venue as another young singer, Frank Sinatra. Martin’s move to the Big Apple allowed him to broaden his horizons considerably. He made his first foray into radio in 1944 with the 15-minute program, *Songs By Dean Martin*. It was during this period that he met his future partner, funnyman Jerry Lewis, via an introduction from friend and singer Sonny King. The team of Martin and Lewis, known the world over for their witty patter and effortless attractive straight man vs. the goofy comic style, first performed together at Atlantic City’s 500 Club in July of 1946. A fluke of chance, this joining came upon the heels of Martin’s first recording contract with Diamond Records. While Dean sang, Jerry interrupted and audiences went wild. Legally teamed together in 1947, Martin and Lewis conquered nightclubs, radio, television, recordings, and made 16 movies together, including *My Friend Irma* and *Artists and Models*, before a bitter break up in 1956.

As a solo artist, Martin’s film career began with dismal reviews for *Ten Thousand Bedrooms* in 1957. But, the following year he redeemed himself with a stunning performance in the 20th Century-Fox production of *The Young Lions*, proving himself as a skilled, serious actor. His work with John Wayne in *Rio Bravo* (1959) heralded Martin’s lifelong love affair with Westerns. He also appeared in *Four For Texas*, *The Sons of Katie Elder*, and *Five Card Stud*. Additionally, Dean Martin proved he was capable of high drama, as well as comedy, and everything in between. His films included the Matt Helm series of spy capers, beginning in 1966 with *The Silencers*, Rat Pack films like *Ocean’s Eleven* (1960), and *Airport* (1970), based upon Arthur Hailey’s novel of the same name. Martin made his final screen appearance in 1984 in *Cannonball Run II*, his fifty-first film.

From early in his career, Martin’s influence as a popular singer of note was apparent. Signing with Capitol Records in 1948, he became known for his exquisite vocal treatment of love songs. Yet, like his film career, Martin’s music was remarkably varied. He recorded popular standards, jazz, blues, and country and western numbers, as well as Italian and Christmas tunes. His many hits at Capitol included “I’ll Always Love You,” “Oh Marie,” “That’s Amore,” and “Memories Are Made of This.” While at Capitol he first recorded one of the songs with which he is most often associated, “You’re Nobody ‘Til Somebody Loves You,” and a cowboy tune with teen idol Ricky Nelson for the 1959 film *Rio Bravo*—“My Rifle, My Pony and Me.” Martin’s ability to transcend genre and style only added to his larger-than-life image. During the course of his recording career, he sang and recorded with Merle Haggard, Nat King Cole, Peggy Lee, Margaret Whiting, Bing Crosby, and members of his beloved Rat Pack.

In 1962, Martin moved his recording career to Sinatra’s label, Reprise, and started his own production company, Claude Productions, to insure that he retained exclusive control over his work. It was at Reprise that Martin recorded albums such as *Dino: Italian Love Songs*, *Dean ‘Tex’ Martin: Country Style*, and *Dino* in 1972. He also recorded his signature song, “Everybody Loves Somebody.” Using



From left: Dean Martin; Sammy Davis, Jr.; and Frank Sinatra.

the vocal gymnastics that came so effortlessly to him, Dean Martin's recording session on April 16, 1964 resulted in a number one hit which came in the midst of Beatlemania. This allowed Martin to demand a \$100,000 per week fee from Nevada casino magnet Bill Harrah for his appearances at Harrah's-Tahoe. This period was a high point in Dean Martin's career, as he was very much an entertainer who had won the hearts of his diverse and ever-expanding audience. His association with the high-living Rat Pack solidified his on-stage persona, while his private life became fodder for fan magazines and newspapers.

Adding to his high profile, NBC television premiered *The Dean Martin Show* on September 16, 1965. It was one of the highest rated shows of the 1965-66 television season. In order to keep Martin, NBC offered him a three-year contract at \$283,000 per episode and shares in NBC's parent company, RCA. Because he only worked eight hours a week, Martin still holds the record for being the highest-paid television performer. Again, his breezy, devil-may-care style won over America and his critics. For nine seasons, Martin played up his cocktail-fueled stage persona all the while remaining a vocal stylist of integrity and substance. It was during the final season that the show's name was changed to *The Dean Martin Comedy Hour* and featured what would eventually be known as "Dean Martin's Celebrity Roasts," a take off of the Friar's Club roasts.

Following the last season of his television show, Martin continued to perform and record. A highlight of this period was a 1976 reunion with Jerry Lewis during one of the many MS telethons Lewis hosted. Orchestrated by Sinatra, it was a poignant moment for America as it had been 22 years since the old partners shared a stage. It would be for the last time. The death of one of Martin's eight children, Dino, Jr., in 1987 severely affected the entertainer. From that point on he seemed to be slipping away. Eventually his time was

spent watching Westerns on television, playing golf, and dining out. He rarely worked or saw even his closest friends, though he remained close with his second wife, Jeanne Biegger Martin, from whom he was divorced. A sad, frail figure at the end, this image belies the life he lived to the hilt and the image he retains as the handsome, smiling Italian lover, cocktail in one hand, cigarette in the other, and a "broad" on each arm.

His final performance was at Bally's Las Vegas in June of 1990. Dean Martin passed away on Christmas Day, 1995, leaving a legacy that epitomizes the ideal of a twentieth-century entertainer and the image of a glamorous, fun-loving, popular icon, who continued to be emulated throughout the world at the end of the twentieth century.

—Jana Pendragon

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Martin, Freddy (1906-1983)

In 1941, Freddy Martin's danceband recorded *Tonight We Love*, adapted from the well-known opening theme of Tchaikovsky's *Piano Concerto in B-flat minor*. The disc sold one million copies by 1946, and inspired 16 different pop song renditions of the same tune. Martin followed this success with adaptations of other classical works, and also made cameo appearances with his band in a few 1940s Hollywood films, including *Stage Door Canteen* (1943). Ohio-born Martin

served as music director for Elvis Presley's first Las Vegas appearance, and his tenor saxophone playing elicited the admiration of noted jazz players such as Johnny Hodges, who dubbed him "Mr. Silvertone." Martin's band, famous for its "sweet" sound, played New York's top hotel ballrooms during the 1930s and 1940s, and later made its home at the Cocomanut Grove at the Ambassador Hotel in Beverly Hills.

—Ivan Raykoff

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Martin, Quinn (1922-1987)

During the 1960s and 1970s, it seemed as though all the top television crime dramas carried the weighty introduction, "A Quinn Martin Production." From *The Untouchables* and *The FBI* in the 1960s, to *Cannon*, *The Streets of San Francisco*, and *Barnaby Jones* in the 1970s, Quinn Martin dominated the crime-action genre on the small screen. At one period, the flourishing producer, who got his start as a writer for Desilu Productions, was responsible for more hours of network television programming than any other independent producer or company. In effect, he defined the formula for one-hour TV dramas—down to the number of acts, the number of action "beats" per act, and the perfection of the cliffhanger act close, which brought the audience back from each commercial break—leaving a lasting television legacy which continues to pervade popular culture.

—Victoria Price

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Martin, Steve (1945—)

Steve Martin's crazy, off-the-wall brand of humor had major effects on stand-up, television, film, and print. From the 1970s, when his white-suited appearances on the ensemble comedy show *Saturday Night Live* were widely enjoyed and copied, to the 1990s, when his witty short pieces were printed on the back page of the *New Yorker*, Martin has brought his wacko bursts of intelligent comedy to millions. Clean-cut yet uninhibited, Martin rolled with the decades, growing from a novelty act to a respected comedic actor and author.

Martin was born August 14, 1945, in Waco, Texas. His family moved to California when he was five, and he grew up near Disneyland. He dropped out of college at 21 and began writing comedy for the Smothers Brothers in the late 1960s and then for Sonny and Cher in the early 1970s. He appeared on the *Tonight Show* more than forty times and released four comedy albums.

It was his gigs hosting *Saturday Night Live*, however, that made Steve Martin a household name. He appeared on the late-night sketch comedy show as King Tut, Theodorick of York: Medieval Barber, Gilda Radner's dance partner in "Dancing in the Dark," and, with

Dan Aykroyd, as one of the Festrunk brothers, whose catch phrase "We are two wild and crazy guys" never failed to get a laugh. Martin's arrow-through-the-head crazy antics were typical of the early *SNL* era, and he hosted the show more than a dozen times. His sarcastic "well, excuuuuuuuse me" and "naaaaah" became schoolyard mantras.

In 1980, Martin had his first starring role in a film: Navin R. Johnson in *The Jerk*, for which he also wrote the screenplay. During the next two decades he made several comedies, including *Dead Men Don't Wear Plaid*, *The Man with Two Brains*, *The Lonely Guy*, *All of Me*, *Three Amigos!*, *Roxanne*, *Dirty Rotten Scoundrels*, *Parenthood*, and *L.A. Story*. He had a cameo in *The Muppet Movie* and took the Spencer Tracy role in a remake of *Father of the Bride*. He also tried his hand at serious acting in *Pennies from Heaven*, *Grand Canyon*, and, in 1997, David Mamet's *The Spanish Prisoner*.

Martin also succeeded in the area of the written word. His book of comic short stories, *Cruel Shoes*, topped the bestseller list in 1979. His play "Picasso at the Lapin Agile" (set in a bar in 1904 Paris, with characters including Picasso, Einstein, and Elvis) was performed off-Broadway in 1995 and had a regional run. In the late 1990s, Martin began writing pieces for the *New Yorker*; these were released as a book, *Pure Drivel*, in 1998.

That same year, actor Tom Hanks told an interviewer that Martin had been a pivotal influence on comedy in general: "If you went to Cub Scout meetings in the seventies, they'd do Steve Martin bits," he said. "Everybody was 'Yeah, I'm a wild and crazy guy.' Instantaneously, it just seemed to permeate society. . . ."

—Jessy Randall

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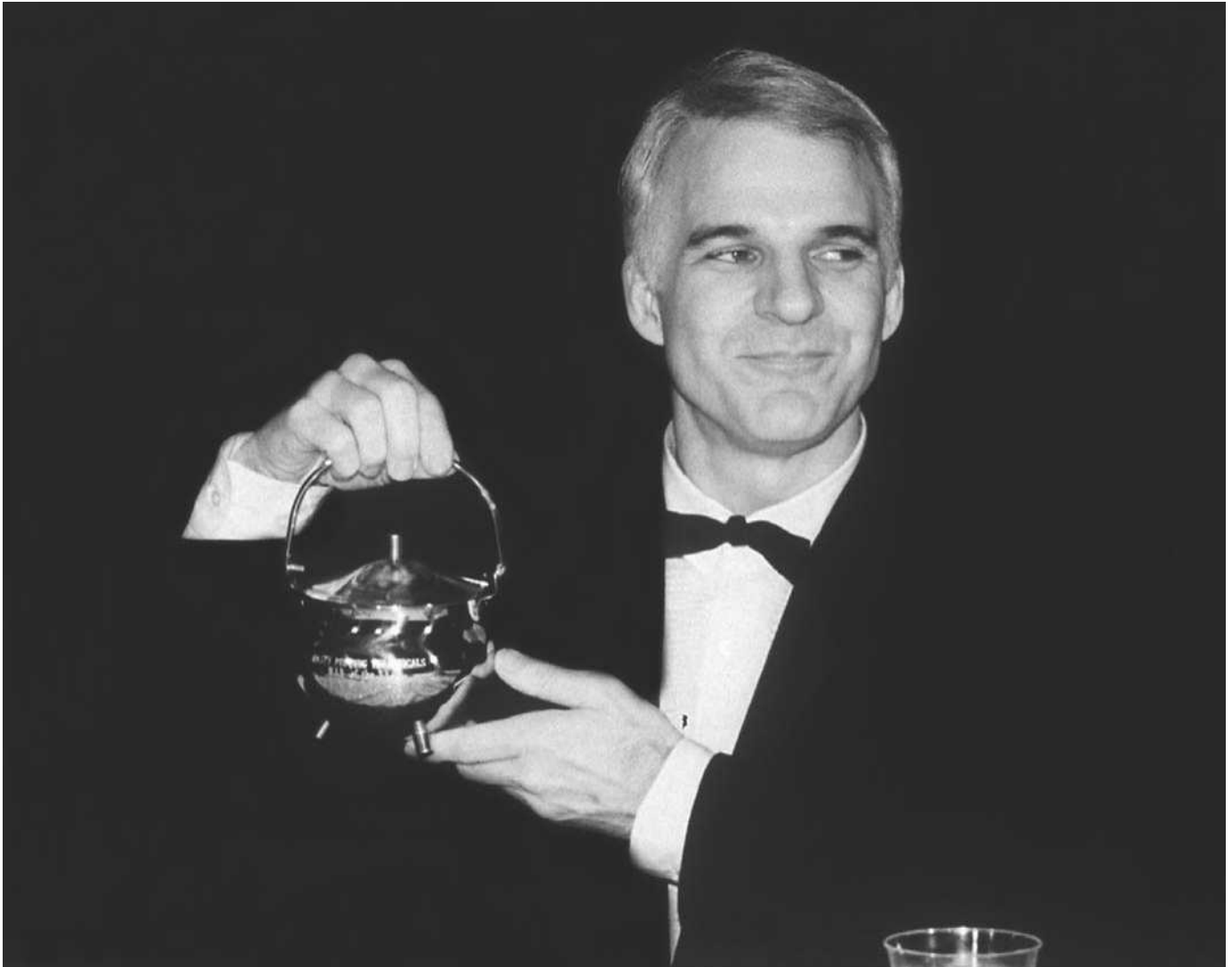
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Martini

The drink that Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev once called "America's lethal weapon" is easily the most written about cocktail in history. The "lethal" aspect of the martini is what most Americans know to be the large proportion of gin, or vodka, to a minute flavoring of vermouth. The less one uses of the aromatic dry wine, which takes its name from the German word for "wormwood," the better; this becomes a mark of the martini's degree of "dryness." The martini is to be served ice-cold, which only makes successive ones go down with relative ease. The martini owes its staying power to two contradictory elements: first, to its ability to reinvent itself; and second, to the martini drinker's fervent exactitude concerning the drink's preparation. This demonstrated meticulousness has produced a whole culture (or cult) around the drink: the martini is accompanied by its own particular codes, accessories, and literature. The drink has been praised in the works of such twentieth-century authors as Ogden Nash, Ernest Hemingway, Jack London, and H. L. Mencken.

The martini is believed to have been invented during the decade following the Civil War. By the 1880s, the drink was included within several bartender's manuals, where it was first referred to as the "Martinez." According to Max Rudin, the "Martini" spelling first



Steve Martin

appeared in 1888, in *Harry Johnson's New and Improved Illustrated Bartender's Manual or How to Mix Drinks of the Present Style*. Early recipes for the drink are nowhere near the cocktail with which a twentieth-century American would be familiar—namely because the nineteenth-century version was too sweet to qualify. Sweetened gin, sweet vermouth, and orange-flavored bitters were employed in strange recipes that varied from the cold, dry drink that most twentieth-century Americans came to know.

As with so many other popular cocktails, there are a number of competing claims for the martini's origin; none have been conclusively proven. One theory states that the drink was invented in San Francisco by a passing traveler, who was bound for Martinez, California. Citizens of Martinez claim the traveler was leaving for San Francisco and that he invented the cocktail in Martinez. Other claimants include the Knickerbocker Hotel in New York, which employed an immigrant bartender in the early 1900s named Martini di Arma di Taggia, who was famous for his dry gin and vermouth cocktails.

Once the trade in alcohol became illicit during Prohibition, hard liquor commanded large profits. Gin was easier to counterfeit than

other liquors, such as whiskey. A new status had been conferred upon liquor: drinking a martini became a defiant statement against the intolerance of temperance zealots. As speakeasies encouraged the mingling of men and women in a way that saloons previously didn't, the martini connoted a new sexuality reflected in these lines from Dorothy Parker:

I like to have a Martini,
Two at the very most—After
three I'm under the table,
After four I'm under my host.

The drink is configured by several codes. The martini's associations are that it is American, modern, sophisticated, upper class, urban, and optimistic, and is by implication not European, old-fashioned, working class, rural, or pessimistic. "It found its essential form at just about the same time as the skyscraper, the airplane, jazz, and the two-piece business suit," wrote Rudin. "Like them, the martini evoked something essential about twentieth-century America."



A bartender displays a gin martini and a vodka martini.

Drinking a martini is often a statement of what one is not as much as how one wishes to be perceived. In the 1951 story “Good-bye, My Brother,” John Cheever’s Pommeroy family makes its annual pilgrimage to the beach house, where they relax by drinking martinis between swims, dinners, and dances. The tone for the story is set when one of the characters, Lawrence (Tifty), displays his ignorance of the family drinking code:

“Isn’t the beach fabulous, Tifty?” Mother asked.

“Isn’t it fabulous to be back? Will you have a Martini?”

“I don’t care,” Lawrence said. “Whiskey, gin—I don’t care what I drink. Give me a little rum.”

“We don’t have any *rum*,” Mother said. It was the first note of asperity.

Lawrence represents a gloomy, antisocial nature that the rest of his family (and by extension martini drinkers) abhors. “(Mother) had taught us never to be indecisive, never to reply as Lawrence had . . .

she is deeply concerned with the propriety of her house, and anything irregular by her standards, like drinking straight rum or bringing a beer can to the dinner table, excites in her a conflict. . . .”

Cheever’s story also marks the move that social drinking made into the home, following the end of Prohibition. A market for accoutrements such as shakers, pitchers, triangle-stemmed glassware, glass stirrers, and even vermouth-infused stones met the needs of the home bar. The drink that once was so modern and avant-garde had become conservative and suburban by the 1960s. The martini’s dark days continued into the 1970s when the Carter Administration used it as a political football by eliminating the tax deduction for the three-martini lunch. Even the conservative swing of the 1980s failed the drink: its reputation for high potency conflicted with anti-drunk driving sentiments.

As Americans returned to less healthful indulgences like red meat and cigars during the economic boom of the 1990s, the martini became an obvious companion. The martini’s resurrection is also testimony to its adaptability, however much the purists might object. Traditional dry martinis gave way to drinks made with flavored

vodkas and gins, in cocktails that often forgot the vermouth altogether. The martini remains for many an icon of a lost world that Rudin characterized as the “product and symbol of a time in America when ‘modern’ meant something good—smart, sexy, and pulse-racing, technologically-advanced, intelligently made, an example of Americans leading the world.”

—Daryl Umberger

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Marvel Comics

Marvel Comics is the largest publisher of comic books in the United States. It owns many of the most popular characters in comic books, including Spider-Man, the X-Men, the Incredible Hulk, Captain America, and the Fantastic Four. As a player in the history of the comic book industry, Marvel’s significance is equaled only by its longtime rival and chief competitor, DC Comics. Despite being one of the oldest comic book companies, Marvel did not emerge as a truly distinctive and influential creative force in the field until the 1960s. Since then, however, the Marvel style has virtually defined the character of mainstream American comic books.

The company that became known as Marvel Comics began its operation in 1939, when a young pulp magazine publisher named Martin Goodman decided to enter the fledgling comic book business. Taking note of DC’s recent success with Superman, Goodman purchased several superhero stories from one of several comic-art studios supplying material to publishers. Soon thereafter, Goodman set up his own comic book production staff under the editorial direction of his teenage nephew Stanley Lieberman, who also wrote comic book stories under the name of Stan Lee. The company was initially called Timely Comics, but also referred to itself by the title of its first publication, *Marvel Comics*.

The first issue of *Marvel Comics*, dated November 1939, introduced several original superhero characters, at least two of whom found a lasting audience. The Human Torch, created by Carl Burgos, was actually not a human but an android with the rather terrifying ability to burst into flames and set objects and people ablaze. The Sub-Mariner, created by Bill Everett, was the son of an interracial marriage between an American sea captain and a princess from the undersea kingdom of Atlantis. Possessing superhuman strength and the ability to breathe on land as well as in water, the Sub-Mariner also harbored a fierce antipathy towards the dwellers of the surface world, thereby qualifying him as perhaps the first comic book anti-hero.

Neither the Human Torch nor the Sub-Mariner were about to rival the likes of Superman, Batman, or Captain Marvel, but they helped to give Marvel a significant share of the rapidly expanding comic book market. That share increased in 1941 when Marvel debuted Captain America. The creation of Joe Simon and Jack Kirby, Captain America became the definitive comic book super-patriot of World War II and Marvel’s most popular “star.” The cover of *Captain America Comics* number one brashly portrayed the red-white-and-blue costumed hero socking Adolf Hitler in the mouth. That striking image, appearing more than six months before United States entry into the war, epitomized the staunch anti-Nazi and implicit interventionist tone of this series in particular, and of Marvel’s output in general. Although a number of comic book companies published anti-Nazi stories before, during, and after the war, Marvel was among the first to do so. As early as 1939, a Marvel cover showed the Sub-Mariner in battle with the crew of a swastika-flagged submarine, and the Human Torch could be seen burning through the German air force in 1940, over two years before United States air forces would follow suit.

After Pearl Harbor most comic book publishers enlisted wholeheartedly in the war effort, but few became as completely caught up in it as Marvel did. Marvel responded to the global struggle with a ceaseless barrage of simplified and overstated patriotic stories, in which self-righteously noble American heroes crusaded against viciously caricatured German and Japanese cronies. While these comic books did little to inform readers about the real issues and conduct of the war, and some—especially in their depiction of the Japanese—were outright racist, they were hardly unique in wartime American popular culture in these respects. Like most of its competitors, Marvel simply worked to bolster the morale of the young people and servicemen who read comic books, while cashing in on wartime patriotism in the process.

The war figured so prominently into Marvel’s superhero comic books, that sales of these titles plummeted with the return to peace. By the end of the 1940s Marvel had ceased publication of all its superhero comic books. The company thrived, however, by diversifying its output and exploring new genres like crime, romance, humor, and horror. Marvel’s editorial and publishing strategy during the postwar decade maximized the advantages of Goodman’s sizable distribution network. Essentially, the company would take note of the most popular current trends in comic books and flood the market with imitations thereof. Typical examples of this approach were *Lawbreakers Always Lose*, Marvel’s answer to Lev Gleason Publication’s successful *Crime Does Not Pay* and *Strange Tales*, a pale take-off on EC’s *Tales From the Crypt*. What Marvel’s stories lacked in quality, the company made up for with quantity. Whereas EC Comics, the originator and quintessential publisher of horror comic books, actually produced less than 200 such comics between 1950 and 1955, Marvel published over 400 during the same period.

Marvel’s conspicuous horror titles garnered the publisher some unfavorable publicity in 1954, when the United States Senate Subcommittee on the Judiciary held its hearings to investigate the alleged link between comic books and juvenile delinquency. Marvel’s business manager testified at the hearings, and although he stood up to the subcommittee’s questioning better than EC’s publisher William Gaines did, Marvel could not escape the public backlash that greeted the comic book industry in the wake of the investigation. In its defense Marvel dutifully adopted the industry’s new Comics Code governing comic book content. But declining sales and the bankruptcy of his chief distributor compelled Martin Goodman to drastically

curtail Marvel's line. By the end of the 1950s, the company that had published more comic books than any other over the previous two decades had become a marginal player in the field with only a handful of titles on the market.

Marvel's rapid decline brought the company to the brink of collapse, but the desperate situation inspired a new risk-taking strategy—one that gave Marvel's comic books an edgy quality that they had not possessed in decades. In collaboration with his primary artists Jack Kirby and Steve Ditko, writer-editor Stan Lee decided to try out a comic book title featuring superheroes that departed from the conventions of the genre. They would be superheroes who, for all their fantastic powers, talked and acted like believable human characters. In contrast to the impossibly noble and rather bland superheroes then on the market, Marvel's new breed of superhero would display such human weaknesses as jealousy, intemperance, and—most importantly—alienation. Launched by Marvel in 1961, *The Fantastic Four* marked Lee's initial experiment with this style of characterization. When it proved successful, Lee followed with *The Incredible Hulk* and *The Amazing Spider-Man*, the former in collaboration with Kirby and the latter with Ditko. With Spider-Man, in particular, Lee hit upon the archetypal angst-ridden adolescent superhero so endearing to young readers. When the sales figures and fan mail came in, Lee knew that he had found a formula for success.

If the lowly comic book can be said to have experienced a "renaissance," then that is what occurred at Marvel Comics during the mid-1960s. In the space of a few years, Marvel introduced a succession of superhero characters who have since become mainstays in comic books. Joining the Fantastic Four, the Incredible Hulk, and Spider-Man were the Mighty Thor, Dr. Strange, the X-Men, Iron Man, the Avengers, Daredevil, and the Silver Surfer. All bore in some way the qualities of the misunderstood outsider, which became the Marvel trademark. Marvel's rediscovery of the outsider hero marked the comic book industry's belated recognition of this mythic figure as a compelling force acting on the American imagination. Furthermore, the introduction of ambiguity into the vocabulary of the comic book superhero spoke to the lingering anxieties underlying Cold War culture—anxieties felt most keenly by the nation's youth. The very notion of a troubled and insecure superhero who could not always accomplish what he set out to achieve indicated the limited scope of his superpowers and suggested also the limitations of the nation as a superpower.

Although these comic books have not held up to the critical eye, they significantly impacted the subsequent history of comic books. Their popularity was undeniable. Marvel became a sensation in the 1960s. By reaching out to a slightly older audience and defying the mainstream conventions epitomized by DC, Marvel garnered a sizable college-aged readership and won approval. In 1965 *Esquire* magazine reported that Marvel had become a phenomenon on campuses nationwide, while characters like Spider-Man, the Hulk, and Dr. Strange, in particular, had achieved noted status among self-described radicals and the counterculture. Marvel's popularity and Stan Lee's unabashed and outrageous hucksterism made Lee himself a minor celebrity and an in-demand speaker at college campuses. Marvel's enthusiastic fan base credited Lee and his collaborators with fashioning a new mythology—a complex fictional universe with interlocking characters and themes that involved readers in much the same way as the mythologies of *Star Trek*, J. R. R. Tolkien, and *Dungeons and Dragons* later would. Intentionally or not, Marvel tapped into the escapist, alienated, and anti-mainstream ethos that had always comprised the essence of the comic book's appeal.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Marvel enjoyed a steadily increasing share of the comic book market. In the early 1970s it surpassed DC, ending that publisher's long era of dominance. Forced to acknowledge the popularity of its rival's approach, DC began to adapt the Marvel style to its own superhero comics—sometimes effectively, often clumsily, and rarely with comparable commercial success. In the booming 1980s Marvel secured its commanding market position even further on the strength of such new hits as the revitalized X-Men and the Punisher, as well as the continuing popularity of its established superheroes. Market surveys indicated that Marvel was the top-seller in both the traditional and the increasingly important comic book store markets. To help ensure its dominance, Marvel returned to its old strategy of flooding the market with titles in the hopes of crowding out the competition. Despite spirited challenges from DC and an array of smaller "independent" publishers vying for market share, Marvel has stayed on top and its characters have remained the most popular among comic-book fans.

The company's very success, however, made it a target of some criticism from fans and industry insiders. Many charged that Marvel's comic books, once on the cutting edge of the field, had drifted squarely into the predictable mainstream. Longtime fans grew annoyed by Marvel's bewildering multi-issue "cross-overs" and its tendency to spread popular characters like Spider-Man and the X-Men over too many titles. Some creators complained that a dispassionate and sometimes ruthless corporate atmosphere now pervaded the once intimate company that many had idolized and romanticized as young fans. Marvel had been a corporate property since 1968 and changed owners several times. In 1991, under the ownership of billionaire Wall Street investor Ronald Perleman, Marvel Entertainment debuted on the New York Stock Exchange. Shares performed well for several years despite warnings from market watchers that they were overvalued. Then they declined sharply until 1996, when Marvel was compelled to file for chapter eleven bankruptcy protection.

That humiliating debacle had more to do with Perleman's unwise investments in other holdings than it did with the popularity of Marvel's comic books, and the publication of the company's comic books have continued unabated. But Marvel's recent troubles also reflect the general crisis the comic book industry finds itself in at the end of the twentieth century, as it struggles to keep its audience in an increasingly crowded postmodern entertainment industry that caters to youth desires. Mindful of this predicament, Marvel's advertising campaign in the late 1990s emphasized the characters who had made it the industry's leading publisher. As long as Marvel can lay claim to the well-worn, but still appealing, superheroes who do good despite being feared and misunderstood by the public, it should retain its relevant place in the shaping of youth popular culture.

—Bradford W. Wright

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The Marx Brothers

The Marx Brothers comedy team was comprised of three brothers stage-named Groucho, Harpo, and Chico (though two other brothers, Gummo and Zeppo, were included in the act for brief periods) whose madcap antics and semi-slapstick routines earned them a reputation as some of the zaniest performers of their time, with frequent appearances in vaudeville, musical comedy, radio, and film. Two of the brothers, Groucho and Harpo, performed on television in later years: Harpo as a novelty entertainer and, most notably, Groucho as the host of his own game show, *You Bet Your Life*. Though never an enormous hit in their time, the Marx Brothers lived to see their reputation with critics and audiences grow to legendary proportions, and they are especially remembered for their appearances in much-revived films like *Duck Soup* (1933), *A Night at the Opera* (1935), and *A Day at the Races* (1936).

The five Marx Brothers were born in New York City to Samuel, a tailor, and Minna Palmer Schoenberg Marx (the “Minnie” of the musical *Minnie’s Boys*), an ambitious stage-mother type—her brother was Al Shean of the vaudeville comedy team Gallagher & Shean—who thought show business would provide opportunities for her sons. Reference sources disagree about the brothers’ dates of birth, but Groucho’s son, Arthur Marx, declares the following order in his 1988

memoir *My Life with Groucho: A Son’s Eye View*: “Leonard (Chico) 1887; Arthur (Harpo) 1888; Julius (Groucho) 1890; Milton (Gummo) 1897; Herbert (Zeppo) 1901.” Chico died in 1961, Harpo in 1964, Groucho and Gummo in 1977, and Zeppo in 1979.

In musical revues and stage shows throughout the 1910s and 1920s, the Marx Brothers began developing the comic personae they would later immortalize on film. Groucho, often seen as the leader of the group, perfected the persona of a wisecracking finagler with his painted-on mustache, arched eyebrows, and ever-present cigar. Chico (he pronounced it “Chick-O”) donned a silly pointed hat and affected an Italian immigrant’s accent. Harpo Marx chased pretty girls, honked a toy horn, and erected a legend around the fact that he never spoke. Zeppo, the least known of the quintet, mostly stood around with nothing to do. Gummo performed with his brothers early in the group’s career, but he left the act around 1918.

The trademark Marxian style, honed on stage and perfected on film, was marked by a fast pace, absurdist situations, and witty dialogue. Some of the greatest humorists of the period, including George S. Kaufman and S. J. Perelman, would eventually write one-liners for the team. In 1925, the Marx Brothers graduated from music hall obscurity when their Broadway stage production *The Cocoanuts* proved a huge hit. Four years later Paramount Studios signed them to a movie deal. They made the film adaptation of *The Cocoanuts* (1930)



The Marx Brothers, from left: Groucho Marx, Zeppo Marx, Chico Marx, and Harpo Marx.

at the Kaufman Astoria studio during the day while their second Broadway production, *Animal Crackers*, was running at night. The big-screen *Cocoanuts* is stagy and crudely mounted, although it does contain a number of memorable comic scenes, including the classic “viaduct” (or “Why a duck?”) routine that relies on fast-paced punning for its humor.

A hit with Marx Brothers fans and with the general public, *The Cocoanuts* established the prototype for all subsequent Marx Brothers films. In it, buxom Margaret Dumont played a wealthy dowager who must constantly fend off Groucho’s advances. There is a sappy musical subplot, and the stolid Zeppo is given little to do. These stock elements were to be incorporated into every film the brothers made for the studio. Next up was *Animal Crackers* (1930), another stage adaptation; its threadbare plot simply let the siblings loose in a rich matron’s estate, with predictably antic consequences. Groucho got to warble “Hooray for Captain Spaulding,” a Harry Ruby composition that would become one of his trademark songs and the theme for his later television quiz show. The film also provided the pop cultural lexicon with some of its best-known one-liners, including the chestnut “This morning I shot an elephant in my pajamas. How he got into my pajamas I’ll never know.”

The success of their first two features prompted the Marx Brothers to leave New York for Hollywood. Here they made the three films that purists consider their finest. *Monkey Business* (1931), written by humorist S. J. Perelman, placed the foursome as stowaways on an ocean liner. The first Marx Brothers film to be written directly for the screen, *Monkey Business*’ frenetic pace and relative lack of schmaltzy subplot made it one of the team’s funniest examples of its formula. Notable scenes included one in which all four Marx Brothers impersonate French crooner Maurice Chevalier in a doomed attempt to buffalo their way past the authorities.

The 1932 follow-up, *Horse Feathers*, was every bit as good. A stroke of screenwriting genius put the brothers on a college campus this time, with Groucho perfectly (mis)cast as university president. More surreal than *Monkey Business* or any of the group’s previous films, *Horse Feathers* milked much comic mileage out of an anarchic football game staged by the brothers. Songs included Groucho’s defining gem “Whatever It Is, I’m Against It” and the Woody Allen-inspired “Everyone Says I Love You.” *Duck Soup* (1933), another absurdist *tour de force*, was set in the mythical country of Fredonia where Groucho got himself elected dictator (probably with the support of the same folks who made him a college president) and promptly declared war on a neighboring nation. Chico and Harpo, as a pair of unscrupulous spies, had some of their finest moments on screen. The climactic musical numbers alone were worth the price of admission, and its famous “mirror scene” would be re-enacted some twenty years later when Harpo appeared on a celebrated episode of TV’s *I Love Lucy*.

In the years after its release, *Duck Soup* gained an unwarranted reputation as an antiwar comedy, as if the brothers could see the bellicose aspirations of Hitler and Mussolini as far back as 1933. The Marxes always denied this, and in fact an anti-authoritarian strain can be detected in all of their comedies of this period. Regardless of its politics, *Duck Soup* flopped at the box office, leading Paramount to jettison the siblings, who chose to carry on without Zeppo.

The three survivors, Groucho, Harpo, and Chico, landed at MGM, a studio known for its lavish, family-oriented spectacles. It did not seem like a good fit, and in time would prove not to be, but the first picture the team made there was an undisputed classic. *A Night at the Opera* (1935) had all the trademark Marxian elements: rapid-fire

comic patter, expert pantomime, and three or four set pieces that were to become landmark scenes in the annals of film comedy. Only the grating presence of a treacly romantic subplot, complete with one too many horrible songs, served as a sign of bad things to come. Nevertheless, the trio was in fine form, having been able to hone their material by road tryouts before the film was shot. With more structure and better production values than previous Marx Brothers films, it won back the mass audience and put the team back on solid commercial footing.

The perils of formula began to catch up with the Marxes in their next release, *A Day at the Races* (1937). While the film contained a number of funny scenes, it was undermined by an utterly haphazard script and a numbing plethora of excruciating musical numbers. Most disturbingly, MGM—as it would later do with the *Our Gang* kids—tried to recast the brothers as lovable lugs trying to do the right thing for their romantic co-leads. “She loves him. Everything’s gonna be *all right now!*” the previously cynical Chico is made to say as insufferable lovers Alan Jones and Maureen O’Sullivan played kissy face in front of him. Harpo was even more shamefully abused, forced to front a racist production number with a crowd of dancing “pickaninnies” that is routinely cut from television airings of the film.

It was all downhill from there. With the death of MGM titan Irving Thalberg in 1937, the Marx Brothers were assigned to second-tier producers who allowed the quality of their vehicles to slip precipitously. *At the Circus* (1939), *Go West* (1940), and *The Big Store* (1941) all had their share of fine comic moments, but were dragged down by a kind of cookie-cutter approach normally reserved for lesser comedians. Eventually the team grew tired of the mediocrity and broke up, though they did reunite for the tiresome *A Night in Casablanca* (1946).

After going their separate ways, the “big three” Marx Brothers pursued their individual interests with varying degrees of success. Groucho enjoyed a long career on radio and television as host of the popular quiz show *You Bet Your Life* and cultivated a public persona in later years of a “dirty old man” who craved younger female companionship. Harpo appeared in the aforementioned *I Love Lucy* episode and wrote an autobiography cheekily titled *Harpo Speaks* and Chico gambled.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Marx, Groucho (1890-1977)

The third-born of the performing Marx Brothers, Julius “Groucho” Marx made the most profound contributions to American comedy. His wisecracking stage persona has achieved iconic status akin to Charlie Chaplin’s hapless tramp and Buster Keaton’s stone face. When teamed with his brothers, Groucho often served as a stand-in for the audience member, a reluctant go-between for the

more antic Chico and Harpo. Venal, lecherous, motivated by the desire for money and a life of ease, Groucho's film façade was the male id personified. When the brothers' movie career had run its course, Groucho evolved into a gentler, more grandfatherly figure as host of the radio and TV quiz program *You Bet Your Life*. Toward the end of his life he made the talk show rounds, often appearing in an absurd beret to trade quips with Dick Cavett.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Marxism

See Communism

Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman

The parody of a soap opera *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman* debuted in January of 1976, to become the “Bicentennial Soap”—much like *Rocky* became the Bicentennial movie. But while *Rocky* hearkened back to a simpler type of hero, *Mary Hartman* was at once



Louise Lasser in a scene from *Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman*.

simple—the long-suffering successor to radio's “Mary Noble”—yet complex, for her struggles involved dealing with outlandish crises such as a neighborhood mass murder, the “exposure” of her grandfather as the notorious “Fernwood Flasher,” and the basketball coach's drowning in a bowl of her chicken soup.

Also, like *Rocky*, this was the underdog which initially no major network would touch, until producer Norman Lear sold the show to independent stations and produced an unexpected hit which became a cultural phenomenon. The *Wall Street Journal* deigned it “the funniest show in the history of television.”

Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman originated in the mind of sitcom producer Norman Lear, who was riding the wave of success with both *All in the Family*, and its spin-off, *Maude*, when he bought the rights to an old radio serial, *The Bickersons*, intending to update and adapt it into a TV sitcom. In the process of development, Lear determined that he wanted to create an unusual hybrid: a straight soap with continuing characters and situations—but one which would simultaneously satirize the medium.

Lear hired a series of veteran comedy writers to develop this concept. The setting would be fictional small town Fernwood, Ohio. The central family would be the Hartmans: blue-collar auto-worker husband Tom, his wife Mary, and their teenage daughter, Heather. Other characters would include Mary's parents and younger sister, the Shumways, as well as neighbors the Haggars, consisting of would-be country singer Loretta, and her husband Charlie.

While this setup was quite workable, Lear wanted to open the show with a series of plot developments which would establish its offbeat nature—but also quite possibly alienate the audience through its breaking of taboos. In the opening episodes, the Hartmans would deal with the mass murder of a neighborhood family—including their goats and chickens, the exposure of Mary's grandfather as an exhibitionist, and a frank bedroom discussion between Tom and Mary regarding his long-term impotence.

While Lear, along with head writers Ann Marcus, Daniel Gregory Browne, and others struggled to make these crises amusing and avoid censorship, the offensive subject matter still worried prospective networks, who contended that either the show needed a live studio audience or a laugh track to point up the humor. Yet Lear resisted, finally selling the show personally, based on his reputation to approximately ninety independent stations across the country. During this interim the producers went on with the process of casting the project.

According to writer Ann Marcus, the central character of Mary had been written for actress Louise Lasser—ex-wife of Woody Allen and co-star in his films such as *Bananas*, and *Everything You've Always Wanted to Know about Sex*. While Lasser was hesitant about the bizarre nature of the project, the producers soon convinced her of her fit, and Lasser is credited with bringing Mary to life through her deliberate and measured delivery, and her creation of Mary's “look”—the wig of braided hair and bangs, and the puffy-sleeved housewife mini-dresses. Lasser seemed to have intuitively captured the unfinished, adolescent/woman nature of Mary, who had not fully integrated as an adult, and actually dressed younger than her thirteen-year-old daughter.

Mary Hartman, Mary Hartman premiered on January 6, 1976. The first episode established the anachronistic style which hearkened to soap operas of the 1950s—complete with corny organ music and the voice of Dody Goodman (who played Mary's mother) calling out “Mary Hartman . . . Mary Hartman!” The opening scenes took place in Mary's kitchen, where much of the action of the series focused, as

she watched soap operas and lamented the “waxy, yellow buildup” on her own floors (resulting in her climbing underneath the sink and closing the cabinet in depression). Then, upon hearing the report of the death of “the Lombardis, their three kids, two goats, and eight chickens,” from neighbor Loretta Haggars (Mary Kay Place), Mary responds—in her now-classic deadpan fashion, “What kind of mad-man would kill two goats and eight chickens?”

Such black humor, in such questionable taste drew an immediate response—both positive and negative. The show was the subject of endless articles in tabloids and highbrow magazines as critics debated its merits. While *Newsweek* praised it, *Time* magazine found it “silly, stupid, silly, stupid.” Factions of the public found it boring, while others were shocked and revolted, mounting letter-writing campaigns and picketing stations to stop the show which was broadcast in the afternoon, when their innocent children could be corrupted. Still others found it wildly original and fan clubs rose as Mary Hartman t-shirts, bumper stickers, and other merchandise began circulating.

For many, the show was just plain hysterically funny. The quintessential episode concerned the funeral held for Leroy Fedders, the coach of the Fernwood High basketball team. Ill with a cold, Coach Fedders had been downing shots of bourbon as well as cold medicine when Mary Hartman arrived with a bowl of her chicken soup. As Mary and the coach’s wife talk obliviously in the kitchen, Coach Fedders deliriously slumps forward in the bowl of chicken soup, and quietly drowns.

Mary, sick with guilt, offers the Fedders family her kitchen for the funeral. Few mourners gather for, as widow Blanche Fedders concludes, “That’s how much people care about you when you never win a game.” In delivering the eulogy, Mary pleads, “I do not want any of my friends and neighbors or relatives ever to eat anything I offer them again,” then—moments later—invites the mourners to refreshments she’s prepared. Then Loretta Haggars—wheelchair-bound due to an accident involving her car and a carload full of nuns en route to Nashville—comes forward to sing the coach’s favorite song, “That Old Black Magic,” in her typically upbeat, inappropriately jazzy country style.

Reportedly, Lear himself improvised the Coach’s death and took delight in figuring out equally bizarre ways for characters to be eliminated, such as the bizarre—and somewhat controversial—death of eight-year-old evangelist Jimmy Joe Jeeter, who was electrocuted when a TV set fell into his bathtub. Likewise, partway through the show’s run, Martin Mull (later Roseanne’s boss on her sitcom) was introduced Garth Gimble, a wife-beater who was killed by his wife when she knocks him into a closet and he was impaled by the Christmas tree stored within. Then there was the near-death of Charlie Haggars, who, when in defending his wife from the lecherous advances of Jimmy Joe’s slimey promoter/father Merle (Dabney Coleman), is accidentally shot in the groin. He subsequently receives a transplant testicle from a German Shepherd.

Despite its immense success, the daily grind was taking its toll on star Louise Lasser. While most soap opera leads appeared in two to three episodes per week, Lasser insisted on being in every one, especially difficult because the parodic nature of the show required extensive rehearsal to achieve the right comedic timing, and Lasser was burning out as the 26 weeks of the first season wore on. Lasser’s stress was also exacerbated by an incident in her private life involving an arrest for possession of a small amount of cocaine, and non-payment of traffic tickets.

Lasser suggested this incident, culminating in her nervous breakdown, to be written into the show as the season finale. The

writers agreed, contriving a scenario in which Mary is chosen as “America’s Typical Consumer Housewife,” and a film crew is sent to document a week in her life. Subsequently, Mary is flown to New York to appear before a panel of experts on the “David Susskind Show.” These pressures, in addition to Tom’s job loss and descent into alcoholism, her sister Cathy’s illicit affair with a Catholic priest, Mary’s own being held hostage at a Chinese laundry, and her doomed affair with police Sgt. Dennis Foley—who has a heart attack the first time they make love—causes Mary to crack on national TV under scrutiny by experts who are analyzing her life. She eventually ends up in a mental hospital, and subsequently, upon release, runs off with Sgt. Foley. Though the show attempted to go on for the next season as “Forever Fernwood” without Lasser, its popularity declined, leading to cancellation.

In summary, despite their love or hate for the show, the “something” that seemed to keep disparate factions of the audience watching to the end was *Mary Hartman*, *Mary Hartman*’s exploration of a character who was a victim of the conflict between television values and reality. Like much of the population, Mary hopes that if she listens to commercials and buys the products, she will have the beautiful life they advertise. Of her character, Lasser herself explained: “Mary’s as sad as any person I’ve ever heard of in my life, unless they’re in a wheelchair somewhere. This is a person who gets up and dresses in pink and blue, thinking it’s all going to be fine—and it just falls down on her every single day. She has a daughter that hates her. She has a husband that won’t make love to her. And she’s just *trying* to figure out what’s wrong with *her*. That’s not sad? She’s a total victim. But what’s sweet and sad about her is that she’s a survivor. She survives in a world that may not be worth surviving for.”

—Rick Moody

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Mary Kay Cosmetics

Mary Kay Cosmetics Inc., a direct selling company, was founded by Mary Kay Ash on September 13, 1963 in Dallas, Texas. Mary Kay Cosmetics is the second largest direct seller of beauty products, behind Avon. They carry a line of more than 200 products, including facial skin care, cosmetics, fragrances, nutritional supplements, sun protection products, and hair, nail, body care, and men’s skin care items. In 1997, their estimated wholesale sales were above \$1 billion, which translated to well over \$2 billion at the retail level and a 5% increase over the previous year.

Mary Kay Cosmetics sells a range of beauty products through approximately half-a-million independent salespeople worldwide, known as “beauty consultants.” These beauty consultants sell their products directly to consumers, often using Mary Kay Cosmetics parties to peddle their goods. Mary Kay Ash and her family own most of the company, though founder Ash stepped aside as chairman of the company in 1996. The company employs and is said to empower

many women: over 100 women have attained the position of Independent National Sales Director, with salaries well into six figures, and an additional 8,500 women hold the position of Independent Sales Director. While most of the work force is female, the company's chief executive and chief financial officers—John P. Rochon and David Holl, respectively—are both male.

According to company documents, the vision of Mary Kay Cosmetics is to “provide women with an unparalleled opportunity for financial independence, career and personal fulfillment” and “to achieve total customer satisfaction by delivering the products and services that enhance a woman's self-image and confidence.” Mary Kay Ash's original goal was to empower women with personal and financial success opportunities. Her simple philosophy was to have her sales force members prioritize their lives by a simple motto: God first, family second, and career third. Starting a Mary Kay business could cost as little as \$100 for the product demonstration kit and educational materials.

Mary Kay Cosmetic's products are sold through a direct sales force in the United States and 26 other countries as of 1998, including many former Soviet bloc countries. In order to accommodate international expansions, manufacturing facilities were opened in China in 1995 to serve the Asia Pacific rim and in Switzerland in 1997 for the European region, including Russia. Mary Kay's growth in China was affected by a ban on door-to-door selling in April, 1998; the company opened negotiations with the Chinese government, which allowed them to sell only to wholesalers and retailers.

The company is well known for offering cars to its most successful Independent Beauty Consultants and Sales Directors. First awarded in 1969, this car has typically been a pink Cadillac. The Mary Kay fleet in the United States, which includes some 10,000 cars, is valued at more than \$150 million and is the largest commercial fleet of GM cars in the world. In recent years the pink Grand Prix, the red Grand Am, and the new white GMC Jimmy have been included in the fleet.

—Abhijit Roy

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Mary Poppins

Vain, brusque, and tart of tongue, Mary Poppins first blew into the Banks home at 17 Cherry Tree Lane, London, in the self-titled book of 1934, to teach Jane, Michael, and the twins some manners. Incidentally, she also took them on a series of fantastic adventures throughout London, across the globe, and within their own home—all of which she firmly denied (“stuff and nonsense”) had ever taken

place. The spit-spot governess with the parrot-head umbrella was the brainchild of Australian-born P. L. (Pamela Lyndon) Travers (1906-1996), who more than once declared, “I don't write for children at all. I turn my back on them.” Nevertheless, the books about Mary Poppins have been translated into 25 languages and sold tens of millions of copies; their tremendous popularity is probably attributable in equal parts to the mythic elements of Mary's character, the boundless universe she creates, and popular nostalgia for an illusory coddled British childhood, a notion which strongly influenced the later Disney film.

In the eight Poppins books (four story collections, two single-story books, an alphabet book, and a cookbook) the character of Mary represents unlimited possibility and the magic to be found within the confines of everyday life. She is a figure akin to those about whom Travers wrote articles and a book for adults. As one volume contains many stories, and as Mary's carpet bag contains many objects (including clothing, furniture, and a bottle of medicine that tastes different according to who swallows it), so does Mary show that an ordinary place or object contains much more than first meets the eye. She seems to know everyone in London and to be related to a good number of them, but her own origins and history are as murky as a goddess's; even Travers claimed not to know where she comes from or goes to between visits. When she arrives at the Banks' house, Mary joins a neighborhood of upper-middle-class houses in which a child might be more intimate with the servants and eccentric neighbors than with his or her distracted parents. Offering efficient care, insight, and adventure, she is the magic gatekeeper all children wish they knew: With her uncle Mr. Wigg, Jane and Michael laugh until they become weightless and bump against the ceiling, and her favorite shopkeeper breaks off her own fingers and feeds them to the children like candy.

Adventures are episodic, character is static, and conflict is confined to and resolved within individual incidents. Though each magical adventure, like each swallow of medicine, is tailored to the child who enjoys it, Mary makes this world one of fluid relationships. She shows that all sentient beings are of equal worth and capacity: each denizen of Cherry Tree Lane has a relationship to the others and is often blood kin to Mary herself. Naturally, under the full moon the lord of the London Zoo is revealed to be not *homo sapiens* but a different animal entirely (people, many of them from Jane and Michael's neighborhood, are displayed in cages). In the Poppins everyday-fantastic continuum, animals and humans are truly members of the same kingdom, manifesting the same emotions and intellect. Similarly, adults often act like children and vice-versa. Travers claimed to have “no idea where childhood ends and maturity begins.” And even inanimate objects, once examined with the right frame of mind, can turn into active playmates (as in Jane's unsettling adventure within the Royal Doulton Plate) or relatives (as when the plasticine man Jane fashions in the park turns out to be Mary's cousin Sam). Proud of her relatives and fussy about her appearance, the acerbic Mary has been compared to a warrior goddess, but her heart is not unreachable; she creates adventures for unfortunates such as the impoverished Match-Man and a Pleiades star who has no money for Christmas gifts. Thus, the children miss Mary herself as well as her magic world when, at the end of each visit, she disappears with the wind again. Patricia Demers, in her book *P. L. Travers*, summed up the character's appeal: “Mary Poppins seems to come from another world and time, and yet to be also a futuristic model of understanding.”

Travers was not averse to adapting her work to extraliterary needs. The pickaninny dialect in the first book seemed racist to late-century libraries, so she rewrote some scenes. She also served as a

consultant on the 1963 Disney film *Mary Poppins*, which starred Julie Andrews and Dick Van Dyke. Combining live action with animation and catchy song-and-dance numbers, the movie dramatizes a few incidents from the first books, invents some of its own, and presents a much gentler Mary. For example, Mary's sympathy for the poor Match-Man is blown into cinematic sweethearthood. Critics have attacked the hugely popular film for cheapening the magic of the books, and even Travers expressed some disappointment in it. Still, it was her suggestion to set the film in the Edwardian period rather than the 1930s; she explained that she wanted the images to be "timeless," or well removed from the contemporary scene. Perhaps she saw those years just preceding her own childhood as the true location of governessy coziness, magic, and myth. Or perhaps she wanted to prove that Mary is, as she proclaims at the end of her very last book, "at home . . . wherever I am!"

—Susann Cokal

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The Mary Tyler Moore Show

The Mary Tyler Moore Show, which aired on CBS from 1970 to 1977, was one of the most influential situation comedies in the history of American television, highly regarded by audiences and critics alike. The show, set in Minneapolis, centers around Mary Richards (played by Mary Tyler Moore), a single career woman in her thirties who works as the associate producer of the six o'clock news at WJM-TV Channel 12, the lowest-rated station in the city. This premise, while seemingly simple, broke new ground for situation comedy by featuring an unmarried, professional woman as the central character and by shifting the setting of the sitcom from the home and the traditional family to the workplace, where a new kind of family was formed, a family consisting of characters in whom audiences felt invested and toward whom they felt a deep affection. In its seven year run, the show raised the standards for comedy writing, acting, directing, and producing, garnering a record 29 Emmys and thus guaranteeing it a place in the annals of American television programming.

The events surrounding the creation and development of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* are part of television lore. By the late 1960s, Moore was already an established actress, having won two Emmys for her portrayal of Laura Petrie, wife of Rob Petrie, on *The Dick Van Dyke Show* (which ran on CBS from 1961-1966). In April of 1969, Moore re-teamed with Van Dyke for a television musical-variety show entitled *Dick Van Dyke and the Other Woman*. The program received high ratings as well as glowing reviews from critics. Impressed with the success of the show, CBS offered Moore a half-hour series, with a commitment to 13 episodes. Moore would accept only under the provision that she and then-husband Grant Tinker would

have complete control of the series. CBS agreed, and Moore and Tinker formed their own independent television production company, MTM Enterprises. Tinker then hired a team of young writers, James L. Brooks and Allan Burns, to create the show. As they originally conceived it, the series would revolve around Mary Richards, a 30-year-old divorcee who had moved to Minneapolis for a job as an assistant to a gossip columnist.

CBS executives balked at the idea, convinced that audiences would think that the "new" Mary had divorced her old television husband, Dick Van Dyke. Ordered to come up with a new premise, Brooks and Burns revised the characters and the plot, and their revision became the famous first episode of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, in which Mary Richards moves from a small town in Minnesota—where she and her boyfriend of two years had split up—to the urban environment of Minneapolis in order to start a new life. Within days of moving to the big city, Mary secures a job as associate producer at WJM, a local news station, completely severs ties with her ex-boyfriend, Bill (who comes to Minneapolis to ask Mary to move back home and live with him—not as his wife, but as his mistress), and befriends her upstairs neighbor, Rhoda Morgenstern.

When *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* premiered on September 19, 1970, it was not met with overwhelming critical success, and in its first year it did not rank among the top 20 shows of the season. But over the course of its seven year run, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* endeared itself to critics and audiences alike (excepting the first season, it placed in the top 20 in every season but the last). The show met with such success in large part due to a talented and diverse cast, all of whom excelled at making their respective characters come to life. Leading the cast was Moore herself, whose portrayal of the lovable, seemingly perfect, somewhat insecure but, over the years, increasingly assertive Mary Richards anchored the show. Though Mary Richards could "turn the world on with her smile," she was not so flawless that audiences could not identify with her. To be sure, Moore's greatest talent was making Mary Richards human: when intimidated by others, Mary would stutter or swallow her words; when exasperated or frustrated at a situation, Mary's arms would fly wildly around her; when upset at work, Mary would sniffle, "Oh, Mr. Grant!" And while, in many ways, Mary Richards was the "girl next door," she was not so innocent or naive that she seemed an anomaly in the early 1970s. To be sure, she dated many men, had several serious relationships, and though it was never stated explicitly, had an active sex life.

Mary Richards was the center of the show, but her world would have been a much less interesting place without the supporting characters: Edward Asner in the role of Mary's tough but loveable boss, Lou Grant; Gavin McLeod as Murray Slaughter, the hard-working, wise-cracking WJM news writer; Ted Knight as Ted Baxter, WJM's egotistical, buffoonish anchorman; Valerie Harper as Jewish New Yorker Rhoda Morgenstern, Mary's sarcastic neighbor, best friend, and foil; and Cloris Leachman as Phyllis Lindstrom, Mary's landlady/friend and resident snob. Both Valerie Harper and Cloris Leachman exited the show (at the end of the fourth and fifth season, respectively) for their own spinoffs—*Rhoda*, which ran from 1974-1978, and *Phyllis*, which aired from 1975-1977. Around the same time as their departures, two new characters were introduced: Georgia Engel as the good-hearted but dim-witted Georgette Franklin, whom Ted dates and, in the sixth season, marries; and Betty White as the manipulative, man-hungry "Happy Homemaker," Sue Ann Nivens.

These characters, just as much as Mary Richards, contributed to the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*. They, like Mary, were



Mary Tyler Moore and Ted Knight of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*.

likable because they were human; indeed, each character had flaws, but flaws with which the audience could sympathize, if not identify. Over the course of seven years, viewers learned that Lou Grant's toughness masked his inability to be emotionally vulnerable; Murray's self-deprecating comments pointed to his disappointment that he was "just a news writer"; Ted's egotistical boasting belied a real lack of confidence in his abilities; Rhoda's caustic wit served as protection against the deep insecurity she felt about her appearance; Phyllis' political and cultural elitism reassured her that her life was in order, even though she and her husband, Lars, did not have the most exciting relationship; and Sue Ann's aggressive "man-chasing" stemmed from her fear that no man would ever want her. Even soft-spoken Georgette is much more complex than meets the eye: as viewers learned in one episode, her good-heartedness provokes others—Ted in particular—to take advantage of her. With the help of Mary and Rhoda, Georgette learns to assert and believe in herself. Every character on the show was both complicated and humane, and even when the characters were at their worst behavior—as Ted, Phyllis, and Sue Ann often were—the viewers were reminded that there was something redeemable about them, something forgivable in each of them.

Though the series was originally conceived as a show about a single working woman, only a few of the 168 episodes dealt directly

with Mary's unmarried status. In fact, the show was more concerned with the relationships between Mary and her co-workers and neighbors than with those between Mary and her many dates. Yet whether an episode focused on Mary's love life, home life, or work life, it often addressed—though subtly—relevant social issues of the 1970s: premarital sex, birth control, anti-Semitism, women's liberation, homosexuality, and divorce. It succeeded at incorporating such issues without resorting to preachiness or without employing the polemical style of *All in the Family* (which aired on CBS on the same night as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* for four seasons). Rather, the humor surrounding these issues softened the controversial nature of them.

There is no better example of the show's ability to combine the serious and the humorous than in its most famous episode: "Chuckles Bites the Dust," from the sixth season. Chuckles the Clown, the host of a children's show produced by WJM, is killed by an elephant in a parade; as Murray explains, Chuckles was dressed as a peanut, and the hungry elephant tried to shell him. The unusual circumstances of his death inspire laughter rather than tears among Mary's co-workers: at the mere mention of Chuckles, everyone—Mr. Grant, Murray, Ted, Sue Ann—giggles uncontrollably. Mary is outraged at what she perceives to be their lack of decorum and respect for the dead. Murray explains that their laughter is merely their way of coping with the tragedy, but Mary remains indignant. The climax of the plot occurs at

Chuckles' funeral: while all of her friends are solemn and composed, Mary, who throughout the episode had righteously denounced the "inappropriate" responses of her co-workers, finds herself unable to control her laughter. "Chuckles Bites the Dust" is still regarded not only as one of the best episodes of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, but also as one of the best half-hours of comedy ever produced for television.

At the end of the sixth season, those involved in creating in the show, particularly the writers and producers, decided that the seventh season would be *The Mary Tyler Moore Show's* last—not because the quality of the show was suffering, but because they wanted to end the series while the characters, plot lines, and writing were still fresh. Aired on March 19, 1977, "The Last Show" (in which everyone at the news station is fired—except Ted) has since become the exemplar of how to bring a much-loved sitcom to a graceful end. While almost every cast member moved on to other television shows (Ed Asner on *Lou Grant*, Gavin McLeod on *The Love Boat*, Ted Knight on *Too Close For Comfort*, Betty White on *The Betty White Show* and *The Golden Girls*, and Moore herself, who has tried her hand at several programs, including *Mary* and *Annie McGuire*), none of them matched the success of *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*.

Though *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* now belongs to the realm of "classic TV," its influence and impact cannot be underestimated. It changed the face of the situation comedy in innumerable ways. While sitcoms before *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* had featured women in lead roles (*I Love Lucy* in the 1950s, *That Girl* in the 1960s) *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* differed from its predecessors by presenting a female character who was independent, career-oriented, and most importantly, happily unmarried. Indeed, Mary remained single throughout the seven year run of the show, and the writers felt no compunction to "marry her off" in the last episode. And while it has been argued that *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, despite its "career woman" lead, in fact reinforced many stereotypical gender roles—for example, even after seven years, Mary called her boss "Mr. Grant" instead of "Lou," and she often performed "motherly" or "wifely" duties for him such as buying gifts for his wife or doing his laundry—such actions might be better understood as reflecting the insecurity and uncertainty that characterized women's foray into public life in the 1970s. To be sure, Mary Richards was not alone in her experience of being the only woman at WJM; in the "real world," thousands of women, inspired by the women's movement, were entering fields previously not open to them. The difficulties that Mary experienced—difficulties in not knowing how to say "no," in asserting herself in order to be heard, in drawing a line between her professional life and her private life—were no doubt the very same conflicts that real women had to deal with as they entered a male-dominated work force.

And just as *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* reflected the changing role of women in society, so, too, did it reflect changing notions of the family. Whereas popular comedies of the 1950s (*Father Knows Best*, *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*) and the 1960s (*The Beverly Hillbillies*, *My Three Sons*) centered on the home and the relationships between husband and wife, parents and children, and traditional family structures, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* challenged the definition of family itself, presenting instead a new version of the family, one consisting of friends, co-workers, and neighbors. As Mary tearfully declares in the final episode, "I just wanted you to know that sometimes I get concerned about being a career woman. I get to thinking my job is too important to me and I tell myself that the people I work with are just the people I work with, and not my family. And last night, I thought, what is a family anyway? They're just

people who make you feel less alone and really loved. And that's what you've done for me. Thank you for being my family." By redefining the family and resituating the sitcom, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show* paved the way for the dozens of other "workplace comedies" that have followed it, such as *Taxi*, *WKRP in Cincinnati*, *Cheers*, and *Murphy Brown*, programs which feature "families" not unlike the family on *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*—people not related by blood or tradition, but drawn together by work, circumstance, and ultimately, affection and love for one another.

—Ann M. Ciasullo

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Mary Worth

Mary Worth, the queen of the soap opera comic strips, had a humble beginning in 1934 when she was known as Apple Mary. Martha Orr created the *Apple Mary* feature for the Publishers Syndicate, obviously inspired by the character of Apple Annie in Frank Capra's hit comedy of the previous year, *Lady for a Day*. By the late 1930s, with a new artist and a new writer, Mary was dispensing advice to the lovelorn and the strip had changed its title to *Mary Worth's Family*. In the early 1940s yet another artist took over and a few years later the title was shortened to just plain *Mary Worth*.

In its earliest incarnation, the strip dealt with the efforts of a kindly, motherly, street corner apple peddler to survive the stresses of the Depression, look after her crippled young nephew Denny, and act as a Good Samaritan to her friends and neighbors. The strip was successful in its original form, picking up a satisfactory list of papers. When Orr retired in 1939, however, the new scriptwriter decided it was time for a streamlining. Allen Saunders was a veteran newspaperman, already writing *Big Chief Wahoo* (later changed to *Steve Roper*). He took Mary off the streets and moved the continuities closer to those that could be heard on such soap-sponsored daytime radio serials as *Ma Perkins*, *Life Can Be Beautiful*, and *Young Dr. Malone*. Orr's longtime assistant and sometimes ghost, Dale Conner Ulrey, drew *Mary Worth's Family* in a slicker illustrative style that fit the new, more sophisticated storylines. Mary moved somewhat into the background, acting now as a sort of homespun therapist and occasional catalyst. Saunders wanted her to become "a linking character who

provides continuity by tirelessly meeting interesting people.” Now and then she also behaved like the classic busybody. The refurbished comic strip prospered. It is probably not a coincidence that Mary Worth was invented in Chicago, the town where many of the early radio soap operas originated.

Dale Ulrey quit in 1942, unhappy with what she considered the tawdry content of the strip and eager to try a feature of her own. Saunders continued to mastermind the stories, bringing in as artist the gifted Ken Ernst. A prolific comic book artist, using a style inspired by that of his mentors Milton Caniff and Noel Sickles, Ernst had also been ghosting the *Don Winslow of the Navy* newspaper strip. His style was well suited to the ever more worldly stories Saunders was fashioning. Mary Worth was now frequently moving in upper class circles. “For soap opera suffering,” Saunders later explained about the further changes he brought about in the 1940s, “we decided to substitute romantic novelettes about glossy girls in more glamorous professions.” He put Mary Worth in contact with actors and actresses, models, and powerful business tycoons, all of them tangled up with complex, and entertaining, romantic problems. Ernst did a good job of illustrating the glossy world that the former Apple Mary began frequenting.

The look and content of *Mary Worth* influenced a whole string of soap opera funnies, including *Rex Morgan, M.D.*, *Judge Parker*, and *The Heart of Juliet Jones*. While almost all of the other story strips have ceased to be, the soapers continue to thrive and *Mary Worth* can still be seen in papers across the country. In the late 1990s it was being written by John Saunders, Allen’s son, and drawn by Joe Giella.

—Ron Goulart

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M*A*S*H

By the time the final episode of *M*A*S*H* aired on February 28, 1983, viewed by 50,150,000 viewers (a world record), it had little in common with the original novel beyond the names of a few characters. While the TV series was regarded as one of the finest examples of sensitive, socially relevant television, the original novel was a black comedy teeming with racist, sexist humor, and cruel pranks. *M*A*S*H* was written by Dr. H. Richard Hornberger under the pseudonym Richard Hooker, and published in October 1968. Hornberger was a surgeon who had worked in a *M*A*S*H* unit in Korea, and wrote a realistic novel, whose characters were very different from the ones we know today. Colonel Blake was a humorless Regular Army commander. Hawkeye was a crude opportunist who persuaded other surgeons to take advantage of their indispensability, and their “mischief” became more cruel and extravagant whenever they expected casualties. On one occasion, Hawkeye and Trapper kidnapped the Protestant priest from a neighboring camp, tied him to a cross, and offered him to Father Mulcahy as a human sacrifice.

Ring Lardner, Jr. liked the antiestablishment tone of the novel and adapted it into a screenplay. Twentieth Century Fox gave it to a relatively inexperienced director, Robert Altman, who applied a

gritty, quasi-documentary style. It was a loose adaptation of the novel, but the characters were generally the same. Released in 1970, the movie shocked viewers with its graphic operating scenes and morbid humor, and was originally rated X. But the film appealed to the antiwar and antiestablishment sentiments which had been growing throughout the sixties. Richard Hooker cashed in on the popularity of the film with a series of slapdash sequels to his novel, beginning with *M*A*S*H Goes to Maine* in 1973.

The film was popular enough, and television was becoming sophisticated enough, that Twentieth Century Fox created a TV series of *M*A*S*H* with producer/director Gene Reynolds, who had previously explored the comedy/drama genre on *Room 222*. Larry Gelbart wrote the pilot episode, and associate producer/casting director Burt Metcalfe procured the actors. The producers planned to show the film to the actors in order to inculcate them into the roles, but the actors refused to watch it, believing it would be a mistake to try to imitate the original actors. Gelbart approved of their decision to strive for originality, and expanded upon it. He decided to embellish each character by observing the actors themselves and encouraging them to invest some of their own personalities into their parts. Throughout the series the cast would examine the script critically to ensure that their lines were true to character. This method contributed to the longevity of the show by allowing the characters to grow and evolve.

The Hawkeye of the novel and film was recalcitrant, sneaky, and manipulative; a prankster, comedian, and ladies’ man. In the TV series he retained many of these qualities, but also became a humanitarian, with the soul of a poet. Besides getting all the best punchlines, he also got the best speeches, criticizing the hypocrisy of pompous officers, consoling wounded soldiers at their bedside, or waxing eloquent on any topic that came along. One remarkable episode, appropriately titled “Hawkeye” (fourth season) was comprised solely of a monologue. After suffering a concussion, Hawkeye was taken in by a Korean family who spoke no English. In order to keep himself awake, Hawkeye talked aloud to himself and to the uncomprehending family, discoursing on the evils of war, the wonders of the anatomy, and other topics. Writers often used Hawkeye as a pretext for inserting purple passages, with variable effectiveness.

Obviously, a character with so many admirable virtues could lead to superficiality, monotony, and sanctimony. Alan Alda sought to keep the character interesting by exploring his faults. In “Fallen Idol” (sixth season), Radar was wounded during a trip to Seoul which Hawkeye had encouraged him to take. Hungover and guilt-ridden, Hawkeye was unable to operate on Radar. When the recovering Radar expressed his disappointment, Hawkeye blew up at Radar, sick of the mantle of heroism he was expected to maintain. This episode furthered the growth of Radar’s character as well. The award-winning “Inga,” written by Alda, showed Hawkeye reluctant to learn from a female surgeon who upstaged him in O.R. (This episode had an autobiographical element, for as a child Alda was cured of polio by a technique discovered by a woman doctor, who had also met with opposition when proposing her theories.) In later episodes writers went out of their way to dig up the dark side of Hawkeye. In “C*A*V*E” (seventh season) we discovered that Hawkeye was claustrophobic, and in “Bless You, Hawkeye” (ninth season) an allergic reaction to wet clothing awakened Hawkeye’s latent but bitter hatred for his best friend and cousin, who had nearly drowned him in a childhood prank. Finally, in the last episode, “Goodbye, Farewell,



Scenes from the television show *M*A*S*H*.

and Amen” (eleventh season) Hawkeye had a mental breakdown after suppressing a gruesome memory.

Margaret Houlihan developed in the opposite direction. Whereas Hawkeye began as an almost ideal person, and writers had to labor to furnish him with faults to create character conflict, Margaret started out with few likable qualities. She was an uptight, authoritarian, Regular Army warhorse, an amorous ally of Frank, and a fink, always threatening to go over Henry Blake’s poor befuddled head. Of course, there was a passionate side to Margaret as well. She wasn’t called “Hotlips” for nothing, and seemed to have had affairs with various high-ranking officers. However, Margaret soon evolved into one of the most interesting characters in television. The introduction of a fiancé, Colonel Donald Penobscot, contributed to Margaret’s growth as she experienced love, marriage, and divorce. Margaret’s role as head nurse also provided some touching moments. A breakthrough came in “Nurses” (fifth season), when she first revealed her loneliness to her nurses, and in “Temporary Duty” (sixth season) when an old friend from nursing school visited and reminded Margaret of what a warm, fun-loving person she had been. These episodes unpeeled Margaret’s camouflage toughness, exposing her more human side. A convergence of Hawkeye’s and Margaret’s development occurred in

the two-part “Comrade in Arms” (sixth season), when the romantic undercurrent between the two rose to the surface while they were stranded in a hut amid shelling. “Father’s Day” (ninth season) introduced Margaret’s father, General “Howitzer” Houlihan, yielding insight into her childhood and motivations. Loretta Swit’s performance of Margaret Houlihan as she broke down, opened up, and flowered as a human being throughout the eleven seasons of *M*A*S*H* was one of the greatest achievements of the series.

The humanization of Margaret Houlihan reflected the show’s tendency to move toward character-oriented stories, and this in turn eroded the irreverent tone of the early years. The show continued to expose the atrocities of war, the inanities of bureaucracy, and the corruption of authority, but it became difficult to sustain convincing characters to represent such evils, and Margaret was the first to buckle. Frank’s character was fundamentally limited, and could not evolve in a way that would be both realistic and dramatically effective. The introduction of Margaret’s engagement in the fourth season was intended to develop Margaret’s character and also put Frank in new, interesting situations (as when he went berserk and arrested an ox). However, this precipitated Frank’s decline, and at the end of the fifth season, Linville quit, feeling that Frank’s dramatic

possibilities had been exhausted. Frank was replaced by Charles Emerson Winchester III, a Boston blueblood and Harvard graduate. Intelligent, shrewd, a formidable surgeon, Charles was a much-needed rival for Hawkeye and B. J. It had been too easy for them to pick on Frank, an incompetent doctor and petty bigot with no redeeming qualities. Charles brought new dramatic possibilities just when the show might have gone stale. He helped keep the show interesting and funny for another two or three seasons. Writers now had the opportunity to concoct rhetorical, allusive speeches for someone besides Hawkeye. Charles' snobbery and egotism were overplayed in the first few seasons, but this gave him somewhere to fall from. The humiliations Charles suffered were usually comic, but they could be quite touching too, when the character was handled with subtlety and not treated as a mere stereotype of the snob. Later seasons often hooked up Charles and Klinger in a trite rich man/poor man routine.

But although the villains became less villainous, there was a compromise on the other side, as well. When Hawkeye's barely-distinguishable sidekick, the irreverent, philandering Trapper, left the show, he was replaced by B. J. Hunnicut, a straitlaced, devoted family man. The bumbling, beloved Henry Blake, who would always "try to wait till noon" before having a drink, was replaced by no-nonsense Sherman Potter, a veteran of World War I and II. Potter provided a medium between the irreverent doctors and their authoritarian opponents, Frank and Margaret. Potter partially sympathized with Margaret, and his presence contributed to Margaret's growth. In each case, the new character—B. J., Potter, and Charles—was intended to contrast with the old character, to keep the show interesting. But in the long run, it tended to turn the cast into one big happy family, once the conflicts between these more moderate characters became exhausted. James H. Wittebols, in *Watching M*A*S*H, Watching America*, argues that these changes reflected the changing mores of the seventies and eighties as America moved from sixties irreverence and hedonism to Reagan-era family values.

The departure of Radar, one of the most popular characters, was a grievous but necessary loss to the show. The teddybear-toting company clerk, with his rural simplicity and naivete, was so appealing that the writers did not bother to develop his character significantly until later in the series. The "Fallen Idol" episode discussed above was a major breakthrough, but Radar remained essentially a child. His departure in the two-part "Goodbye Radar" (eighth season) featured fine performances and a sensitive script, with just the right balance of drama and subtlety. The story gained poignancy through allusions to Henry Blake's departure five seasons before, and was the most dramatic episode since Henry's death. Many viewers must have held their breath, fearing Radar would be killed on the way home, but the dreaded denouement revealed only Radar's teddybear, left behind in Korea. Radar the person had grown up, and Radar the character had grown stale.

Radar's departure led to Klinger's promotion as company clerk. Klinger had been a strictly comic character, providing laughs with his increasingly outrageous women's clothing. After seven seasons of wearing dresses, piling fruit upon his hat, and dressing up as the statue of liberty or a big blue bird with fuzzy pink feet, Klinger finally became a "serious" character and put away his dresses. The advancement of Klinger and Father Mulcahy as central characters with their own episodes was a sign that the show was running out of steam.

Sometimes the writers devised new storytelling techniques to alleviate the tedium. Actually, this had been a characteristic of the series from the beginning. Larry Gelbart had decided that each season

should feature a few innovations. One of the first innovations involved telling the story through a character's letter to his family, with amusing reminiscences to demonstrate the letter-writer's point. The first of these was Hawkeye's "Dear Dad" episode (first season), followed by Radar's "Dear Ma," Potter's "Dear Mildred," etc. Eventually even guest characters like Sidney Freedman ("Dear Sigmund") were given their turn, and Hawkeye racked up three additional "Dear Dads." A more original experiment was "The Interview" (fourth season), which featured Cleve Roberts interviewing the characters on their reactions to the war. Roberts had been a correspondent in the Korean War, and played himself in this episode, which was filmed in black and white. This technique was also repeated in the hour-long "Our Finest Hour" (seventh season). "Point of View" (seventh season) was filmed entirely from the point of view of a wounded soldier, from the battlefield to postop, to mess tent, spongebath, and so on. "Life Time" (eighth season), was filmed in "real time," as a clock in the corner of the TV screen counted down the twenty minutes that the soldier had left until the crucial surgery was performed. Perhaps the most dramatic experiment was the surrealist "Dreams" (seventh season), written by Alda, which peered into the crew's troubled nightmares to expose their deepest fears.

Although the innovations kept coming, the stories and dialogue grew worse in later years. Episodes were built around trivial plots that would have been barely acceptable as subplots in earlier seasons. Certain tropes—the arrival of wounded just when the gang was having fun and forgetting their troubles, the silent fadeout in O.R., the dramatic showdown with an unfeeling general—had become cliché. Pathos often sank to bathos or just plain schmaltz. A particularly embarrassing formula in later years was to fade out an episode with a singalong, as when Colonel Potter began singing "Oh My Darling Clementine" in O.R., gradually joined by everyone else. Other songs recruited for this cheap emotional effect were "Keep the Homefires Burning" and "Dona Nobis Pacem." As with so many shows, the creators wanted to go with dignity, while they were still on top, but they waited too long. Although the final episode had some fine moments, the show had become unpardonably self-absorbed and was painful to watch. Even the title, "Goodbye, Farewell, and Amen" was suggestive of emotional overindulgence.

But the decline in quality was not entirely due to increasing "seriousness," as is sometimes claimed. The infamous "Abyssinia, Henry" (third season), which reported the death of Henry Blake, was one of the most shockingly dramatic episodes of any comedy, and remains a milestone of television history. Grief-stricken viewers sent letters to the show expressing their outrage and indignation; people felt cheated that they had been made to care about a character who was so gratuitously "killed off" at the last minute. McClean Stevenson, who had quit the show due to poor working conditions, believed at the time that the character was killed to prevent him from coming back to the show; however, the creators were actually making a radical statement about war which raised viewers' consciousness. It is doubtful whether the writers of the later seasons could have made such a bold move when they were so immersed in the beauty, the fullness, the roundness of their beloved characters. The original plan to mingle actor and character was at first a fruitful technique which allowed the characters to grow, but it peaked about midway and then degenerated into the common Hollywood malady of narcissism. An episode from the final season, "Hey, Look Me Over," concerning a nurse named Kellye who felt she was being overlooked by Hawkeye, may have reflected an actress (also named Kellye!) who felt she was being overlooked by the producers. The episode was an unintentional

parody of what the show had become: a feelgood group for the actors. The success of *M*A*S*H*—its believable, lifelike characters—had become its failure, and the show lingered on too long, like a dying relative on life support.

*M*A*S*H* was followed by a truly wretched sequel, *After M*A*S*H*, which insulted viewers with the grotesquely improbable reunion of Potter, Mulcahy, and Klinger in a stateside hospital. Another sequel of sorts was *Trapper John, M.D.* (1979-1986), featuring a balding Trapper righting wrongs in the eighties in an hour-long drama in the style of *Lou Grant* (another Gelbart show). This Trapper, played by Pernell Roberts, had little in common with the old one other than his ratings-winning name. Meanwhile, Wayne Rogers, who had played Trapper on *M*A*S*H*, again played a funny doctor on the sitcom *House Calls* (1979-1982), a blatant *M*A*S*H* ripoff. But he was actually closer to the old Trapper than the Trapper John, M.D. character, and the show was funnier than later *M*A*S*H* episodes.

At its best, *M*A*S*H* managed to be both relevant in its day and enduring in its syndicated afterlife. The army setting, away from civilian fashions, prevented the show from becoming an eyesore to future viewers. Its fifties setting prevented the writers from using topical jokes that would become dated—although there were many references to forties and fifties film and radio that went over younger viewers' heads. There were a few ideological anachronisms, however: in "George" (third season), Hawkeye, Trapper, and Henry (all the good guys) showed sympathy toward a homosexual soldier whom Frank, predictably, wanted to persecute. It seems unlikely that there would have been such liberal understanding toward homosexuality among three out of four doctors back in the Freudian 1950s. This episode might have been less glibly didactic, and more dramatically challenging, if Henry, Trapper, or Hawkeye had been homophobic rather than just the ever-nasty Frank. After all, Hawkeye had used the pejorative "fairy" in the first season, when the film version still exerted an influence on the series. But things had already changed by the third season.

Although *M*A*S*H* in retrospect seems more modern than its great seventies rival, *All in the Family*, and has aged better, both shows drunk deep from the well of didacticism, offering liberal platitudes with heavy-handed poetic justice. Plotlines always steered primly towards the moral in 22 minutes flat. And this became the longlasting legacy of these two pioneering shows—drama and didacticism. Every comedy since then would tackle racism, and you always knew who the racist would be; every comedy would have its gay tolerance episode, with an utterly uninteresting gay cousin or neighbor hastily invented for the occasion; every show would kill off, or at least endanger, some character to keep things interesting (who among us can forget Richie Cunningham's accident?). Even 1990s kingpin *Roseanne* adhered to this hackneyed seventies format, despite its claims of originality and artistry. Americans found no reprieve from the comedy/drama until the postmodern playfulness of *Seinfeld* and the early *Simpsons*. Their refusal to be didactic was one of the major innovations in situation comedy since *M*A*S*H*.

—Douglas Cooke

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Mason, Jackie (1931—)

One of America's most popular and controversial stand-up comedians, Jackie Mason has had audiences convulsing with laughter in radio, television, films, and in one-man shows on Broadway and in London's West End. Mason has had two careers, the first being greatly restricted in 1964, following an alleged obscene act on network television.

After working for several years in Catskill Mountain resorts and small nightclubs, Mason caught the eye of Ed Sullivan, who signed him to a \$45,000, six-show contract for his network variety hour. In one of these appearances on October 18, 1964, the show was running late, and Sullivan, off-stage, raised two fingers to try to speed up Mason's act. On-stage, Jackie held up a finger and made jokes about Sullivan's gesture. Although Mason denied it, Sullivan thought it was *the* finger and canceled the comedian's contract. Although Mason claimed he was blackballed in the entertainment industry, he did appear on Sullivan's show in 1967, followed by a few appearances on variety shows hosted by the Smothers Brothers, Dean Martin, and Merv Griffin. After that, his television career ended until he appeared on *Dolly*, in 1988, and on *Later with Bob Costas*, in 1989. In 1989 he also starred in *Chicken Soup*, one of the highest-rated new sitcoms ever to be canceled in mid-season.

Growing up in a family of rabbis on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, Jackie was a cantor until the age of 25, when he was ordained as a rabbi, following in the footsteps of four generations of his grandfathers. Three years later, he quit the synagogue to become a



Jackie Mason (right) with Ed Sullivan

comedian because, he said, "Someone in the family had to make a living." From the beginning of his comic career, Mason's Yiddish accent and tortured New York sentence structure were controversial. Some in his audiences thought him "too Jewish" and others found his material anti-Semitic. The controversy has continued, and in 1994 the NAACP condemned "a set of racist and stereotypical statements about African Americans" made by Mason on the network program, *Pat Buchanan and Company*. Still, his comedy is most often applauded for its ironic insights about life's contradictions, as well as for Mason's on-target barbs aimed at current follies in politics and life in general.

In 1987 Mason entered a new phase of his show-business career when he took his one-man show, *The World According to Me*, to Broadway. The playbill for the show stated that "Mr. Mason's material will be selected from the following subjects: U.S. Politics, World Affairs, Hollywood Producers & Celebrities, Dating, Communism, Sex Education, Psychiatry, Hookers, Health Hazards, The Army, The Weather, and, of course the ever popular Gentiles and Jews." The freewheeling formula has worked well, and the comic has continued to sell out theaters on Broadway and in London with such shows as *Much Ado About Everything*, *Love Thy Neighbor*, and *Jackie Mason Brand New and Politically Incorrect*. A London reviewer described his latest show as "One man in a black suit on a black stage with black scenery. When the man is Jackie Mason, sparks fly and the stars of the show quickly become Mason's personality, his ideas, and his ability to connect with an audience." As testimony to his wide-ranging appeal, he sold out his one-man show in a thousand-seat theater in Frankfurt, Germany.

Mason has won numerous awards, including a Tony for his first Broadway show, *The World According to Me*, and an Emmy for the HBO special, *Jackie Mason on Broadway*. His Warner Brothers comedy album was nominated for a Grammy and became a smash hit, as did his autobiography, *Jackie, Oy!* In 1991, he received the highest honor bestowed by the Israeli government for his support during the Gulf War. He also received an honorary degree from the Oxford University Union, an honor shared with Ghandi and U.S. presidents Jimmy Carter and John F. Kennedy.

—Benjamin Griffith

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Mass Market Magazine Revolution

Before the nineteenth century, few Americans read newspapers or magazines or engaged in public entertainment. By 1900, scheduled sporting, entertainment, and mass cultural events had become commonplace in the United States, and there was a small, but growing, number of magazines with circulation in excess of one-half million copies. Americans were becoming increasingly dependent upon these magazines to define important aspects of their lives.

There were many reasons for the transformation of American society from isolated regional communities into a single national mass culture, but the emergence of national mass market magazines beginning in the 1890s was a significant factor. With titles such as *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, *Ladies Home Journal*, and *Cosmopolitan*, these new magazines provided information on society, fashion, literature, entertainment, celebrities, sports, and current events. The consumption of mass market products not only kept readers up-to-date, but helped to make them more socially conversant and economically prosperous. In turn, the mass market magazine revolution made possible the development of twentieth-century mass culture, from sound recordings to the Internet, to the rise of the Information Age.

For most of civilization, people depended upon each other for information and entertainment. Talking, gossiping, singing, story telling, dancing, and the playing of homemade musical instruments were basic forms of amusement, combined with informal competitive activities, such as athletic contests for males and domestic competitions for females. Quieter pleasures such as walking, riding, boating, or skating were augmented by rougher pastimes like organized sports, gambling, drinking, and gaming. Even centuries after the invention of moveable printing type in 1453, the overwhelming majority of people still entertained themselves in local societies, within a few miles of their birthplaces. The only respites from such homemade amusements were occasional visits by traveling professionals, musicians, jugglers, acrobats, exotic animal trainers, and wagon shows, the ancestor of the circus. The only other public entertainment came via civic and religious ceremonies, church activities, public lecturers, elections, court days, holidays, and similar events.

Printed "mass" communications such as books, newspapers, and magazines played a relatively minor role in most people's lives even in the early years of the United States. With the exception of the bible, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and a few other texts, most books were discourses on religion and politics meant for only a few. There were 92 newspapers and seven magazines in 1790, all supported by small readerships in highly localized settings. The early Federalist party attempted a national newspaper, the *Gazette of the United States*, but Thomas Jefferson's Anti-federalists championed the Postal Act of 1792, which based postage rates on the distance a newspaper or magazine had to be delivered through the mail. The result discouraged the development of national publications well into the nineteenth century, except at subscription prices that only the upper class could afford. The Federalists were more successful in efforts to standardize American English. Federalist Noah Webster's dictionary, first published in 1784 and which eventually sold more than 60 million copies, helped insure that all educated Americans read and wrote the same language even if they did not communicate with each other.

The character of entertainment changed in the early nineteenth century as people began to experience some of the characteristics of mass culture. For the first time, thousands who did not know each other came together to witness such events such as the first major horse race in the United States, which attracted 100,000 spectators to a Long Island, New York, race track in 1823 or a well-publicized ten-mile human foot race at the same track in 1835, which attracted 30,000 people. Boston's "Peace Jubilee" concert of 1869 featured an orchestra of 500, a chorus of 10,000, and an audience of 50,000 and helped define "classical" music. These events were not formally organized or regulated in the way that professional baseball would be after 1876. Instead, they were more like spectacles, emphasizing the extraordinary or unique. Showman Phineas T. Barnum's American

Museum, which opened in New York in 1842, was the same kind of attraction showcasing more than 600,000 exhibits and acts, from giants and white elephants to George Washington's nurse. The only unifying theme of Barnum's exhibits was their oddity, but they attracted thousands of paying customers each year and provided nearly everyone else in the country with something to talk about. Barnum also staged mid-century traveling exhibitions, such as midget Tom Thumb and singer Jenny Lind, who played to sold-out audiences in cities and towns across America, along with celebrity actors and actresses such as Edmund Kean, the Kembles, and the Booths.

Even during the age of Barnum, most books, newspapers, and magazines did not represent mass culture. Influential books and pamphlets such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* had massive readerships but were few in number. Cheap books were available; pirated novels by Dickens and other European authors; popular "dime novels," and romance stories by "belles lettres" authors like Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Lydia H. Sigourney, and Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth. These popular volumes sold thousands of copies, but their publishers lacked organizational and mass marketing techniques and often operated more for a love of books than profit. Penny newspapers appeared in New York, Philadelphia, and other cities, boasting unheard of circulation, but they still spoke mainly to their particular urban area. A select few newspapers circulated more widely. Copies of the weekly edition of Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* were used as chinking in log cabins built in Illinois, Missouri, and places further west, but the paper was an extension of Greeley's personal political and moral peccadilloes. So-called "Family House" magazines, *Harper's Monthly*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Atlantic Monthly* were produced by the major book publishing houses. These had many readers and reached their peak in influence between 1865 and 1893. However, their cost, twenty-five to thirty-five cents per issue, was much too expensive for anyone outside the upper class, and their "gospel of culture" mission to replace the waning influence of religion with high culture as society's civilizing force failed to capture the middle class' imagination. A few women's magazines, *Delineator*, and *Woman's Home Companion*, built-up mass circulation after the Civil War, but they were specialized in their viewpoint, featured editorial content strongly influenced by advertisers, and were overlooked by many advertisers and the rest of the magazine industry because women had not yet been recognized as a viable national mass market.

The urbanized and suburbanized later-nineteenth-century America was the breeding ground for the magazine revolution and the first mass culture. Even though the percentage of urban residents did not surpass the percentage of people living in rural areas until 1910, American cities mushroomed during the second half of the nineteenth century. Most major cities doubled in size between 1865 and 1900, and 100 U. S. communities doubled in the 1880s alone. As they grew, the walking cities of the early nineteenth century disappeared. New York City, once an easy stroll from one end to the other, encompassed almost 300 square miles by 1900. The nation's second largest city, Chicago, covered 185 square miles. No resident could have a personal, sensuous grasp of the physical precincts, the processes, or the peoples of such large cities. As the inner portions of cities filled with working-class inhabitants, a new American social class, the professional-managerial class, began to collect in homogeneous neighborhoods beyond the center city. Professionals, physicians, managers, prosperous merchants, and other businessmen were attracted to the modern comforts of the suburbs; large lots, good streets, good schools, and public utilities, and they could afford the more expensive housing and transportation costs.

The new suburban homes reflected the growing status of the professional-managerial class but imposed previously unknown demands upon their occupants. Ownership was a new development for a population that had previously been urban renters. Beyond rudimentary concerns such as plumbing and heat, owners struggled to define what was appropriate and necessary for the proper exterior images of their homes. Individuality was prized, but exhibitionism was not, and a degree of uniformity came to be considered a virtue, especially within individual neighborhoods, where residents saw each other's houses each day. Front yards, unknown in center cities, presented new and daunting decorating challenges. Interior housing spaces represented yet place to make a statement to visitors while preserving the individuality, utility, and privacy of their owners. Parlors, also known as best or sitting rooms to Victorians, were especially important. Theologian Henry Ward Beecher's dictum that a house was "the measure of [a man's] social and domestic nature" was put to the test in the design and decoration of a parlor. Furnishings needed to display a family's tastes in design and art while simultaneously revealing their history through judicious display of portraits, photographs, and other personal mementos.

These new surroundings and the development of a unique social sphere for the professional-managerial class contributed to new, reconfigured standards of social decorum as well. For example, traditional Victorian society depended upon the strict ritual of calling cards; printed slips of paper that were used to express condolence, congratulation, friendship, courtship, and many other aspects of social interaction. By the 1880s, the emerging professional-managerial class began to view such scripted behaviors as confining and unnecessary. Informality became more socially acceptable. Social clubs helped ease the process of interaction, but home ownership in the suburbs was often enough to signal respect and suitability to neighbors. In turn, the character of families changed. High school and college education became more common and family members were encouraged to express their own interests and tastes in socializing, reducing the once strong influence of the nuclear family upon its individual members. Even children were allowed to develop their own spheres of friends, activities, and tastes.

All of these factors contributed to a previously unknown need for ready answers to the challenges of everyday life. The mass market magazine revolution did not come about to serve a previously unknown type of magazine reader, for the professional-managerial class already existed in American society. Instead, the demise of the closely monitored circles of local acquaintances that had traditionally provided information to the professional-managerial class left an informational void that was filled by the mass market magazines, the so-called educators of the late nineteenth-century's "whirlpool of real life" as it was described by *Cosmopolitan's* John Brisben Walker. *Munsey's Magazine* was the first and most popular of the mass magazines. Created in New York City in 1889 by Frank Munsey—a Maine farm boy who departed Philadelphia's Centennial World's Fair in 1876 determined to possess his own version of a high speed rotary printing press that he had seen there—his magazine lost money for years before it dropped its cover price from twenty-five to ten cents or one dollar per annual subscription in 1893. *Munsey's* circulation zoomed from 40,000 before the price change to 500,000 in 1895 and 700,000 in 1897. Combined with three of his other titles, Frank Munsey sold more than two million magazines in March, 1906, an unthinkable feat only a few years before.

Munsey's was joined in the magazine price war by Samuel S. McClure. An Irish immigrant who once taught the social gospel,

McClure's was founded in 1893 and grew to a circulation of 60,000 at a cover price of fifteen cents by 1894. The circulation climbed to 250,000 by 1896 following a price cut to a dime. McClure boasted the most expensive advertising rates in America, charging as much as \$400 for a single page display ad in 1905. Another issue that year had 200 pages of advertising and a circulation of 450,000. It was said that *McClure's* carried more advertising than any other magazine in the world. *Munsey's* and *McClure's* were challenged by John Brisben Walker's *Cosmopolitan*. Walker was a speculator and businessman who applied aggressive business techniques to the then genteel business of magazines. In 1891, to promote his newly purchased magazine, Walker hired a railroad coach filled with subscription canvassers and had it transported across different parts of the country. He also offered college scholarships to successful *Cosmopolitan* salespeople. Walker broke the fifteen cents per copy magazine price barrier in 1893, dropping his price to the unwieldy twelve and one-half cents in 1893, only to be eclipsed by *Munsey's*. *Cosmopolitan* rivaled *McClure's* in circulation but never approached *Munsey's*, even after it was purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1905. Founded in 1883, the *Ladies Home Journal* reached a circulation of over one-half million by the turn of the twentieth century and was the first to cut its price to ten cents. Edited for 30 years by Edward Bok, a Dutch literary writer who became the highest paid editor of the day, the *Journal* called itself the "Bible of the American home," a claim journalist Mark Sullivan said had "a measure of allegorical truth."

The mass market magazines were characterized by their eclectic contents, living up to the literal definition of the word magazine as a storehouse of odd and notable information. They all had a great number of illustrations. *Munsey's* specialized in halftone photo engravings, the first real published pictures that many readers had ever seen. Paging through an issue provided the eye with a blur of visual images unknown in earlier magazines. *Munsey's* had topical separations called departments, from "Artists and their Works," which for a time featured reproductions of classical nude paintings, and "In the Public Eye," a *People*-style column on celebrities, to brief fiction, called "Storiettes" and sections on music, poetry, literature, and theater. *Cosmopolitan* had similar cultural departments as well as features on science and England. *Ladies Home Journal* had so many departments that some appeared together on the same page. *McClure's* did not have departments, organizing its stories by theme or topic depending on the issue. Advertisements filled each mass market magazine issue with news of brand name goods and services that often became like part of the family. For the first time, the ads went beyond simple product announcements to make emotional pitches toward health, social status, and even sexuality. As a result, the mass market magazines provided domestic, decorating, and cultural information for women, fashion and sporting news for teenagers, economic and current events information for men, and consumption information that promised to help every family member buy the "right" products and succeed within their individual and collective spheres of life.

The mass market magazine revolution did not offer something for everyone. The working class and poor were conspicuously absent from the magazines' portrayal of "real life," except as objects of moral reform waiting to be civilized and uplifted by their social betters. They would have to wait for movies and other publications such as confession magazines to experience mass culture. The state of race relations, especially the debased social status of African Americans living under Jim Crow racism, was ignored by the mass market magazines. Editors did not want to cloud the sunny optimism of early

twentieth-century whites—who had a "common sense" assumption of racial supremacy—because it would be disruptive to the magazine's commercial messages. Women represented a majority of mass market magazine readers, but they were trivialized, dismissed, and stigmatized in the magazines, especially the New Woman movement of the late nineteenth century. Celebrities were excused, as were selected achieving women, but the remainder of women were permitted only traditional social roles, practical domesticity or stereotypical narratives of romance and marriage, in articles and advertisements.

In spite of such omissions, *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Ladies Home Journal* did engage in what was initially called "civic consciousness" but later labeled simply as muckraking. Beginning in 1893, the same year cover prices were dropped to ten cents, *McClure's* and *Cosmopolitan* printed accounts of conditions among working women and the urban poor and the efforts to revamp the nation's educational system. From that beginning, *McClure's* came to epitomize muckraking in the nation's consciousness, especially in seminal series such as Lincoln Steffen's "Shame of the Cities," Ida M. Tarbell's "The History of the Standard Oil Company," and Ray Stannard Baker's anti-union "The Right to Work," all published after 1900. S. S. McClure was not a radical reformer and preferred a middle of the road approach to most of his muckraking, refraining from direct assaults against big businesses and encouraging his writers to support their accusations with documented facts. In contrast, *Cosmopolitan* took a more sensationalistic approach to its muckraking, especially after the magazine was purchased by William Randolph Hearst in 1905. Socialists Jack London, Upton Sinclair, and Charles Edward Russell wrote extensively for *Cosmopolitan*. David Graham Phillips' "The Treason of the Senate," which was published in *Cosmopolitan*, provoked an angry President Theodore Roosevelt to apply the term "muck raker" to the mass market magazines. *Ladies Home Journal* was ahead of the other, better known muckraking titles. It stopped accepting patent medicine advertisements in 1892, holding that many were harmful to their female and child readers and the magazine attacked the entire patent medicine industry in 1904 and 1905, leading to passage of the first federal Food and Drug Act in 1906. It also published a seminal article on venereal disease in 1908, encouraging public discussion on a previously forbidden subject. Meanwhile, *Munsey's* never muckraked, except for two articles in 1900, yet maintained its high circulation and profitability.

Muckraking diminished in popularity after 1906, and most of the mass market magazines either changed their editorial focus, usually toward fiction, or perished, as *McClure's* and *Munsey's* did, before 1930. However, mass culture continued to grow in scope and influence through other magazines and publications, and in motion pictures, radio, paperback novels, television, national newspapers, and cable and satellite television. The professional-managerial class gave way to a larger, more homogenous audience for mass culture in the twentieth century at the same time that many traditional forms of self entertainment, from folk music to story telling, became almost extinct. The advent of the Information Age in the late part of the century, with its emphasis on knowledge as a salable commodity, became only the most recent manifestation of the unquenchable demand for information ignited by the mass market magazines. Since its invention, mass culture and society have been inseparable, as historian Richard Ohmann observed. "Asking whether we want the mass culture we have is almost the same as asking whether we like the social relations of advanced capitalist society."

—Richard Digby-Junger

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Mass Murderers

See Serial Killers

The Masses

The Masses was a radical magazine published in New York between 1911 and 1917. Its contributors primarily were Greenwich Village intellectuals and artists who sought to develop a culturally based radicalism that emphasized free expression and modernistic styles of art and literature. Edited by Max Eastman during its heyday, it met its demise in 1917, deprived of access to the mails under the Espionage Act for its antiwar position. The *New Masses* (1926-1947), under the editorship of Mike Gold, developed a more political tone and became tied more closely to the Communist Party. Continuing as *Masses & Mainstream* until 1956, the magazine published writings by several well-known literary figures, such as Theodore Dreiser, Erskine Caldwell, and Langston Hughes.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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Masterpiece Theatre

Masterpiece Theatre has become synonymous with high quality television since it began showcasing literary adaptations and biography on PBS (Public Broadcasting Station) on January 10, 1971. *Masterpiece Theatre* has imported British television serials from the outset, more often than not based on British novels that unfold against an English backdrop. For twenty-two years, the show was hosted by Englishman Alistair Cooke on a set recalling a posh London club. Cooke's refined Oxbridge accent and the series's upscale British fare have been lovingly parodied by *Sesame Street* ("Monsterpiece Theatre" with Alistair Cookie Monster) and *Saturday Night Live* (Dan Aykroyd as snobbish host, Leonard Penth-Garnell).

Masterpiece Theatre was the brainchild of Boston's public television station, WGBH. It was inspired by the success of *The Forsythe Saga*, a twenty-six episode British television adaptation of John Galsworthy's Edwardian novels shown on PBS in 1969. It was then made possible by financial support from the Mobil Corporation. The first season established the literary emphasis of the show, with serials based on Thomas Hardy's *Jude the Obscure*, Honoré de Balzac's *Père Goriot*, and Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *The Possessed*. The first season likewise presaged the show's Anglophile aspect via such serials as *The First Churchills*, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII*, and *Elizabeth R*. All of the serials aired during the first season were produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC).

In its original conception, *Masterpiece Theatre* was not meant to be a U.S. clearinghouse for British television. Christopher Sarson, the first executive producer, planned for a transition after three years. "The huge disappointment to me is that it didn't turn to American serial dramas," he stated in O'Flaherty's twenty-fifth anniversary volume. Lack of finances, however, engendered a reliance on British imports and consequently exposed U.S. audiences to programming unlike typical network products. Only in 1998—over two decades behind schedule—did PBS announce plans to produce original U.S. content beginning in 1999, complementing its recycled British products under the banner of *Mobil Masterpiece Theatre's American Collection*.

Masterpiece Theatre has consistently attracted older, college-educated viewers and is vaunted by critics as prestigious, quality television. Sales for books adapted on *Masterpiece Theatre* inevitably swell, and the show has scored notable successes. Sixty-eight episodes of *Upstairs, Downstairs* were broadcast between 1974 and 1977, regularly attracting 12 percent of audiences. The chronicles of the Bellamy family and their servants throughout the Edwardian era ensured the long-term existence of *Masterpiece Theatre*. *I, Claudius*, a 13-episode saga depicting the lives of four Roman emperors, subsequently riveted large audiences during 1977 and was recognized as a television classic. In 1984 and 1985, the 14 episodes of *The Jewel in the Crown* transported a mass viewership back to colonial India with a hefty budget adapting Paul Scott's tetralogy, *The Raj Quartet*.

While continuing to supply a stream of handsome, heritage literary adaptations, *Masterpiece Theatre* has evolved since 1985 under the guidance of Rebecca Eaton as executive producer. Nearly

one-half of the programming is set in contemporary settings, be it the international world of drug cartels in *Traffik* (1990) or the political landscape of fictional British Prime Minister, Francis Urquhart, in *House of Cards* (1991), *To Play the King* (1994), and *The Final Cut* (1996). Even so, *Masterpiece Theatre* remains a bulwark of quality television that attracts both discerning viewers and critical acclaim.

—Neal Baker

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Masters and Johnson

The research team of obstetrician and gynecologist William Masters (1915—) and his then-wife, psychologist and sex therapist Virginia Johnson (1925—) pioneered the study of human sexual response. Their research helped to debunk myths concerning male and female sexual performance, to redefine society's definition of "normal" sexual behavior, to change both male and female expectations for sexual performance and sexual satisfaction, to encourage development of the sex therapy profession, and to coin much of the descriptive language used in modern discussions of sex behavior and sexual response. They also pioneered the use of direct observation as a research technique for the study of sexual behavior.

Masters and Johnson's discoveries led to numerous changes in sexual attitudes and sexual behavior. For example, Masters and Johnson's research focused attention on vaginal lubrications as a source of pleasure in intercourse and oral-genital activity, identified the source of that lubrication, and identified its role in reproduction. As couples became more concerned with foreplay activities which produce vaginal lubrications, sex play became more acceptable in marital and sexual relationships. The team's determination that female orgasms resulting from non-intercourse sexual stimulation are more intense than those resulting from intercourse and that female multiple orgasm is common and often associated with non-intercourse sexual stimulation encouraged many females to explore the pleasures of masturbation, oral-genital stimulation, sexual touch, and the use of mechanical and battery powered sexual devices. The team's findings also increased emphasis on touch and tactile exploration of the entire surface of the body as a sexual activity, helped women understand and appreciate their physical sexual capabilities, and helped both men and women understand the sexual response cycle and the control they each and both have over that cycle.

Many of Masters and Johnson's findings contradicted the prevailing myths concerning pregnancy, breast feeding, premature ejaculation, homosexual behavior, and numerous other social and cultural impositions on sexual behavior which are associated with sexual dysfunction. Masters and Johnson's research findings helped trigger the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s and significantly altered

the sexual relationship between men and women. The changes in sexual attitude quickly found their way into literature, film, and television, with increased variety and experimentation in sexual behavior, frank discussion of and depiction of sexual dysfunction, and the quest for female sexual satisfaction each becoming significant plot themes. Fictional characters increasingly became interested in, involved in, and preoccupied with, sexual behavior and the quest for sexual satisfaction.

Masters and Johnson's research findings also revolutionized sex therapy techniques. The team's emphasis on touch and tactile exploration led to the use of assigned "homework," or sexual behavior exercises in sex therapy, first concentrating on touching experiences called sensate focus, followed by genital exploration, called the sexological exam. The team's claim that female sexual dysfunction is more the result of social and cultural taboos than physical problems encouraged the breakdown in those taboos. The team's discoveries concerning multiple orgasms and orgasms from non-intercourse stimulation encouraged development of the sexual aids and "sex toy" industry. The team's four-phase response cycle provided focus points for evaluating sexual response, for timing the application of therapeutic efforts, and for couples to evaluate their own sexual responses. Finally, the team's discoveries led to the development of a variety of specific sex therapy techniques to reduce sexual dysfunction, including squeeze techniques to prevent premature ejaculation and digital insertion exercises to reduce vaginismus, or involuntary muscle contractions that make coital penetration difficult and painful.

In their most acclaimed study, Masters and Johnson studied 382 college women and 312 college men in more than 10,000 completed sexual response cycles to produce *Human Sexual Response*, published in 1966. They recorded responses in a variety of stimulus situations, including masturbation, coitus with a partner, artificial coitus, and breast stimulation. The research team also included 61 women aged 41 to 78 in the study, making this the first study of sexual response in menopausal and postmenopausal women.

Other studies conducted by the team include: a study of sexual response in male and female prostitutes, completed before the 1966 study; a study of the rationale, methods, and success of various treatments for sexual problems, published as *Human Sexual Inadequacy* in 1970; and a 15 year study of homosexual behavior, both comparing sexual responses between homosexual and heterosexual research subjects and evaluating treatment strategies for improving homosexual sexual performance or reducing homosexual orientation, published as *Homosexuality in Perspective* in 1979.

Instead of relying on questionnaires, surveys, and interviews used by most sex behavior researchers to gather research data, Masters and Johnson pioneered the use of direct observation in a laboratory setting to produce the research presented in *Human Sexual Response*. They used direct personal observation to record changes in the primary and secondary sex organs, photographic equipment and physiological response instruments to record muscular and vascular changes throughout the body during sexual arousal and sexual release, and an ingenious phallus-shaped artificial coition machine to photographically record changes in the vagina and lower portions of the uterus during artificial coitus. The team used many of the same research methods in their 1979 study of homosexual behavior and response.

Masters and Johnson's research methods and findings have come under close scrutiny by social scientists. Critics of their 1966 *Human Sexual Response* study contend research subjects' reaction to



Dr. William H. Masters (right) and Virginia E. Johnson.

the laboratory setting, the researcher's observation of the sexual acts, and the often artificial nature of the sexual activity encouraged the research subjects to exhibit extra-ordinary sexual responses. Critics also claim a demographic bias in the research, noting that most subjects were white, middle class, and of above average intelligence. Masters and Johnson's 1970 study of treatment strategies for sexual dysfunction is criticized for a variety of problems in methodology, inadequate measurable definitions for many of the variables in the study, a low response rate in follow-up studies, and the inability of subsequent research teams to replicate the Masters and Johnson findings. The team's 1979 study of homosexuality is criticized for methodological and definition problems, the choice of research subjects, the laboratory research setting, and differences in interpretation of the findings. Critics claim some of the 1979 subjects were actually bisexual or heterosexuals engaged in homosexual behavior due to temporary sexual dysfunction. The team's 1960s study of prostitutes was discontinued when the team concluded that prostitute's physiosexual responses were not typical of those of the general public.

Masters and Johnson made several breakthrough discoveries, including: identifying the source and describing the process for vaginal lubrication; identifying and describing myotonia, or increased muscle tension and spasms in various parts of the body—from feet to face—occurring during the sexual response cycle; evidence that once the male enters the emission phase of arousal, the orgasmic ejaculation process cannot be interrupted but, in females, orgasm can be constrained, interrupted, delayed, and postponed by various psychosensory stimuli; determination, through experiment, that there is no difference in sexual response or sensitivity between circumcised and uncircumcised males; evidence that female orgasms resulting from non-intercourse sexual stimulation are more locally intense and less diffuse than those resulting from intercourse; evidence that female multiple orgasm is common, especially with non-intercourse stimulation; evidence that female orgasm can result from breast stimulation alone; evidence that females experience increased sexual desire in latter phases of pregnancy and that coital activity during pregnancy is not harmful; evidence that breast feeding speeds the return of sexual desire in new mothers; a determination that

postmenopausal women experience the same sexual response cycle as younger women, but experience a decreased intensity and increased time of response; and identification and description of the four-phase model of sexual response that became the model pattern for many sex therapies. The four phases in the sexual response pattern are: excitement (increased muscle tension and tissue engorgement throughout the body); plateau (sustained excitement leading to the orgasmic platform); orgasm (release); and resolution, followed by a refractory period (recovery) in the male cycle. The researchers formed the Reproduction Biology Center and later the Masters and Johnson Institute in St. Louis, Missouri.

—Gordon Neal Diem

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Masters Golf Tournament

Created by famed golfer Bobby Jones and his friend Clifford Roberts in 1934, The Masters Golf Tournament has become one of the PGA Tour's four major tournaments. The tournament is held at the Augusta National Golf Club, which Jones and Roberts built in Augusta, Georgia, with the intention of providing a course that would be pleasurable and challenging to both the average as well as the champion golfer. Since 1949, the winner of the event has received a green jacket, which has since become one of the most well-known and respected "trophy" in golf. Three-time Masters winner Gary Player described the significance of the jacket to Thomas Bonk for the Masters official web site. "That green jacket stands for a lot more than just winning the Masters." Player noted, "It stands for a gentleman like Bobby Jones and his legacy to the game. It stands for a man like Clifford Roberts, who gave his heart and soul to Augusta National and the tournament itself. It stands for a great golf tournament, it stands for the greatest golf course in the world, and it stands for great men and great achievements. The Masters jacket epitomizes perfection in golf."

Jack Nicklaus had won the most green jackets through 1998, with six, the last coming in 1986 when Nicklaus was 46 years old. Before 1997, Spaniard Severiano Ballesteros was the youngest champion, winning in 1980 at age 23. However, 21 year-old Tiger Woods shattered Ballesteros' record in 1997. In addition to being the youngest ever to win, he set 19 tournament records while tying six others. Woods set a course record while winning by 12 strokes, the largest margin of victory ever.

—D. Byron Painter

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Mathis, Johnny (1935—)

Blessed with a superior vocal instrument, Johnny Mathis is a consummate vocalist who caresses romantic ballads with his tenor voice, imbuing them with a magical and vital quality. An accomplished and trained musician with credentials in opera and jazz, Mathis exemplifies the best in musical artistry. His four decade career



Johnny Mathis

as a professional recording artist has earned him many distinctions, including the third most successful recording artist of all time behind Frank Sinatra and Elvis Presley. Mathis has few competitors as one of the most legendary artists in popular music. His 1958 *Johnny's Greatest Hits* album held the number one spot on the *Billboard's* pop album chart for 36 weeks, and Mathis has charted over 60 entries on *Billboard's* pop album chart. The term "Greatest Hits," a marketing tool, was created for Mathis and is now employed throughout the industry.

Mathis was born September 30, 1935, in Gilmer, Texas, and was raised in San Francisco. His father, Clem Mathis, had worked briefly as a vaudeville performer playing piano and singing back in Texas. When Mathis was eight, his father bought an upright piano and taught his son many songs and routines. Mathis also sang in the church choir, at school functions, and community events, and won a local amateur contest at age 14. Mathis studied with Connie Cox, an Oakland-based music teacher, who trained him in opera.

Music was not Mathis's only talent; he was an exceptionally good student, holding the office of student body president at Roosevelt Junior High School and treasurer at George Washington High School. In addition, he was an outstanding high school and college athlete, excelling in track and field and basketball. Mathis gave up the chance to try out for the 1956 USA Olympic Team in the high jump, instead choosing a musical career.

While a student at San Francisco State College, Mathis heard famous jazz musicians at the renowned Blackhawk nightclub in San Francisco. He began singing in local nightspots with a sextet led by Virgil Gonsalves, a local baritone saxophone player and fellow student. At a performance with Gonsalves's sextet at the Blackhawk, Mathis attracted the attention of the club's co-owner, Helen Noga, who was so impressed that she was determined to make him a success. George Avakian, a well known jazz producer, discovered Mathis in 1955 and convinced Columbia records to sign him. Mathis went to New York and performed at the Village Vanguard and the Blue Angel.

Mathis' first album for Columbia included jazz arranger Gil Evans and pianist John Lewis of the Modern Jazz Quartet. This album, with jazz standards such as "Angel Eyes" and "Easy to Love," did not click. After Columbia teamed Mathis with Mitch Miller, who adroitly pointed him to singing romantic ballads, his career as a pop singer was secured. Mathis recorded "Wonderful! Wonderful," released in 1957, it became his first big hit, and was followed by "It's Not for Me to Say" and the romantic "Chances Are." In 1959, Mathis recorded "Misty" his signature song and he quickly became a major concert attraction, with repeated performances on television shows. His film roles included singing the title song for *Lizzie* in 1957 and *A Certain Smile* in 1958.

Mathis' music had been marketed primarily to a white audience, although his "Misty" peaked at number ten on *Billboard's* R & B singles' chart. In 1978, his duet with Deniece Williams, "Too Much, Too Little, Too Late," charted at number one on the R & B and pop charts, cementing his popularity with Black audiences. Since the first duet recording with Williams, Mathis has recorded numerous duets with singers, including Dionne Warwick, Gladys Knight, Patti Austin, and Take 6. Mathis has been open to a number of diverse album projects, including *Olé*, a Latin-American outing with songs sung in Portuguese and Spanish, as well as *Johnny Mathis Sings the Music of Bacharach and Kaempfert* and albums of music by Michel Legrand and Duke Ellington.

In 1964, Mathis launched Jon Mat, his own company, to produce his records and Rojohn Productions to handle his concert, theater,

club, and television appearances. A stylist of primarily romantic ballads, his contributions to popular music are significant. Mathis' resonant vibrant tenor continues to command the attention and admiration of both fans and critics. Since his recording career began in 1956, Mathis has recorded more than 100 albums and remains an international superstar who has performed throughout the world. When the jazz producer George Avakian first heard Mathis, he sent a telegram to Columbia Records stating, "Have found phenomenal 19-year-old boy who could go all the way." Mathis has gone all the way, carving out a unique niche in popular music with a distinct style, voice, and an enduring legacy.

—Willie Collins

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Mattingly, Don (1961—)

New York Yankee first baseman Don Mattingly was arguably the best player in baseball from 1984 to 1987. Christened "Donnie Baseball" by Minnesota Twins slugger Kirby Puckett, Mattingly won the admiration of his peers with a dogged work ethic and an unwavering respect for the integrity of the game. The winner of the 1985 Most Valuable Player Award, Mattingly was named New York Yankee captain in 1991, becoming the tenth man so entrusted in the team's illustrious history. Chronic back problems put a premature end to his career after the 1995 season. The Yankees retired Mattingly's number and erected a plaque in his honor on August 31, 1997.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Maude

Norman Lear's sitcom, *Maude* (1972-1978), featured one of the most outspoken woman characters in television history. The character Maude Findley (played by Beatrice Arthur, who also went on to star in the hit series *The Golden Girls*) first appeared on *All in the Family* as Edith Bunker's cousin. She was upper-middle-class, educated, liberated, witty, and domineering, the perfect counterpoint for *All in the Family's* strong-willed and opinionated Archie Bunker. Frances Lear, Norman's late ex-wife and Maude's inspiration, told *People* in 1975, that "a great deal of Maude comes from my consciousness being raised by the [women's] movement—and from Norman's being raised by me." Maude's gutsy approach to life gave her the strength to deal with some of life's most difficult experiences, and Lear's skill enabled her to do so while maintaining a comedic air to the show.



Bea Arthur and Bill Macy in a scene from *Maude*.

Maude lived in Tuckahoe, New York, with her fourth husband, Walter Findley (Bill Macy) of Findley's Friendly Appliances, her 27-year-old divorced daughter Carol Traynor (Adrienne Barbeau), and Carol's 9-year-old son Phillip (Brian Morrison, Kraig Metzinger). The Findley's next door neighbor and Walter's best friend was Dr. Arthur Harmon (Conrad Bain), a widower, who soon started dating Maude's best friend, recent divorcee Vivian Cavender (fellow future *Golden Girl* Rue McClanahan); they married in the 1974 season.

Maude may have been a model for independent women, but she still had a female servant in the house; in fact, she ran through three of them. Her first maid was Florida Evans (Esther Rolle), who was a straight-shooting black woman who soon got a spin-off of her own in 1974, *Good Times* (which lasted until 1979). On both *Maude* and *Good Times*, John Amos played Florida's husband, though he was called Henry on *Maude* and James on *Good Times*. Maude's next maid was Mrs. Nell Naugatuck (Hermione Baddeley), a hard-drinking English woman. Even though she won a Golden Globe award for her role as a supporting actress in 1976, her character was soon married off and sent back to the British Isles. Victoria Butterfield (Marlene Warfield) joined the show in 1977.

Maude was controversial from the very beginning; during its second month on the air, it seized headlines as the first sitcom to deal with the subject of abortion. On November 14, 1972, 47-year-old Maude announced she was pregnant. During the next episode, on the suggestion of Carol and with the support of Walter, she decided to have an abortion, which was legal in New York at the time, but not yet nationally; it was three months before the Supreme Court handed down the *Roe v. Wade* decision.

After those two episodes, *Maude* shot up from thirteenth to fifth place in the Nielsen ratings, and CBS received hundreds of calls and 7,000 letters protesting the episodes; the tumult started up again nine months later when "Maude's Dilemma" was rerun. Twenty-five CBS affiliates refused to air the shows, the network received 17,000 letters, and, as a result of pressure on advertisers by anti-abortion groups, only one 30-second commercial was sold.

Nevertheless, *Maude* continued to explore controversial issues. Maude had a face lift and went through menopause. Walter dealt with a serious bout of alcoholism, saw his store go bankrupt, and had a nervous breakdown. The show remained popular despite these sometimes depressing themes until the last season, when the audience started declining. There had been major changes planned for the 1978-79 season; the Harmons and Carol were to leave town, a new supporting cast was to be added, Walter was to retire, and Maude would begin a career in politics. Nevertheless, Bea Arthur announced early in 1978 that she'd be leaving the series. Replacing her was not an option; the producers admitted that no one could play the role as Arthur could, and decided to end the show. The political career that Maude was supposed to have was the basis for a brief, odd, and failed Bill Macy vehicle called *Hanging In*.

—Karen Lurie

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Maupin, Armistead (1944—)

Armistead Maupin's *Tales of the City* came into being in 1976 as a newspaper serial in the daily *San Francisco Chronicle*. Just as readers a century earlier eagerly awaited the next installment of a Dickens novel, a growing cadre of readers followed the developments among Maupin's diverse family of friends in the gay mecca of 1970s San Francisco. *Tales of the City* first appeared in book form in 1978. Five additional books followed in the series, taking readers from the joyously hedonistic pre-AIDS era to the first stirrings of fear in the face of the epidemic. The two first books were adapted for television in 1997 and 1998. They featured Olympia Dukakis as Mrs. Madrigal, the landlady with a mysterious allure and a ready stash of marijuana to share with her tenant charges. Maupin's first non-series novel, *Maybe the Moon*, was published in 1994.

—Sue Russell

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Maus

Swedish-American author and artist Art Spiegelman won acclaim in the 1980s with his two-part graphic novel *Maus*, an account of his parents' experiences as Jews in concentration camps during the Holocaust. The work brought respect to the comic art world, fully transforming the genre from "funnies" or superhero stories into a new medium for literature. Formerly known as a driving force in the quirky world of self-published and underground comics, Spiegelman was also responsible for many of the offbeat ideas and artwork for Topps Chewing Gum's Wacky Packages and Garbage Pail Kids—trading cards and stickers that featured irreverent pokes at popular culture. Spiegelman was awarded a Pulitzer Prize special citation for *Maus* and went on to put the whole collection on CD-ROM in 1994 for the information age. He is also known for the avant-garde graphic magazine *Raw*, which he and his wife began publishing in 1980. In 1991, Spiegelman began serving as a contributing editor for the *New Yorker*, producing sometimes controversial covers, and in 1996 he published a children's book titled *Open Me, I'm a Dog*.

Spiegelman was born on February 15, 1948, in Stockholm, Sweden, to Vladek and Anja (Zylberberg) Spiegelman. Spiegelman's parents and older brother were imprisoned in concentration camps at Auschwitz during World War II; the couple survived, but their first son did not. Afterward, they moved to Sweden, where Spiegelman was born. The family immigrated to New York City when Spiegelman was three, and he was later naturalized as a U.S. citizen. Though Spiegelman's father wanted him to become a dentist, the young artist was passionate about drawing. Spiegelman excelled at the High School of Art and Design in New York, and his art was published in alternative and local publications. While still a high school student, Spiegelman turned down an offer to draw comics for United Features Syndicate, deciding that he did not want to tone down his oddball style for a family readership.

Instead, Spiegelman continued writing for underground comics, which were often self-published, printed in small anthologies, or picked up by minor companies. Unlike traditional comics, which usually feature superhero action-adventure or silly humor, underground comics often deal with social issues or taboos, feature black humor or no humor at all, and have been known to contain adult and offensive material. After his freshman year in college, Spiegelman went to work for Topps Chewing Gum Company in 1966, where he stayed for over 20 years. At Topps, Spiegelman created the Wacky Packages and Garbage Pail Kids series of trading cards and stickers. Wacky Packages were spoofs of typical supermarket items, such as "Fright Guard" deodorant, "Bustedfingers" candy bars, and even mocking itself, "Wormy Packages." Later, in a spoof of the popular Cabbage Patch Kids craze, Spiegelman came out with "Garbage Pail Kids" cards, featuring unkempt children with names like Acne Annie and Wrinkled Rita.

In 1968 Spiegelman suffered a nervous breakdown, and shortly thereafter, his mother committed suicide. The artist then moved to San Francisco, where underground comics were flourishing thanks to artists like R. Crumb. Spiegelman's cartoons were published in a number of periodicals such as *Real Pulp*, and in the early 1970s, he produced a number of his own titles. In 1972 Spiegelman developed the idea for his later masterpiece, *Maus*, when he produced a short cartoon for *Funny Animals* using the idea of Jews in the Holocaust as mice. He taught for a short time at the San Francisco Academy of Art in 1974-75. Also around this time, he banded together with Bill

Griffith, creator of Zippy the Pinhead, to form the comic anthology *Arcade* in order to showcase new material.

Later in the 1970s Spiegelman returned to New York, where he met Francoise Mouly, an editor and graphic designer. The two married on July 12, 1977, and joined creative forces, publishing *Raw*, an underground comics anthology magazine, beginning in 1980. The publication featured a smorgasbord of works from underground and up-and-coming comic artists. Meanwhile, Spiegelman began interviewing his father about his experiences at Auschwitz. The first book of the oral history was published in 1986 as *Maus: A Survivor's Tale, My Father Bleeds History*. Jews are drawn as mice, the Nazis are cats, Poles are pigs, Americans are dogs, and Auschwitz is Mauschwitz.

Initially, people were stunned that someone would dare make a cartoon out of such a serious issue as the Holocaust, perhaps not realizing that *Maus* was a graphic novel, not a funny comic book. In fact, Spiegelman had a difficult time finding a publisher. Pantheon eventually came around, and the book became a sensation. Spiegelman followed this volume in 1991 with *Maus: A Survivor's Tale II, and Here My Troubles Began*. The volumes were overwhelmingly praised, especially for their ability to make the reader deal with the events through the use of animals instead of humans (not unlike George Orwell's *Animal Farm*). Spiegelman also noted that Hitler even used the word "extermination," typically used only in the context of ridding vermin and pests, to refer to his plan of genocide. In 1992 Spiegelman was awarded with a special citation Pulitzer Prize for his *Maus* graphic novels. He later began contributing cover designs to the *New Yorker*, stirring controversy with what some considered offensive themes.

Though Spiegelman was undoubtedly one of the most integral forces in underground comics throughout the 1970s, and started to make his mark in the 1980s with *Raw*, he was perhaps the most effective artist in changing the image of comic books, thanks to *Maus*. After its publication, the graphic novel finally took its place as a legitimate form of literature and brought the horrors of the Holocaust to another generation of readers in a provocative medium.

—Geri Speace

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Max, Peter (1937—)

American artist Peter Max's work visually captured the flavor of the 1960s and hippie culture with its cartoon-like, brightly colored, psychedelic images inspired by Art Nouveau, pop art, Op art, and other styles. His style had a pronounced effect on subsequent graphic art. Max's popularity exploded in the late 1960s with a wide line of products—from clothing to shower curtains—showcasing his mod designs that included stars, flowers, rainbows, birds, butterflies, and human figures. Max's poster designs were hotly pursued by admirers,

leading to a million-dollar industry by the turn of the decade and turning the artist into a cultural hero. His career buzzed along well into the 1990s, as he designed an MTV logo, a poster for Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration, and murals for the 1992 World's Fair, in addition to creating posters for the Super Bowl and World Cup in 1994.

—Geri Speace

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See Nichols, Mike, and Elaine May

Mayer, Louis B. (1885-1957)

Arguably the most influential motion picture executive of this century, Louis B. Mayer presided over the studio that claimed to have "more stars than there are in heaven," Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM). In 1938 Mayer was the highest paid person in America, including Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Ford. All this was rather impressive for a former junk man.

He was born Lazar Meir in Russia. In 1888, his family moved to America, where his father started a scrap metal business, J. Mayer and Son. Mayer joined his father in the business right after high



Louis B. Mayer

school, but he always had larger ambitions. In 1904 he married Margaret Shenberg and they had two daughters, Edith and Irene.

After deciding, "Movies are the one thing you can sell and still own," Mayer got into the nickelodeon business. Distributing the huge hit motion picture, *Birth of a Nation*, in 1914 made him a very wealthy man. By 1918 he had become Massachusetts's biggest movie theater owner. Mayer decided that the next step in his career was to make his own films.

In 1917 he formed the Mayer Company. When he began producing films he had only one star under contract, the popular Anita Stewart. He featured her in his first production, *Virtuous Wives* (1918). When Mayer hired Irving Thalberg to become his production chief in 1923, a very successful partnership was born. A 1924 merger with Sam Goldwyn and Marcus Loew formed Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), with Mayer as head of operations for the West Coast. The first project Mayer and Thalberg tackled after moving to the new company was Sam Goldwyn's unwieldy project, *Ben Hur* (1925). After they did some recasting and budget cutting, the picture was released to acclaim and became MGM's first big hit.

Mayer thought of himself as a father figure to his stars, and he could be generous and protective. He could also be ruthless and tyrannical. Mayer's vision of motion pictures was as wholesome family entertainment and he refused to believe the audience wanted realism. For a long time he was correct. During the Depression, people wanted escapist fare, such as musicals and comedies, to forget the real world. Series motion pictures, such as *The Thin Man* and *Andy Hardy*, were also popular.

When Thalberg died in 1937, Mayer became the absolute ruler of MGM's West Coast operations. Unfortunately, he had a powerful enemy in company executive Nicholas Schenck. Schenck had long wanted to get rid of Mayer, but as long as the company was doing well he could not. After World War II, however, the public had grown hardened and jaded by war and wanted more realism in their movies. Mayer would not accept this and his longtime feud with the MGM East Coast office grew as the studios' bottom line began to shrink. In the late 1940s Dore Schary was brought to MGM and began producing more realistic films, but hardly the big hits for which MGM was famous.

As Mayer began to spend more time away from MGM, the studio's luster continued to fade. The long era of the studio system was ending. Mayer was fired in 1951. He attempted to return to MGM several times, always unsuccessfully. He died of leukemia in 1957. Louis B. Mayer is remembered as a temperamental tyrant who was loved by some who worked for him, hated by others. He will forever be the man who steered the greatest motion picture studio of the time through its golden years.

—Jill A. Gregg

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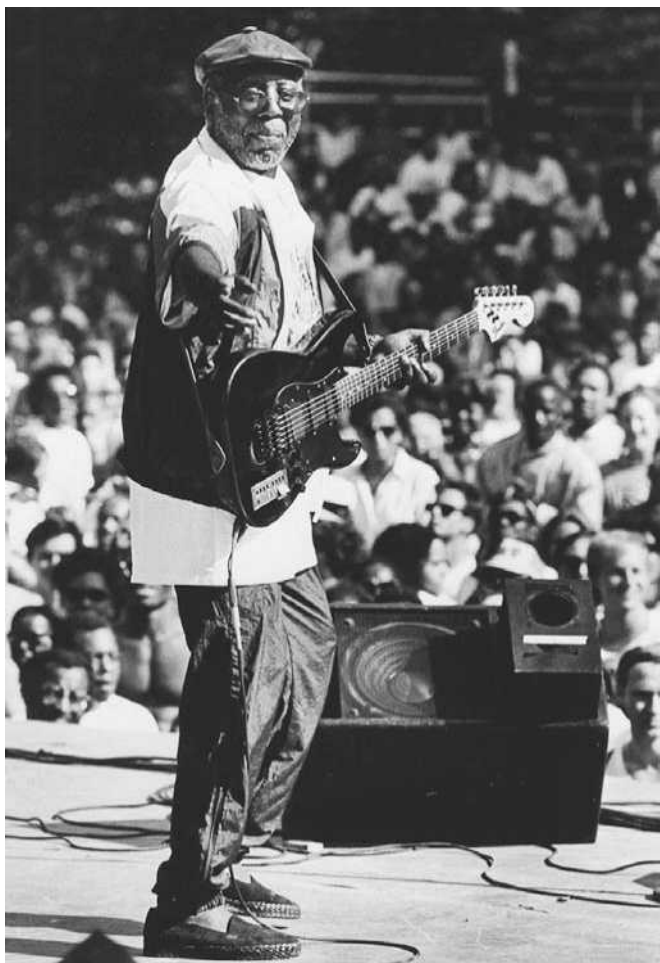
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Mayfield, Curtis (1942—)

A talented and prolific songwriter, guitarist, producer, and singer, Curtis Mayfield was one of the most significant pioneers of Soul and R&B music during the 1960s and 1970s. He was perhaps the very first black musician to overtly address the indignities of being an African-American during America's system of racial apartheid, and many of his songs became closely associated with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. As a producer, arranger, and writer, Mayfield was at the center of the so-called "Chicago Sound," a loose-knit amalgamation of Chicago area solo artists and groups that successfully rivaled Motown's hit-making machine during the first half of the 1960s. As the leader of the Impressions, Mayfield provided another example of how black music can cross over to the Pop mainstream without compromising itself, and as a solo artist he released a series of classic Funk albums. Mayfield survived paralysis from the neck down in 1990 and continued to make music into the late 1990s, releasing *New World Order* in 1997.

Beginning as a gospel singer in the 1950s, Mayfield met Jerry Butler while singing in the Northern Jubilee Singers, and the two (along with Sam Gooden and Arthur Brooks) formed the Impressions in 1957. They had a huge hit in 1958 with "Your Precious Love," but Butler soon left to pursue a solo career, though he and Mayfield still



Curtis Mayfield

remained lifelong friends. During the late 1950s and early 1960s, Mayfield wrote, produced, and played guitar on a number of hit songs by Chicago area musicians such as Butler, Major Lance, the Five Stairsteps, Cubie, the Fascinations, Billy Butler, and Gene Chandler—flexing an unusual amount of control for a Soul musician of that time. At the end of the 1950s, the Butler-less Impressions drifted apart, but in 1961 a reformed Impressions hit big with "Gypsy Woman." This began a string of Mayfield-written Impression hits, including "I'm So Proud," "Amen," "People Get Ready," "Keep on Pushing," "We're a Winner" and "We're Rolling On." Not only was he a pioneer as a session musician, producer, arranger, and writer within Soul music, Mayfield also started his own successful label, Curtom.

Many of his songs with the Impressions, such as "We're a Winner," "I'm So Proud" and "People Get Ready," were veiled and not-so-veiled proclamations of Black Pride, and during his 1970s solo career, his songs became even more critical and socially aware. His 1970 self-titled solo debut's first cut contained the long, powerful, and outspoken "(Don't Worry) If There's a Hell Below We're All Gonna Go," which critiqued white America and took to task some of the members of his own race. Other songs from that album—"We People Who Are Darker Than Blue," "Move on Up," and "Miss Black America"—never let the listener forget the subject of race in America, nor did his many other solo albums such as *Roots*, *Back to the World*, *Superfly*, *Sweet Exorcist*, *Got to Find a Way*, and the sarcastically titled *There's No Place Like America Today*. His best-selling soundtrack to *Superfly* (1972), which contained the hits "Freddie's Dead" and "Superfly," set the standard for the many blaxploitation albums that followed *Superfly's* release.

Like many great Soul, Funk, and R&B stars of the 1970s, Mayfield's star dimmed in the 1980s, though he still maintained a respectable career with a handful of minor hits and still-exciting live performances. It was during one of the performances on August 14, 1990 that a lighting rig fell on Mayfield, almost killing him and paralyzing him from the neck down (including his vocal chords). After many years of professional physical and voice training, he returned in 1997 with his first solo album since the accident, *New World Order*.

—Kembrew McLeod

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Mayfield, Percy (1920-1984)

Percy Mayfield has been widely described as "the poet laureate of the blues." Armed with a dry baritone, songwriter and singer Mayfield sang blues ballads that pondered worlds of trouble, melancholy, pain, and suicide. He was one of the most creative songwriters and performers of California blues.

"I'm a poet, and my gift is love" explained Mayfield to an interviewer in *Living Blues*. Some of his themes dealt with subjects not generally associated with the blues. His biggest hit, "Please Send Me Someone to Love," was a prayer for understanding and peace of mind among all men. Mayfield's songs have been recorded by performers as diverse as Sade, Dale Evans, and Robert Nighthawk. As staff writer for Ray Charles, he wrote four top-ten hits.

Mayfield was born in Minden, Louisiana, 30 miles from Shreveport, on August 12, 1920. His mother was a singer who instilled in her son a love for music. Mayfield also wrote poems and set them to music as a child. At 15, he left Minden, riding the rails before settling in Houston, Texas, for a brief stay. He came to Los Angeles in 1941, where he lived with his older sister. Several orchestras featured Mayfield as a guest singer and subsequently he landed a two-year engagement with the George Como band. While he honed his songwriting, Mayfield supplemented his income by working as a taxi driver and a dry cleaning presser. Mayfield was a woman's man—handsome and stylish, he could attract women with just a look or a smile.

In 1949, Mayfield approached the Supreme record company with the idea of the company using some of his songs for their artist Jimmy Witherspoon. The surprising outcome was a chance for Mayfield to record himself. He recorded "Two Years of Torture," which gained some attention on the local charts. In 1950 he recorded, for Specialty Records, "Please Send Me Someone to Love," a hit that secured his fame as a songwriter. "Please Send Me Someone to Love" was followed by several hits, including "Strange Things Happening," "Lost Love," "What a Fool I Was," "Prayin' for Your Return," "Cry Baby," and "Big Question." After leaving Specialty, his subsequent singles on other labels were not as successful.

Mayfield considered himself above all a balladeer and not a blues singer. His early influences were Al Hibbler and Billy Eckstein. Mayfield's pensiveness and religious leanings set him apart from a number of blues singers. "I promised God I wouldn't write and sing a lie," he once said; Mayfield consistently acknowledged God for his songwriting talents. He epitomized, however, sadness in his songs and perhaps the lyrics of his own "My Blues" best explain his aesthetic: "Someone may ask the question, why are you so sad? / I would answer quite correctly, the blues is all I've had."

In September of 1952, Mayfield was involved in a catastrophic automobile accident, which acutely disfigured his face, changed his voice, and gravely affected his self-esteem. After this setback, he became staff writer for Ray Charles, penning at least four top-ten hits. These included the familiar "Hit the Road Jack," "But on the Other Hand Baby," "Hide nor Hair," and "At the Club." Mayfield also recorded what is considered his best work on an album entitled *My Jug and I*. A spirited "River's Invitation," arranged by Ray Charles, placed at 25 on the rhythm and blues chart in 1963; it was Mayfield's first top 40 entry in 11 years and was also his last. "River's Invitation" is clearly one of the most profound songs of Mayfield's oeuvre. It invokes the river in a metaphysical dialogue, which personifies a peaceful home and death. The river, in turn, invites Mayfield to give up his search for his lost love and join the waters: "You look so lonely / you look full of misery / and if you can't find your baby / come and make your home with me."

Mayfield recorded infrequently in subsequent years, completing an album for Brunswick and three for RCA Victor. In later years,

companies were not interested in recording him and he would have to pay for his own recording sessions. Mayfield's baritone, however, continued to embrace most songs and convincingly made them his own. As his wife Tina recalled, "his music was more or less about sadness." His death from a heart attack came on the eve of his sixty-fourth birthday, August 11, 1984. Mayfield's death signaled the loss of one of the most creative and distinctive poets of rhythm and blues.

—Willie Collins

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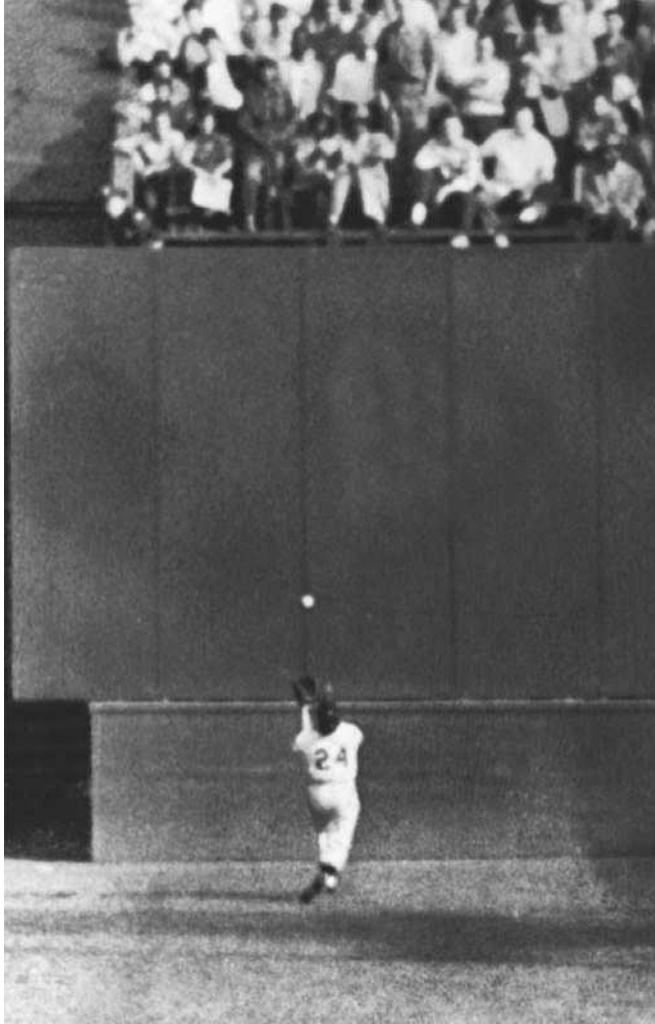
Mays, Willie (1931—)

One of the best baseball players ever, in the 1950s and 1960s Willie Mays dazzled baseball fans with his amazing hitting, base-stealing, and fielding. The first true all-around player, Mays considered the baseball diamond his "stage," and when he retired in 1973 he had earned himself a place in the hearts of the American people.

Born in Westfield, Alabama, in 1931, Mays broke into the professional ranks at age 16 with the Birmingham Black Barons of the National Negro League. On a \$250 a month salary he played two years with the Barons before being signed by the New York Giants of Major League Baseball. After just one year in the minors Mays made his much anticipated debut with the Giants in 1951. In spite of a disappointing one for 25 start, Mays lived up to expectations by capturing Rookie-of-the-Year honors that season.

Nicknamed "Say Hey" because he often forgot the names of his teammates, the centerfielder quickly became a crowd favorite because of his spectacular play and his engaging personality. Since he was playing in the media capitol of the world, his on-the-field exploits became legend overnight. After serving two years in the Army, Mays's popularity reached new heights in 1954 upon his arrival back to baseball. That year baseball fans witnessed "the catch," an over the shoulder basket catch by Mays in the World Series against the Cleveland Indians. A photo of Mays catching the ball made headlines in virtually every major newspaper and sports publication in the country. En route to leading the Giants to the World Series Championship that year, Mays captured the Major League batting title and subsequently was named Most Valuable Player for the 1954 season. For his efforts the Giants rewarded him with a \$30,000 contract, the highest in baseball. With his popularity increasing Mays was featured on the cover of *Time* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, and he also made appearances on the popular *Ed Sullivan Show* and the *Colgate Comedy Hour*. This media coverage brought Mays into the homes of millions of Americans.

Mays remained in the media spotlight throughout his career as he continued to excel. In 1955 he batted .319 with a major league leading



Willie Mays's history making, over-the-shoulder catch in the 1954 World Series.

51 homers and 127 Runs Batted In (RBIs). Also, beginning in 1956 he would lead the league in stolen bases for four consecutive years. In 1958 the Giants shocked the baseball world by moving to San Francisco. In spite of the change of venue Mays continued to delight fans with his extraordinary talent. Beginning in the early 1960s he went on a home-run hitting barrage by averaging 45 home runs per season between 1961 and 1965. When he retired in 1973 his career numbers were astounding: .302 avg.; 660 Home Runs; and 1,903 RBIs. These unbelievable numbers enabled the 19-time all-star to become only the ninth player in history to be elected to the Baseball Hall of Fame on his first try. In an era when many great players possessed only one strength, Mays's multi-dimensional ability earned him a place in the hearts of the American people and legendary status in the annals of America's favorite pastime.

—Leonard N. Moore

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McBain, Ed (1926—)

Over the past 40 years, Evan Hunter, writing under the pseudonym Ed McBain, has established himself as an amazingly prolific author in a number of different genres. He is best known for his gritty “87th Precinct” detective series, which has grown to include nearly 50 volumes since the first installment, *Cop Hater*, was published in 1956. Hunter has also published a number of other works under his real name, as well as the pseudonyms Curt Cannon, Hunt Collins, Ezra Hannon, and Richard Marsten.

Hunter first became interested in writing during World War II, while serving in the Navy. After the war, he attend Hunter College in New York City, studying to become a teacher and graduating Phi Beta Kappa in 1950. After graduation, he taught at a vocational school in New York City for one year. Hunter quickly left teaching, and then held a series of diverse jobs, including selling lobsters and answering telephones for the American Automobile Association. A turning point for the author came in the early 1950s, when he secured a job as an editor at the Scott Meredith Literary Agency in New York, during which time he began to write and sell short stories, including science fiction and westerns.

Hunter's experience teaching in the New York schools provided the basis for his first book. *The Blackboard Jungle*, the story of teachers in New York's vocational schools who attempt to deal with unruly, unmotivated students achieved great popularity upon its release in October 1954. The following year, Metro Goldwyn Mayer Studios adapted *The Blackboard Jungle* for the screen, and the film, starring Glenn Ford and Sidney Poitier, received four Academy Award nominations. Ten other feature films, as well as two television movies, have been made based on Hunter's books. Hunter has also written several screenplays, including one for Alfred Hitchcock's 1963 movie *The Birds*, based on a Daphne du Maurier short story.

While the publication of *The Blackboard Jungle* in October 1954 and the subsequent release of the movie based on the book gained Hunter a certain amount of fame, it also proved a mixed blessing for the author. As he told the literary critic Roy Newquist in an interview in the 1960s, recorded in Newquist's book *Conversations*, he was not attempting to provide an expose of the New York schools in the book, but simply writing about his time as a teacher, which he considered to be the most meaningful experience in his life up to that time. Reviewers and interviewers expected Hunter to be an expert on the problems of juvenile delinquency and urban schools, but he refused to play that role. Hunter also noted that the critical reception of his subsequent novels, including *Strangers When We Meet*, *Mothers and Daughters*, and *Paper Dragon*, was not as positive as he hoped it would be.

While the publication and success of *The Blackboard Jungle* did not lead to Hunter's achieving the critical success he felt he deserved, it did create the opportunity for him to launch the highly successful “87th Precinct” series. When Pocket Books did a reprint of *The Blackboard Jungle*, Hunter decided to send the publisher a mystery he had written under a pseudonym (not McBain). One of the editors at Pocket Books recognized Hunter's style and told him that the publisher needed someone to take over the niche occupied by Erle Stanley Gardner, whose mysteries were recycled every several years under new jackets to enthusiastic popular reaction, but who was getting too old to continue to produce as prolifically as he had in the past. Pocket Books offered Hunter a contract to produce three books

under the McBain pseudonym, with an opportunity to renew if the series was success, and the “87th Precinct” was launched.

McBain noted in an interview with *Contemporary Authors* that the “nice thing about the ‘87th Precinct’ is that I can deal with any subject matter so long as it’s criminally related. With the Ed McBain novels, I only want to say that cops have a tough, underpaid job, and they deal with murder every day of the week, and that’s the way it is, folks.” The series is set in the fictional city of Isola, clearly patterned after New York City, and deals with the experiences of a consistent set of about a dozen characters, including detectives Steve Carella, Meyer Meyer, and Bert Kling, all of whom deal with various personal issues while generally tackling several cases in each novel.

In addition to the “87th Precinct” novels, McBain has produced 13 entries in the popular Matthew Hope series of crime novels, which deal with a Florida attorney who becomes involved in solving mysteries, since the first volume appeared in 1978. Despite his great success as McBain, the author has continued to produce work as Evan Hunter. His 1994 Hunter novel *Criminal Conversation*, about a district attorney whose wife ends up having an affair with a mob boss he is attempting to indict, was a bestseller and was purchased by actor Tom Cruise’s production company for a potential movie. In 1986, McBain was given the Grand Master Award by the Mystery Writers of America.

—Jason George

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McCaffrey, Anne (1926—)

It is often overlooked that in 1968 novelist Anne McCaffrey became the first woman to win the Hugo award (Best Novella, *Weyr Search*) and the Nebula award (Best Novella, *Dragonrider*), the two highest honors of the science fiction/fantasy field. She is now famous for her international best-selling series of novels, *The Dragonriders of Pern*. Begun with *Dragonflight* (1968), the series spans some dozen books and includes the Harper Hall trilogy beloved by young adults—*Dragonson* (1976), *Dragonsinger* (1977), and *Dragondrums* (1979). The world of Pern is a lost Earth colony inhabited by humans who saddle telepathic dragons in order to combat Threads, lethal spores that can only be eradicated by dragon fire. In her study of McCaffrey, Robin Roberts identifies such recurrent themes as the heroine as outsider, the importance of living harmoniously with nature, and the value of art. Other works include the Killashandra series, the Pegasus series, and the Rowan books.

—Neal Baker

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McCall’s Magazine

McCall’s Magazine dates back to 1873, when James McCall, a Scottish tailor who had recently emigrated to the United States, created a publication called *The Queen: Illustrating McCall’s Bazaar Glove-Fitting Patterns* as a vehicle for disseminating his stock of dressmaking patterns. Following McCall’s death in 1884, the magazine was continued by his widow. George Bladworth and his wife later took over the management of the magazine and renamed it first *The Queen of Fashion*, then, in 1897, *McCall’s Magazine*. During the first 40 years of its existence, the publication evolved from being exclusively a pattern-book to a more general but fairly obscure magazine; a century later, *McCall’s* still published separate pattern and sew-it-yourself magazines, both print and online. The magazine’s purchase, in 1913, by White, Weld & Co., which became the McCall Corporation under the direction of president Edward Alfred Simmons, signaled a dramatic change for the publication. In 1921, a year after national women’s suffrage had been achieved, Harry Payne Burton became editor of the new *McCall’s Magazine*, vowing to make it a substantial national monthly by raising its editorial standards and publishing high-quality fiction and nonfiction for a new generation of enlightened women.

In 1928, when 23-year-old Otis Wiese became its editor, *McCall’s Magazine* came into its own as a major player in the arena of the home- and family-oriented magazines that were then competing for the attention of the more affluent and educated “modern” woman. Wiese reorganized the magazine into three distinct sections—“Fiction and News,” “Home Making,” and “Style and Beauty”—and developed “youth conference” articles to attract a younger readership. During Wiese’s tenure as editor, *McCall’s* maintained its strong text-oriented identity with the publication of full-length novels in its pages, as well as contributions from celebrity authors like Eleanor Roosevelt, the Duchess of Windsor, Alfred Kinsey, and Norman Vincent Peale. During and after World War II, architectural and interiors editor Mary Davis Gillies invited architects and designers to present their concepts for gracious and efficient living in the postwar home through such features as “the kitchen of tomorrow” or “the bathroom of tomorrow.” In 1949, *McCall’s* advocated the “Yardville Plan” through a four-part article that encouraged homeowners in cities to create semipublic commons by combining their backyard plots; the idea was reportedly adopted by civic-minded groups in more than 350 American cities.

In the face of stiff competition from other women’s service magazines in the 1950s, Wiese tried to position *McCall’s* as a magazine for the entire family under the theme of “togetherness,” but the concept was relatively ineffective in helping the magazine maintain its market share, and it was jettisoned entirely by Herbert Mayes, who assumed the editorship in 1958. Mayes effected a bold redesign of the magazine’s layout and identity to solidify its position as “The First Magazine for Women” with colorful, vivid layouts and more high-quality fiction by such writers as John Steinbeck, Phyllis

McGinley, Anne Morrow Lindbergh, Herman Wouk, and others. Circulation and advertising revenues quickly improved, and *McCall's* solidified its position as one of the trade-designated "Seven Sisters" of women's-service magazines. In 1966, *McCall's* hired 23 year-old Lynda Bird Johnson, the President's oldest daughter, as a contributor in an effort to appeal to young, college-age readers.

Several years later, the corporation that owned *McCall's* was absorbed by Norton Simon, and the publication later became part of the women's-magazine group at the New York Times Company. Robert Stein, who served as editor during the late 1960s, put heavy emphasis on research organizations to supplement the editorial staff with in-depth information. In 1994, the Times women's group, which also included *Family Circle*, *Child*, and other publications, was sold to Gruner & Jahr USA Publishing, a part of the German media giant Bertelsmann AG. Soon afterwards, Kate White, who had been *McCall's* editor-in-chief since 1991, left to become editor of *Redbook* and was replaced by Sally Koslow. By the mid-1990s, *McCall's* was reporting a monthly circulation of around 4.6 million. Among the online services being offered by the publication at the end of the 1990s was "Parents.com," a joint website resource that drew on the editorial expertise of *McCall's* and three other national publications: *Child*, *Family Circle*, and *Parents*.

—Edward Moran

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McCarthyism

Despite the fact that Americans pride themselves on constitutional protections for free speech, there have been many attempts to limit speech in the United States. Beginning in 1789 with the First Sedition Act, Congress has passed laws banning diverse kinds of speech: criticism of the government, speaking out against war, associating with the Communist party, obscenity, slander, libel, "fighting words," and seditious speech that attempts to overthrow the government. None of these limits have been so controversial or so damaging as the attempt by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s to purge the United States of anyone remotely connected with the Communist party. His unsubstantiated charges led to wrecked lives and careers in all walks of life. The inherent irony of McCarthyism—the name given to the attempts to seek out and criminalize those suspected of sympathizing with communism—was that by the time of his "Red Scare," American Communism was all but dead. The lesson to be learned from his hysteria and the ensuing witch hunt is

that even when speech is protected to the extent that it is in the United States, it is still vulnerable to attacks from those who wish to limit the right of others to disagree with them.

During the early days of industrialization in the United States, the country played host to a large, active Socialist party. American workers began to join labor unions and engage in strikes. The surge of immigrants who brought with them a tradition of radicalism influenced native workers who felt exploited by low wages and long working hours to protest against the factory owners. By the 1930s, the American Communist party was in full swing. Socialist leader Eugene Debs called it "the red decade," and author Daniel Aaron dubbed it "a time of smelly orthodoxies." The 1930s began with worldwide depression and ended with storm clouds of war around the world. In the throes of economic famine, the country was vulnerable to differing visions and ideologies created by upheaval and despair. American intellectuals—introspective, disillusioned, and articulate—became the voice of a people whose world had ceased to be the expected bulwark against want, instability, and insecurity. American Communists believed that Soviet communism could provide a model for economic stability and social justice. The heyday of the American Communist party began with a party that was 70 percent foreign-born and ended with a party that was 44 percent professional and white collar natives.

A large number of Americans joined the Communist party for social as well as ideological reasons. Clubs, such as the John Reed Clubs, provided a home for fledgling writers and artists and those who needed to belong to something in which they could believe. Speeches by Communist party officials frequently centered around the defeat of fascism and had mass appeal to the disillusioned portion of the American population. Richard Crossman writes in *The God That Failed* that such individuals "had lost faith in democracy and were willing to sacrifice bourgeois liberties in order to defeat fascism. Their conversion, in fact, was rooted in despair—a despair of Western values."

However, as the 1930s progressed, many Americans began to reexamine their attraction to communism. A number of events influenced the decline in communism's popularity, including the Joseph Stalin's purges within the Soviet Union and the Non-Aggression Pact he signed with Adolph Hitler in 1939. Alfred Kazin spoke for American Communists as a whole when he cried: "It was wrong to make common cause with Hitler, wrong to expose the world to war." Following World War II, the fear of communism became an entrenched element in American society as the Soviet-American alliance slowly deteriorated. In 1947 President Harry Truman signed an executive order that barred communists, fascists, and other totalitarians from the national payroll. Also included in the ban were individuals who were guilty of "sympathetic association" with undesirables or their organizations. The stage was set for Joseph McCarthy.

Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957) was born near Appleton, Wisconsin. He received a law degree in 1935 but was not a success as a lawyer. McCarthy handled only four cases in his nine months of practice, bragging that he supported himself by playing poker. While practicing law, McCarthy was accused of destroying judicial records. He won his first election by claiming that his 66-year-old opponent was "73" or "89" and was too old to govern. He joined the Marines during World War II but left early to launch an unsuccessful bid for the Senate. He would later falsely claim that he had been wounded in action.



Senator Joseph McCarthy

After winning an election to the Senate, McCarthy paid little attention to the early days of the so-called Red Scare. But as the Cold War escalated, Americans felt more vulnerable to the threat of communism. China fell to the communists, the Soviet Union exploded its first atomic bomb, and Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were accused of spying for the enemy. After being identified as the worst United States senator in a 1949 poll, McCarthy mentioned to supporters that he needed a cause to improve his image. He found it with the threat of communism and erroneously stated that 284 communists were employed by the State Department. Despite the fact that none of these individuals remained at the State Department, McCarthy declared on the floor of Congress that he had “proof” of widespread communist activity in the government of the United States.

Throughout the Red Scare, McCarthy never documented a single communist in a government job. However, he amassed enormous power with his false claims. He insisted that the past twenty years of Democratic government had been “a conspiracy so immense, an infamy so black as to dwarf any in the history of man.” In 1950, Congress passed the McCarran Internal Security Act, virtually outlawing communism in the United States. This was followed in 1954 with the Communist Control Act, forbidding communists from

running for political office. Constitutional scholars acknowledge that both laws were clearly in violation of the First Amendment’s protection of freedom of association. Limiting access to the ballot is always a distinctive threat to democracy. Nonetheless, in *Barenblatt v. United States* in 1959, the Supreme Court insisted that its repeated refusal to view the Communist Party as an ordinary political party left it without First Amendment protections. Mandated loyalty oaths for government employees, including teachers, also violated protected freedom of association. Following the example of Congress, many states passed their own loyalty oaths. In New York state, as many as 58 teachers and 200 college professors lost their jobs. Approximately 20 percent of those eventually called to testify before state and congressional investigating committees were college teachers and graduate students.

By 1954, a blacklist was in place in both the fields of education and entertainment. Few who lost their jobs in either field were ever reinstated. The political witch hunt promoted by Joseph McCarthy in the 1950s caused great harm and suffering. Beloved entertainers, such as Charlie Chaplin, were forced out of the United States because of the hysteria. Producers, actors, and writers, were blacklisted. Without jobs, many were unable to support their families. Most of the people

who McCarthy injured were just people who dared to question the capitalist status quo. Many scholars believe that McCarthy, motivated by a desire for personal recognition, was trying to overthrow the New Deal programs of Franklin D. Roosevelt and establish the Republicans as the majority party. In such an environment, policy makers of both parties were afraid to suggest alternatives to both foreign and domestic policy for fear of being charged with subversion.

McCarthy's tactics proved successful, and in 1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower was elected president, bringing with him a Republican-controlled Congress. Out of 221 Republicans in the House of Representatives, 185 asked to serve on the House Un-American Activities Committee. Indeed, Richard Nixon had used his Senate seat to fight communism and ended up with the vice presidency in 1952 and 1956. Once the Republican party was in control, McCarthy could no longer rail against communist conspiracies in the government. So he turned his attention to the army, and that proved to be his downfall. Outraged Americans joined with the military and johnny-come-lately politicians to denounce McCarthyism. Joseph McCarthy was censured in 1954 and died three years later, a bitter outcast. Despite this, he has become a cult hero to the New Right and would have felt vindicated by the renewed articulation of the communist threat under Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

The United States Constitution and the First Amendment can only protect the rights of American citizens when they are willing to stand up for the right to engage in free speech, to openly criticize the government and its policy makers, and to demand the inherent democratic right to disagree with others. McCarthyism was only able to gain a foothold in the United States because people were afraid to challenge the loud voices who claimed that democracy was most vulnerable to outside forces. Democracy in the United States has always been most vulnerable to forces within in who do not accept the right of dissent. This is the lesson to be learned from Joseph McCarthy and his cohorts.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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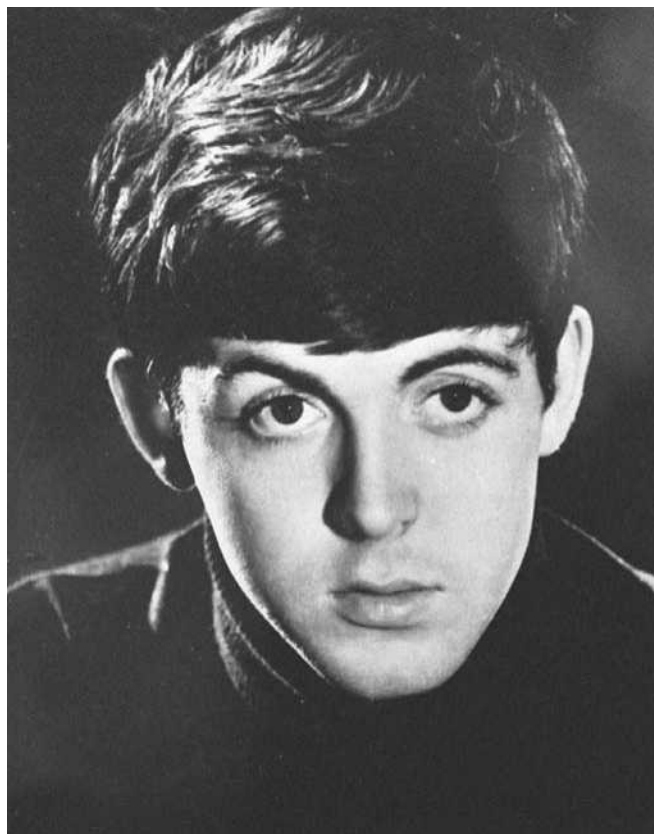
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McCartney, Paul (1942—)

Born to a musical family in Liverpool, England, McCartney taught himself to play guitar and in 1956 joined John Lennon's Quarrymen, later renamed the Beatles. In 1961 McCartney took up the bass to distinguish himself from the two guitarists. As the Beatles grew musically, McCartney produced an astonishing series of beautiful compositions, including "Yesterday," "Eleanor Rigby," "Penny Lane," and "Let It Be." Besides being one of the most innovative and melodic bass players in rock, and one of its greatest singers, McCartney was also an accomplished guitarist and pianist. McCartney's solo career was the most successful of all the ex-Beatles. He managed to maintain a freshness and creativity that was sometimes missing in Lennon and Harrison. Often maligned as the "soft" and "commercial" half of the Lennon-McCartney duo, and jealously cited as the richest man in showbusiness, McCartney will be remembered in history as one of the greatest talents of twentieth-century popular music.

—Douglas Cooke



Paul McCartney



Winsor McCay (right) in office of Journal American, 1922.

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McCay, Winsor (1867-1934)

When discussing the greatest names in the fields of comic strip art and animation, none demands more respect and admiration than that of Winsor McCay, who is generally regarded as the first artistic genius of the comic strip medium. Only a decade after the inception of the comic strip in 1895, McCay produced the form's first masterpiece—*Little Nemo in Slumberland*—which ran from 1905 to 1914. The comic's premise involved a young boy's nightly adventures in the fantastic realm of Slumberland. Each episode concluded with the

child being shocked back into reality as he woke up or fell out of bed. Within this simple framework McCay provided his reader with amazingly beautiful artwork that has never been equaled on the comics page. Slumberland was comprised of breathtaking panoramas, elegant colors, and touches of Art Nouveau decoration. The strip's success allowed the artist to branch out into animation. In 1914, he crafted arguably the most famous and influential cartoon short—*Gertie, the Trained Dinosaur*. Recent years have seen McCay come to be recognized as one of the giants of American twentieth-century art.

Zenas Winsor McCay was born shortly after the Civil War in Spring Lake, Michigan, and displayed a talent for art from early childhood. He began a newspaper career in 1897 in Cincinnati and by 1903 had created his first comic strip, *Tales of the Jungle Imps*. Other strips, such as *Little Sammy Sneeze* and *Dream of the Rarebit Fiend*, soon followed. A recurring theme in McCay's work centered on the world of dreams. He was fascinated by the juxtaposition of "real life" and the worlds created by the unconscious mind. A hallmark of his work was that he presented the real and dream worlds in a similar

style. A sense of ambiguity was created as the readers were unsure which drawings depicted the characters' "true" reality. McCay's most celebrated exploration of the dream-state came on October 15, 1905, with the publication of *Little Nemo in Slumberland*. The weekly color page presented the sleeping boy, who was modeled on McCay's son Robert, and his colorful companions: Flip, a green dwarf; Impy the cannibal; and Slivers the dog, as they wandered through the increasingly bizarre dreamland.

Slumberland was bound only by McCay's vivid imagination. Author Jerry Robinson described the realm by writing: "There were sky bombs, wild train and dirigible rides, exotic parades, bizarre circuses, and festivities of all kinds in Byzantine settings and rococo landscapes. Just the dreams a small boy would like to have." The most celebrated feature in Slumberland was Nemo's own bed, which could walk and fly. Many of the episodes revolved around the boy's meetings with Morpheus, the kingdom's ruler, and his beautiful daughter. The character of Nemo, whose name means "No one" in Latin, was rather nondescript and displayed little personality. Often, he was a passive figure who allowed the events in Slumberland to overwhelm him. McCay did, however, allow the character to be more active in one 1908 episode set in "Shantytown." Nemo became a Christ figure as he healed the sick, transformed the earth into paradise, and rose the dead. The strip was an immediate success and one of the medium's first titles to spawn a line of merchandise. It was even the basis of a Broadway musical, with a score written by Victor Herbert. *Little Nemo's* adventures continued until 1914, when it ended its run. McCay eventually returned to his most famous creation and produced more Nemo stories from 1924 to 1927. These later strips, however, are not as highly regarded as the initial Nemo series.

The popularity of *Little Nemo in Slumberland* allowed McCay the opportunity to begin a career in animation. In 1911, a cartoon short based on the Nemo strips was released. Like his newspaper work, McCay's animation was known for its ambitious nature. His *The Sinking of the Lusitania* was a 20 minute film, combining animation and live action, that told of the British liner's sinking by a German submarine. McCay's most lasting contribution to animation is *Gertie, the Trained Dinosaur*, released in 1914. The innovative film depicted a trained dinosaur that performed tricks on the commands of McCay, who stood beside the movie screen dressed as a lion tamer. He spoke to Gertie and appeared to toss objects to her. The film was a sensation and McCay was soon presenting it throughout the vaudeville circuit. His act also consisted of "chalk talks" where he drafted quick drawings of the audience and presented illustrated sermons on paper like "The Seven Ages of Man." By the early 1920s, McCay left animation complaining of its over-commercialization. His later years were spent as an editorial cartoonist for the conservative Hearst newspapers.

Winsor McCay is credited with raising the comic strip to a great American art form. His continual experimentation with perspective, detailed pencil-work, and proportion dazzles readers to this day. The dream world of Slumberland allowed him to constantly push the bounds of his imagination. *Little Nemo in Slumberland* is a visual feast that transports even contemporary readers to a land where anything is possible. In 1995, the United States Postal Service honored McCay by placing Little Nemo on one of its stamps commemorating the comics' centennial. Maurice Horn best stated McCay's legacy when he said the artist deserves the title "primus inter pares," the first among his peers in the history of cartoons.

—Charles Coletta

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McClure's

Founded in New York in 1893 by a man of volcanic energy and creativity—a quirky, brilliant Irish immigrant named Samuel S. McClure—*McClure's* stood the staid American magazine industry on its head. Selling copies for a dime apiece when most magazines cost 25 or 35 cents, McClure boosted his magazine's circulation and ultimately the sales of many other magazines in America, which were forced to reduce their prices to compete. Hiring a staff of aggressive, intelligent, hardworking editors and reporters, he also gave America its popular definition of muckraking journalism in the following decade, publishing articles during the Progressive Era that exposed civic, corporate, and union corruption and helped bring about new laws and tougher enforcement of existing laws.

Samuel S. McClure (1857-1949) came to the United States with his widowed mother as a child and was raised in Indiana. He founded his remarkable magazine after working as a magazine editor, freelance journalist, and newspaper syndicator in Boston and New York. Increased demand for advertising, the result of the development of national brands, meant greater opportunities in the 1890s for revenue while advances in printing techniques made it cheaper to produce magazines. McClure meanwhile realized he could get more mileage out of the syndicated fiction and nonfiction articles he sold to newspapers by using them in a magazine. He hoped to capitalize on these advantages by selling a better product at a lower cost.

The inaugural issue of *McClure's* appeared at an inauspicious time, during the Panic of 1893, and the enterprise struggled financially even though it garnered critical praise ("It throbs with actuality from beginning to end," the editor of *The Review of Reviews* noted). Zesty and contemporary, early issues included interviews with Thomas Alva Edison and Alexander Graham Bell, articles on exciting technological advances of the day, and historical and contemporary pieces. But sales proved disappointing. Of the 20,000 copies of the first issue printed in May, 12,000 were returned unsold.

Initially offered at 15 cents a copy (reduced the following year to ten cents), *McClure's* soon had to compete with established magazines that were matching its price. It was not until McClure garnered the services of Ida Tarbell, a gifted researcher and writer who previously had written for his newspaper syndicate, that the magazine's fortunes began to turn. Tarbell's well-illustrated seven-part series on Napoleon, which started in November 1894, boosted circulation to 65,000 and eventually to 100,000. After *McClure's* began publishing her series on Abraham Lincoln in 1895, sales increased to 300,000 and advertising in tandem. Tarbell, who later became an editor of the magazine, also contributed other important historical and muckraking articles. Though the financial picture was improving, McClure still could offer Stephen Crane only \$75 for "The Red Badge of Courage," an offer that Crane refused.

Economic hard times in the United States, capped by William Jennings Bryan's failed populist bid for the presidency in 1896, brought more coverage of social issues. In 1897, McClure began hiring a number of writers who would go on to fame, including William Allen White of *The Emporia (Kansas) Gazette*, Ray Stannard Baker, a Chicago newspaperman, and Lincoln Steffens, a former police reporter for the *Commercial Advertiser* in New York. The January 1903 issue fired an opening salvo in the era of muckraking, presenting three major articles in "the literature of exposure:" Steffens's "The Shame of Minneapolis," the first in his "Shame of the Cities" series, describing rampant urban political corruption across the United States; Tarbell's "Standard Oil," detailing corporate monopoly and malfeasance; and Baker's "The Right to Work," an indictment of corrupt labor unions based on his interviews with nonstriking coalminers in Pennsylvania who had been harassed by members of the United Mine Workers. Muckraking soon became a central theme, not only for *McClure's* but for many other magazines. Though they varied in power and in point, most of the muckraking articles shared a common concern: that laws were not being obeyed and that Americans suffered from their own contempt for the law, either through their participation in illegal activities or their apathy about doing anything about lawlessness.

Though historians often have cited muckraking as wildly popular, *McClure's* circulation barely budged during its muckraking heyday between 1903 and 1906. The articles, however, were influential. Baker's piece on railroad abuses helped bring about passage of the Hepburn Act in 1906, giving the Interstate Commerce Commission power to set rates and otherwise regulate railroads. In the same year President Theodore Roosevelt first used the term muckraker as a pejorative, describing such magazine journalists as "potent forces of evil" who concentrated on "vile and debasing" matters (and probably misinterpreting John Bunyan's Man with the Muck-Rake in *Pilgrim's Progress* in the process). Though some muckraking articles were shallow, stilted, and even bigoted, such as one on "the Negro Problem," *McClure's* also published a number of finely reasoned exposes and analytical pieces. Through the years, the magazine also published work by distinguished writers of fiction and poetry, including Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, O. Henry, A. E. Housman, and William Butler Yeats.

Flush with success, McClure soon dreamed of opening new magazines and printing plants. Worried by their boss' excessive enthusiasm and divided by office politics, much of the "the most brilliant staff ever gathered by a New York periodical," including Baker, Tarbell, and John S. Phillips, a longtime McClure partner and editor, defected in 1906 (some to start the *American Magazine*).

Subsequent events proved them right. The following year, although circulation reached an all-time high, McClure was grappling with new financial difficulties caused by his construction of a giant printing plant on Long Island and issuance of stock to former editors. Burdensome loans he had assumed weighed even heavier during the Panic of 1907. When circulation and advertising began to drop later that year, he was forced to go into partnership with a businessman named Harold Roberts. The magazine continued to run muckraking articles on corrupt civic politics, prostitution rings, and the like, and in 1910 McClure published his last great muckraking series, a seven-part, 60,000-word opus called "The Masters of Capital in America," by John Moody, which attempted to explain the concentration of capital in the country by giving sober and impartial accounts of the lives and careers of industrialists such as J. P. Morgan, John D.

Rockefeller, and Jacob H. Schiff. Although circulation and advertising had rebounded after 1907, McClure continued to stagger under his heavy debt and Roberts forced him out in 1911.

McClure's went downhill thereafter. From 1912 to 1922, it became "a kind of second-rate women's magazine lacking personality, character, conscience, soul, or guts," in the words of a McClure biographer. In 1920 it was sold to Herbert Kaufman, a "checkbook editor" who spent too much money luring writers from other magazines and pushed his own into receivership in only nine months. It reverted to McClure who, short of money and staff, could not revive it and was forced to sell out to Hearst's International Publications in 1925. Hearst made it into *McClure's, The Magazine of Romance*. When this version also failed, the magazine was sold again. It lingered as *The New McClure's: A Man's Magazine* until the advent of the Great Depression brought this last incarnation of a once-proud magazine to a merciful death in 1930.

—Daniel Lindley

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McCoy, Horace (1897-1955)

Sometime newspaper sports editor, pulp magazine story writer, "hard-boiled" novelist, screenwriter, and actor, Horace McCoy is best known for his first novel *They Shoot Horses, Don't They?* (1935), set during a marathon dance contest in the 1930s, and made into a film of the same name in 1969 (directed by Sydney Pollack). He wrote a total of six uncompromising novels (one published posthumously) on themes such as civic corruption, Hollywood, the depression, and the plight of the individual caught in the capitalist machine. His many credits as a screenwriter include *The Trail of the Lonesome Pine* (1936) and *Gentleman Jim* (1942).

—Chris Routledge

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McCrea, Joel (1905-1990)

Although he liked doing Westerns best, Joel McCrea also appeared in some of the best comedy films of the early 1940s, such as *The Palm Beach Story* (1942), *Sullivan's Travels* (1941), and *The More the Merrier* (1943). A versatile actor, he also excelled in dramas

and thrillers, including *These Three* (1936), *Dead End* (1937), and Hitchcock's *Foreign Correspondent* (1940). Not a flashy actor, he was a tall, attractive, somewhat self-effacing man who conveyed a sort of rough hewn honesty and patience that served him well in both serious and comedy roles.

Born in Pasadena, California, at the age of nine McCrea moved with his family to Hollywood when it was still "all open country"—he and the movie business grew up together. He started doing extra work in silent films in the early 1920s, initially because he was an excellent horseman. By the early 1930s, he was starring in talkies like *Bird of Paradise* (1930), *The Lost Squadron* (1932), and *The Most Dangerous Game* (1932). McCrea switched almost exclusively to Westerns in the mid-1940s, appearing in *Ramrod* (1947), *Four Faces West* (1948), and *Colorado Territory* (1949), along with nearly two dozen others. Joel McCrea's final major Western was Sam Peckinpah's *Ride the High Country*, which has been considered a classic since its release in 1962.

—Ron Goulart

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McDaniel, Hattie (1895-1952)

Though Hattie McDaniel was a performer for most of her life, on stage, in film, and on radio and television, her career was largely defined by the racism of the culture she lived in and the limitations it placed on her achievements. White audiences who are familiar with McDaniel only from her oscar-winning role in *Gone with the Wind*, are probably unaware of the criticisms directed at her by other Blacks who were angry at those who perpetuated racist stereotypes. McDaniel, like many Black performers of the time, anxious to succeed in an industry controlled by whites, made a career out of taking the roles that were offered to her. In a Hollywood that, throughout the twentieth century, offered few genuinely complex roles for people of color, the roles available to large Black women in the 1930s and 1940s covered the narrow range from maid to mammy. Although Hattie McDaniel was a talented singer, dancer, and actress, she appeared in over 300 movies usually as a cook, a maid, or a mammy.

Though most of her roles involved playing southerners, McDaniel herself did not come from the South. She was born in Wichita, Kansas, and raised in the relatively liberal city of Denver, Colorado, where she attended an integrated school. The youngest of 13 children, McDaniel loved to perform from an early age. In 1910, her father started his own minstrel show, with two of her brothers as performers. McDaniel joined them soon after, and her career on stage began. She travelled with the show, singing, dancing, and writing songs for almost ten years. After the death of her father in 1922, she found a job on the new Denver radio station KOA, singing jazz songs with a band. She continued to work the vaudeville circuit until the 1930s, when jobs dried up with the arrival of the Great Depression.

McDaniel got another big break while working as a restroom attendant at the Club Madrid near Milwaukee, Wisconsin. When the management needed a singer to fill in, customers recommended the talented woman they had heard singing to herself in the washroom,



Hattie McDaniel

and McDaniel gained a new job. Finally, at the urging of her brothers, who had gone to find work in California, she moved to Los Angeles and began to look for work in the movies. She landed many small roles in movies, often not appearing in the credits. The pay was low, and McDaniel had to work as a maid while she was portraying maids in the movies. She continued to work hard at acting, learning a Southern accent she often used in her stereotypical Southern-maid roles, and she began to get more significant parts in larger movies. She received good reviews in a remake of *Showboat*, appearing with Marlene Dietrich, Mae West, Katharine Hepburn, and Barbara Stanwyck.

It is her powerful performance as Scarlett's Mammy in the 1939 film *Gone with the Wind* (*GWTW*) that won McDaniel prominent status among white audiences. Though she made history by becoming the first Black woman ever to win an Oscar, (the second would be won by Whoopi Goldberg for her role in *Ghost* almost 50 years later), McDaniel's work on *GWTW* would forever be controversial. Though her performance was rightly rewarded as excellent, little was publicly made of the fact that the Black cast members had not been permitted to attend the feted premiere of the movie in segregationist Atlanta or that McDaniel was called Mammy by the cast even when not in character. Shortly after *GWTW*, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mounted a campaign to fight the racist stereotypes of Blacks in movies. "Mammyism" and "Uncle Tomism" were decried as harmful to Blacks as a whole, and actors such as Ethel Waters and Stepin Fetchit were attacked. As the most famous Mammy of the moment, Hattie McDaniel received the most hostile criticism of all.

Though McDaniel did go on to other “Mammy”-like roles in film and to *Beulah*, where she played a maid, first on radio, then on television, she defended herself against her critics. Together with other Black actors, she formed the Fair Play Committee to try to change Hollywood from within. McDaniel had been successful in having the word “nigger” removed from the screenplay of *GWTW*, and she refused to speak in dialect for *Beulah*. Many thought these victories too small, however, and the criticism from Blacks went very much to McDaniel’s heart. This, combined with the pressure of problems in her fourth marriage, contributed to the actress’s depression and health problems.

Hattie McDaniel died of breast cancer at the Motion Picture Country Home and Hospital in California in 1952. Having recognized that in an oppressive society, there are few good choices for the oppressed, McDaniel had not refused to play the roles available for the black women of her time. If she had, it is likely a wide audience would have never heard of her. Although she was probably not a happy woman for most of her career, she was a strong one, having fought for the advancement of Black Americans in the way she could, by getting a job and doing it well.

—Tina Gianoulis

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McDonald's

From its humble beginnings in 1948 as a drive-in restaurant in southern California, McDonald's grew by the end of the twentieth century into the world's largest food service organization, having served up more than 100 billion hamburgers in half a century of operation. In 1998, the chain claimed 24,500 restaurants in 114 countries—with a new one opening every five hours—where 38 million customers a day are served, 20 million of them in the United States. In five decades, the Golden Arches, Big Macs, and Ronald McDonald have become among the most internationally recognized and controversial icons of American popular culture. Over the company's objections, the prefix “Mc-” has been used informally in English to describe any person or situation whose essential qualities are seen in terms of homogenization, predictability, or banality.

It all started in the late 1940s, on the crest of the postwar automobile boom, when brothers Richard and Maurice McDonald were searching for a way to improve their little octagonal barbecue drive-in business in San Bernardino, California. The concept they created was a revolutionary one that would become the keystone of the nascent fast food industry: an emphasis on efficiency, low prices, big volume, and speedy self-service and a jettisoning of anything that would slow down the transaction, such as carhops, plates, forks, knives, glassware, dishwashers, tipping, and less popular menu items. When the brothers reopened their restaurant with their “McDonald's

New Self-Service System” on December 20, 1948, confusion at first reigned, but soon the 15-cent prepackaged McDonald's hamburger that came with ketchup, pickle, and onion became extremely successful. Within a few months, customers were lining up to buy the nine available menu items: hamburger, cheeseburger, french fries, potato chips, pie, coffee, milk, soft drinks, and milkshakes.

In 1952, McDonald's sold more than one million hamburgers and half a million orders of french fries, which were becoming famous for their “perfect fry” due to the proper aging of potatoes. The brothers planned to franchise their self-service system and designed, with architect Stanley Meston, the prototype restaurant with its two giant golden arches. The first McDonald's franchise opened in May, 1953, in Phoenix, Arizona. In 1954, there were nine franchise restaurants in operation and twelve others already sold. That same year, intrigued by the 20,000 milkshakes sold every month by the McDonald's business, Ray Kroc (1902-1984), the exclusive distributor of the “Multimixer” milkshake machine, went to San Bernardino to see the McDonald's operation at first hand. Immediately, he foresaw the gigantic potentialities of the concept and became the exclusive franchising agent for the McDonald brothers in the United States. In 1955, he formed the new franchising company under the name of McDonald's System, Inc. and opened his first McDonald's restaurant in Des Plaines, Illinois. In 1961, Kroc bought out the McDonald brothers for \$2.7 million.

Kroc did not invent McDonald's, but he transformed and developed it into a leading institution that has revolutionized the food service industry and altered traditional eating habits throughout the world. The astounding popular success of McDonald's and its unprecedented growth, first in the United States and later in foreign countries, became a commercial legend. Cleanliness, friendly service, and predictability—its capability to deliver consistent products anywhere in the world—have remained a hallmark of McDonald's. Throughout, Kroc's brilliant strategy called for a heavy investment in advertising and public relations. The theme “Look for the Golden Arches” started in 1960. By 1963, McDonald's restaurants were selling one million hamburgers a day, and the company decided to launch a television advertising campaign. In 1966, three years after his first public appearance in Washington, D.C., Ronald McDonald, portrayed by Willard Scott, made his first national television debut. The happy clown became the McDonald's mascot who would attract millions of children and their families to McDonald's restaurants. Children had long been a target group for the chain's marketing: Since the opening in 1971 of the first McDonald's Playland in Chula Vista, California, McDonald's has invested millions in playgrounds and ads directed primarily at children, for whom it introduced the “Happy Meal” in 1979.

In 1966, the year after its advertising started to claim that “McDonald's Is Your Kind of Place,” McDonald's became a public company, listed on the New York Stock Exchange. After almost 20 years of price stability, the hamburger rose from 15 to 18 cents and the international expansion started. The first McDonald's restaurant located outside of the United States opened in Canada on June 1, 1967, in Richmond, British Columbia. The one-thousandth restaurant in the chain opened in 1968 and the most popular burger, the “Two all-beef patties, special sauce, lettuce, cheese, pickle, onions, on a sesame-seed bun,” internationally known as the “Big Mac,” was added to the menu. In 1972, the Quarter Pounder was introduced, and the McDonald's corporation achieved the one-billion-dollar sales mark. By 1970, McDonald's was represented by 1,600 restaurants in the 50 U.S. states and in four other countries. The 1970s saw an



The first McDonald's restaurant in San Bernardino, California, 1955.

expansion of the restaurant's locales from brightly lit roadside stands surrounded by parking lots to smaller, "townhouse" establishments in urban settings.

During the 1970s, such slogans as "You Deserve a Break Today," "We Do It All For You," and "Nobody Can Do It Like McDonald's" permeated the everyday life of millions of customers. Meanwhile, McDonald's entered the breakfast trade with the highly successful introduction of the Egg McMuffin in 1973. By 1980, 35 billion hamburgers had been sold, and in 1985, McDonald's became one of the thirty companies that make up the Dow Jones Industrial Average. By 1990, when the 80-billion burger milestone had been reached, its 11,800 restaurants in 54 countries accounted for \$18.7 billion in sales.

With its aggressive expansion into the global market, McDonald's has come to epitomize North American culture, but especially the United States and its brand of capitalism. In 1971, the corporation entered the Asian, Australian, and European markets. While the Dutch McDonald's restaurant failed, "Makadonaldo" on the Ginza in Tokyo, Japan, became an immediate success. In 1998, Japan held its own as the largest McDonald's market outside of the United States, with more than 2,400 restaurants. In 1979, McDonald's started doing business in South America. With the collapse of Soviet-style communism in the late 1980s, the emergence of McDonald's in socialist or

post-socialist societies attracted extensive media coverage and increased the brand's notoriety. The opening of the first McDonald's restaurant in Moscow on January 13, 1990, attracted 30,000 customers and was billed by the media as an important symbolic event, as if the Russians had conceded in the famous "kitchen debate" between Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev in the 1950s. The opening of the first McDonald's restaurant in Africa in 1992 was not much noticed, but on April 23 of that year, 40,000 Chinese lined up in front of its first outlet in Beijing, China. The popularity and prosperity of McDonald's in the Czech Republic, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia have been the focus of numerous documentaries and articles.

Not surprisingly, such an extraordinary success has also generated protests and criticisms from very different groups, ranging from the far left to the far right and including environmentalists, nutritionists, religious fundamentalists, cultural critics, and heritage preservationists, among others. McDonald's has taken a stance of being responsive to many of these concerns. Responding to civil-rights activists in the 1970s who faulted the chain's hiring practices, the corporation developed training programs for minorities and women. In 1990, McDonald's USA launched the McRecycle program, and in 1991, initiated a Waste Reduction Action Plan to recycle its packaging products. The restaurants started to offer more dietetic

meals by using vegetable oil in the cooking of french fries and adding salads, low-fat muffins, reduced-fat ice cream, and the Grilled Chicken Deluxe to their menus. In India, McDonald's restaurants serve vegetable McNuggets and a mutton-based Maharaja Mac. In Israel, kosher hamburgers are available, and in Muslim countries, menus are certified as halal. McDonald's has also started to design buildings and signs respecting the local architecture. In Miami's Little Havana, a McDonald's restaurant evokes a hacienda, while on Long Island, New York, a restored 1860s house accommodates the fast-food outlet.

McDonald's has borne the brunt of American and European intellectuals who fault it for being an agent of cultural imperialism and globalization responsible for homogenizing indigenous cultures and destroying local traditions. In the United States, the rising popularity of franchised fast-food restaurant chains in the 1950s coincided with the steady decline of traditional Mom and Pop eateries and the subsequent homogenization of the roadside landscape. In the early 1970s, most of the old stainless-steel "railcar" diners, which offered regional cooking and atmosphere, could not compete with the fast-food chains and were demolished or abandoned, though diners did experience a resurgence of sorts by the 1990s. In 1990, in Hartsville, Tennessee, McDonald's opened its own Golden Arch Cafe as an outlet resembling a traditional 1950s-style diner; the cafe offers sit-down service from a menu that includes lasagna, Salisbury steaks with two vegetables, and grilled chicken platters, with only the french fries a vestige of the fast-food concept.

Close attention to consumption practices reveals more complex interaction patterns. While McDonald's has affected some influential changes in consumer habits, local cultures and identities have constrained McDonald's to adapt to place and reveal local idiosyncrasies. Some obvious examples of this have included changes in menu items, like the Teriyaki McBurger in Japan, McLacks in Norway, or Kiwi Burgers in New Zealand; the provision of beer with meals and large smoking sections in Belgium, France and Germany; or nomenclature changes to adapt to the metric system. These changes, however, often mask the fact that the process of production and distribution of the food has changed considerably from traditional methods.

For most customers outside the United States, McDonald's offers an altered cultural and social experience that starts when the threshold is crossed. In Asia, James L. Watson noticed that "East Asian consumers have quietly, and in some cases stubbornly, transformed their neighborhood McDonald's restaurant into local institutions. . . . In Beijing, Seoul and Taipei, for instance, McDonald's restaurants are treated as leisure centers, where people can retreat from the stresses of urban life. In Hong Kong, middle school students often sit in McDonald's for hours—studying, gossiping, and picking over snacks. . . . One surprise was the discovery that many McDonald's restaurants in East Asia have become sanctuaries for women who wish to escape male-dominated settings." In Europe, the facades of the restaurants are designed to conform to the local architecture, and the interior design varies depending on the city, with references made to the local culture such as Modernisme in Barcelona, Art Nouveau in Brussels, or Art Déco in Paris. Design quality compensates for the lack of space and higher densities of European McDonald's restaurants. Contrary to the situation in North America, fast food in Europe does not mean fast consumption. Numerous McDonald's restaurants in Paris have become afternoon meeting places for elderly women who enjoy chatting while drinking a coffee and eating an apple pie. French teenagers have adopted McDonald's restaurants as headquarters where they can spend hours socializing with their friends. Eating in Europe is a social and often familial event that takes time, and

people like to share it in a pleasant atmosphere. Consequently, comfortable, individual chairs and real plants had to replace the original fixed chairs and plastic foliage. Some McDonald's restaurants in Europe supply free daily newspapers at breakfast-time and dress their tables with cotton tablecloths and small vases of dried flowers. Thus, while McDonald's captured the spirit of postwar America and built its national fame on the rationalization of the fast-food concept, the international success of McDonald's restaurants rely on their ability to sell the American myth through a pseudo-American experience exotic enough to fit local imaginations and expectations about America but flexible enough to be adapted to local customs.

Despite the global economic turbulence of the late 1990s, the international division of the McDonald's Corporation achieved continuous growth and success while simultaneously, in the United States, it faced dramatic difficulties under competition from other restaurant concepts. In 1998, the company decided to adapt the lessons learned abroad to the United States, and made a radical cultural, operational, and strategic turn in the management of its domestic market. The company's domestic operations were decentralized and streamlined into five divisions based on geographic regions. Like their international counterparts, independent franchises in the United States have become collaborators in marketing and advertising, with a say in the menu. The company is experimenting actively with new products such as the Cajun Chicken Sandwich or the McFlurry to respond better to local competitive situations. After four decades of success based on perfect uniformity and predictability, McDonald's enters the twenty-first century with decentralization, flexibility, and pluralism as its new mantra.

—Catherine C. Galley & Briavel Holcomb

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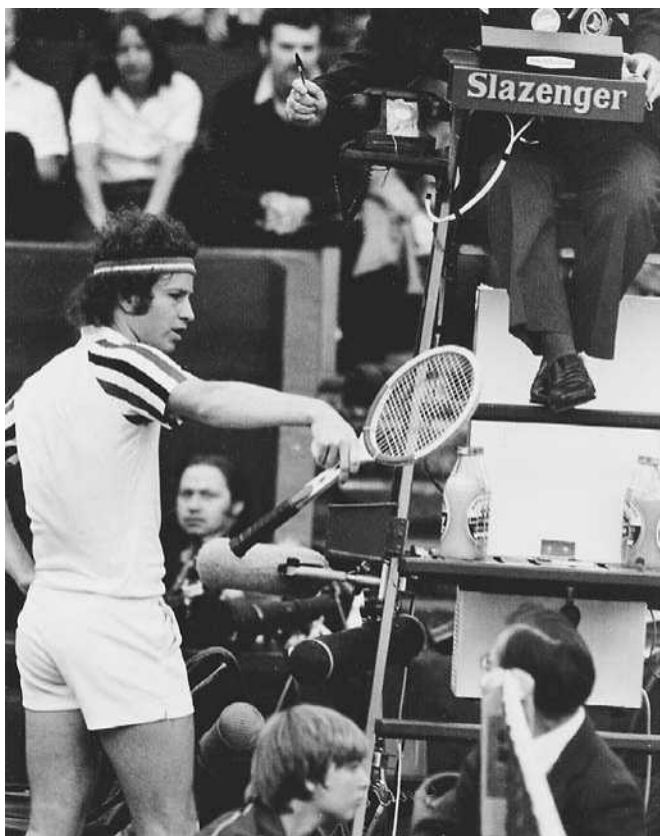
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McEnroe, John (1959—)

Famously dubbed “Superbrat” by the British tabloid press, John McEnroe is doomed to have his remarkable athletic accomplishments overshadowed by the media perception of him as a whining, petulant crybaby. But the achievements of one of the most talented male players to ever step on a tennis court cannot be separated from the renewed buzz about the sport generated by his infuriating on-court antics. Simply put, if John McEnroe had not come along, tennis in the 1970s would have had to invent him.

The son of a U.S. Air Force officer, McEnroe grew up in Long Island's Gold Coast. But McEnroe was no ordinary suburban tennis brat. He impressed his instructors with his ability to make difficult shots at a young age. Schooled at an elite tennis academy (he was eventually thrown out for bad behavior), McEnroe later attended Stanford University, and made his initial splash at Wimbledon in 1977, becoming the youngest man ever to reach the semifinals. He turned pro the following year.

Men's tennis at that time was in a period of transition, as the popular favorite Jimmy Connors saw his run at the top coming to an end. Bjorn Borg was the king of Wimbledon, having won four titles in



John McEnroe

a row from 1976 through 1979. But the icy Swede failed to capture the imagination of the public with his mechanical, groundstroking game. When McEnroe defeated fellow American Vitas Gerulaitis in the U.S. Open Final in 1979—becoming the youngest winner since Pancho Gonzalez—a page in tennis history seemed to have been turned. The following year, McEnroe surged into the finals at Wimbledon, where he met Borg in an epic match many consider the greatest of all time. The upstart American fought off five match points in a grueling fourth-set tiebreaker but was defeated in the fifth. The next year, McEnroe finally broke through, ending the Swede's five-year reign at the All-England Club.

In the six-year span from 1979 through 1984, McEnroe captured the Wimbledon and U.S. Open titles a total of seven times. He became the first man since Bill Tilden in the 1920s to win three straight U.S. Open crowns, from 1979 through 1981. Ranked number one in the world in 1981, 1983, and 1984, McEnroe also was a mainstay of the United States Davis Cup team, leading the squad to victory in international competition on five separate occasions. As a doubles player, he usually paired up with fellow American Peter Fleming.

A left-hander, McEnroe possessed unparalleled shotmaking ability. He used the skills to his advantage by playing a ferocious, attacking, serve-and-volley style. On fast surfaces, such as the grass at Wimbledon or the hard courts of the U.S. Open, he could often overwhelm plodding baseline opponents like Ivan Lendl. The McEnroe approach put him at a disadvantage on clay, however, or when faced with an opponent who could match him in tenacity, like Connors or Borg.

McEnroe's volatile temperament did him in on more than one occasion as well. Berating chair umpires, arguing line calls, and bickering with spectators were all part of the McEnroe repertoire. Often, he claimed, he used his anger as a way to fire himself up to win points or get back into a match emotionally. But there is no denying that his histrionics cost him at times as well, as when a meltdown at the 1984 French Open Finals allowed Lendl to storm back from a two-set deficit to win the championship.

“Johnny Mac” was not the first tennis player to act in an irregular fashion, of course. Before him, there had been Evonne Goolagong's bizarre “walkabouts” and Ilie Nastase's eternally up-thrust middle finger. But something about McEnroe's unique mix of bad sportsmanship and spoiled rich boy arrogance made him the special darling of the tennis press. Newspapers, especially in Britain, invariably caricatured him as a sobbing child braying for attention. The cartoonists and reporters were the ones left crying, however, when McEnroe retired from the professional circuit in 1992, leaving no dynamic successor to take up his crowd-rousing mantle.

In his dotage, McEnroe has occupied himself with tennis broadcasting and a panoply of artistic and civic pursuits. He paints—in the abstract expressionist style—and fronts a rock band. He was married for a time to actress Tatum O'Neal and fathered three children. McEnroe has used his forum on national tennis telecasts to criticize American players for not taking part in Davis Cup competition. Such outspoken commentary shows that time has not mellowed “Superbrat.”

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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McEntire, Reba (1955—)

Reba McEntire has sold more than 50 million albums, scored more than two dozen number one hits, and joined the company of those recognized worldwide by merely her first name. Although she has won scores of honors including Grammy awards and People's Choice awards, the major contribution of the feisty redhead may be that she has shattered stereotypes within and without the country music industry. She has shown Nashville that "girl singers" may be limited in their achievements, but women singers can play with the big boys, and she has shown the music industry at large that a country singer can be as glamorous and as successful as any pop diva.

Because she has diversified into movies and assorted business interests, McEntire is frequently compared to Dolly Parton, but a more telling comparison may be to Loretta Lynn, who earned her fame singing songs of women's lives. McEntire, whose songs reflect the lives of women of her own generation, has sung of women surviving on their own, of women refusing to be used, and of women suffering from AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). But the defining song of her career may be "Is There Life Out There?" The video shows Reba as a young woman struggling to balance home and children with a low-paying job and college classes. The happy ending on graduation day suggests that there is a life for women

beyond the domestic sphere, a reality McEntire and thousands of her listeners have discovered for themselves.

McEntire is not alone in selecting material clearly crafted for a female audience, but no other woman has yet achieved her level of success. Her first charting record came in 1978, and her accomplishments increased over the next two decades as her album sales and concert revenues placed her in competition not merely with the men of country music but also with major artists in other music formats. Barbra Streisand is the only other woman who has reached this pinnacle. Like many successful women, McEntire has been the target of criticism for her ambition, but she remains undeterred by these attacks.

McEntire credits her determination and pragmatism to her stable middle-class rearing in Chokie, Oklahoma. The daughter of a teacher and a rodeo champion/cattle rancher, she grew up tending cattle, barrel racing, and singing with her siblings. Discovered while she was singing "The Star Spangled Banner" at the 1974 National Rodeo Finals, she signed with Mercury in 1977, but her early efforts were mediocre thanks to the pop veneer that muted her distinctive sound and minimized her emotional range. The 1980s brought a change of direction with a more mature McEntire assuming control of her career. She signed on as opening act for established artists such as the Statler Brothers and Conway Twitty, a decision that gave her expert



Reba McEntire

tutelage in the profession and exposure to core country audiences, a move both wise and timely. By the time she signed with MCA in 1984, two of her songs for Mercury had reached number one, including “Can’t Even Get The Blues,” an upbeat tune that reversed the woman as victim stereotype. McEntire was beginning to understand what she had to offer.

In Jimmy Bowen, president of MCA’s Nashville division, she had someone secure enough to encourage artist involvement and smart enough to allow McEntire to return to her distinctive voice and style. The first result of their collaboration was *My Kind of Country* (1984), which included “Somebody Should Leave,” a Harlan Howard tune that showcased the emotional power of McEntire’s voice. The song became her first number one on her new label.

Not only did *My Kind of Country* fit seamlessly into the wave of New Traditionalism that was capturing country audiences in the 1980s, but it also hit as The Nashville Network (TNN) and Country Music Television (CMT) became established venues for country artists. McEntire’s sassy persona and down home accent had immense appeal for TNN and CMT audiences, and she proved as well to have a deft touch with videos. Country music’s audience was also changing. Baby boomers dissatisfied with pop lyrics were searching for a new musical format and discovering the appeal of country. Audiences were more diverse and, in significant ways, more sophisticated. A real cowgirl, McEntire had the credentials to satisfy traditional country audiences, but she was also part of a college-educated, television-addicted generation for whom regional barriers were blurring. She was poised to take advantage of the changes.

In 1986, her career exploded. With “Whoever’s in New England,” she had a crossover hit in both audio and video. The album (by the same title) went gold, and McEntire was inducted into the Grand Ole Opry. Both the Country Music Association (CMA) and the Academy of Country Music named her female vocalist of the year, and CMA added the coveted Entertainer of the Year trophy. The redhead from Oklahoma had arrived, and her world was about to grow larger. Determined to control all aspects of her career, she created Starstruck Entertainment in 1988, a corporation that expanded as Reba saw need. Starstruck now encompasses everything from music production, publishing, booking, management, and publicity to film production, construction, and a charter jet service started after McEntire lost seven of her band members in a 1991 plane crash.

The album that followed the crash, *For My Broken Heart*—in part an act of public grief—went double platinum. Her platinum plus record sales continue, her concert revenues and film credits increase, as does her empire building, and she continues to add music and humanitarian awards to her lengthy list of honors. Her stage show, which requires five buses and 13 trucks to transport, rivals even Garth Brooks in its dazzle. More than 30 years after Tammy Wynette’s “Stand by Your Man” defined a woman’s place in a relationship and on a country stage, Reba McEntire has proved that a woman can challenge heavy hitting male music stars and win. In the process she has changed the face of country music.

—Wylene Rholetter

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McGwire, Mark (1963—)

Mark McGwire may eventually be known as the man who saved baseball. His 1998 fight for the single season home run record with Chicago Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa recaptured the hearts of a generation of fans lost during the 1994 labor dispute. The record 70 home runs put McGwire’s name in the record books ahead of greats like Roger Maris and Babe Ruth. But it was McGwire the person, more than McGwire the power hitter, that returned baseball to the public consciousness. In the words of the *New York Times* editorial on the final day of the 1998 season, “the sight of this gentle, earnest giant handling the pressure of the home run chase with grace and humility has made an entire nation feel better about itself.”

It’s no surprise that Mark McGwire became a professional athlete. Born in 1963, he spent much of his youth with his four brothers at either the basketball court, baseball field, or the golf course. Their father John, a dentist, was a dedicated little league coach, the kind that bought all the kids ice cream after the game. After briefly considering a future in golf during high school, McGwire decided to dedicate himself solely to baseball, attending the University of Southern California. He began his collegiate career as a pitcher, relying on an 85-mile-per-hour fastball to accumulate a 4-4 record and 3.04 ERA in his freshman year. But the powerful 6’5” McGwire marvelled coaches with his swing, and he was promptly switched to first base. Over the next two seasons, McGwire hit 51 home runs, shattering the previous school record. At the end of his junior year, McGwire married his college sweetheart Kathy, reentered the draft, and was chosen 10th overall by the Oakland Athletics.

After a stint with the U.S. Olympic team and a couple years in the minor leagues, McGwire made his much anticipated debut as Oakland’s everyday first basemen in 1987. Using his remarkably quick and compact swing, McGwire hit 49 homers, breaking the rookie record. But even as an impressionable rookie, family always came first; McGwire skipped the final game of the season to witness the birth of his son, missing a chance to reach the coveted 50th home run plateau. He later told reporters, “That was my 50th home run.”

Led by McGwire, fellow “bash brother” Jose Canseco, pitchers Dave Stewart and Dennis Eckersley, and manager Tony LaRussa, the powerful Athletics appeared in the next three World Series, sweeping the San Francisco Giants in the infamous 1989 series marred by a northern California earthquake. McGwire became one of baseball’s most feared hitters, and a good defensive first baseman with a tremendous appreciation for the game. In the early 1990s, the home runs kept coming, but his batting average dropped, and he struggled through a divorce and a variety of injuries. In 1993 and 1994, he appeared in only 74 games, due to a nagging left heel problem.

Frustrated by claims that he had become a soft, one-dimensional player, McGwire returned with new-found confidence and an improved swing, hitting an incredible 91 home runs over 1995 and 1996, despite missing 90 games to another nagging heel injury. But by 1997, the once-powerful Oakland A’s had sunk to the bottom of the Western Division, and McGwire, in the midst of another phenomenal season, was the only tradeable commodity. So on July 31, he was dealt to the St. Louis Cardinals, reuniting him with former manager

and good friend LaRussa. McGwire became a fan favorite, finishing the season with 58 home runs, just three shy of Maris's single season record set in 1961. And for perhaps the first time, the fans got a true glimpse of the man behind the 500 foot home runs. After signing a new contract with the Cardinals, McGwire established a charitable foundation for sexually and physically abused children, to which he would annually donate \$1 million. At the press conference, the 6'5", 250-pound McGwire broke into tears.

In 1998, the entire baseball world expected McGwire to once again challenge the single season home run record. But no one expected Cubs outfielder Sammy Sosa, to join McGwire in the quest. Together, their crowd pleasing home runs became larger than the game itself, to the dismay of some purists, but to the delight of fans jaded by the ugly 1994 labor dispute. People across the country were fascinated by the camaraderie of the two down-to-earth players, who from different teams and vastly different backgrounds were chasing a piece of history and dealing with enormous media pressure. But the incredible season was not free of scandal; it was revealed that powerful McGwire regularly used androstenedione, a muscle-building substance banned in many other sports.

Fittingly, it was against Sosa's Cubs on September 7 that McGwire hit a pitch over the wall in left field to break Maris's 37-year-old record. Hollywood could not have written a better script. After touching home plate, McGwire hugged his 10-year-old son Matt, the Cardinal's batboy, and received congratulations from fans, teammates, Maris's children, and Sosa himself. But the race was not over; Sosa kept pace with McGwire until the final weekend of the season. McGwire finally pulled ahead for good, hitting four home runs over the final two games, and setting the new single season standard of 70. Even more astounding, he shattered the home run record despite a National League record 161 walks.

It is ironic that the modest, charitable McGwire, a fine overall player and a member of some terrific Oakland teams, will always be remembered for one extraordinary individual accomplishment. But it is thanks to McGwire that fans will always remember the year, in the words of a *New Yorker* editorial, that "baseball, caught up in a Capra movie, wore a smile on its face and sweetness overran the field."

—Simon Donner

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McHale's Navy

Running for four seasons from 1962 to 1966 on ABC, *McHale's Navy* remains one of the longest running military comedies on television. Set for the first three seasons on an island base in the South Pacific, and for the last in Italy, it was a classic wartime farce that

pitted a fun-loving crew of misfits against an incompetent commander who wants to see them put behind bars. The plots were standard fare, often involving the crew of the PT73 trying to get away with something and being saved, just when trouble looms, by an opportunity to sink an enemy sub and emerge as heroes. The three central characters were Commander McHale and Ensign Parker, who were continually engaged in fending off Captain Binghamton, or "Old Leadbottom." They were played by Ernest Borgnine, Tim Conway (at his bumbling best) and Joe Flynn, respectively.

The show spawned two movies during its run—*McHale's Navy* (1964) and *McHale's Navy Joins the Air Force* (1965)—the first with the original cast and the second with Conway and Flynn. The characters were resurrected for a 1997 feature film of the same title, with Tom Arnold playing McHale.

—Frank Clark

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McKay, Claude (1890-1948)

While scholar Alain Locke and novelist James Weldon Johnson attempted to make the Harlem Renaissance palatable to white audiences, Claude McKay rose to prominence as the most militant voice in the African-American literary movement. The Jamaican-born poet and author blended Marxist ideals with his belief in racial solidarity to produce *Home to Harlem* (1928) and *Banjo* (1929), vivid accounts of black urban life in America and Europe. Both volumes championed ordinary people and testified to the health of the African diaspora community. McKay lived in the Soviet Union and North Africa during most of the 1920s and drew criticism from mainstream black intellectuals and white liberals for his avowed Communism. He returned to America in 1934, abandoned left-wing politics for the Catholic church, and penned his popular autobiography, *A Long Way for Home* (1937). While never as famous as contemporaries Countee Cullen and Langston Hughes, McKay was the foremost left-wing black intellectual of his age. His writings foreshadowed and influenced those of Richard Wright and James Baldwin.

—Jacob M. Appel

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McKuen, Rod (1933—)

At his apex, Rod McKuen was the unofficial poet-laureate of America. Penning best-selling songs, composing classical music and film scores, and, in his own right, enjoying a certain stature as a recording artist mixing his poetry and lyrics in a series of well received albums, delivered in a reedy voice fractured by years of singing in nightclubs, McKuen was adored by his legions of fans. “In the sad, minimal world of Rod and his eager know-nothing millions,” as one critic describes the poet’s rapport with his audience, life exists in an ineffable mist of kittens and sheep dogs and chance encounters in parks and on public transportation. The poet of foggy afternoons and post-coital introspection, McKuen was, in the words of critic, David Harsent, a poet with “a formula likely to appeal to the groupies and the grannies alike” with a “neoplastic pleonasm rooted in his universal proposition of the world.”

Born in the Oakland, California, charity hospital, McKuen grew up not knowing his father, a fact that left a deep wound but would later prove a goad to his endless productivity. McKuen was truly a child of the Depression. After his mother married, her husband took a job with a Works Progress Administration road-gang, which kept the family moving from state to state for much of McKuen’s childhood. As a result, McKuen’s schooling was spotty. He also suffered under the steady stream of physical abuse inflicted upon him by his step-father. In his later years, McKuen would become a spokesman for children’s rights. After several failed attempts at escaping from his family, at 11 McKuen finally succeeded, fleeing to Elko, Nevada, where he found work as a ranch-hand, spent three years in a Nevada reformatory, and later joined the rodeo circuit as a trick rider. He also began keeping a journal in this period, describing the events of the day, the weather, scraps of dialogue, in an earnest tone that reveals shades of his later development.

Returning to Oakland after a freak injury ended his rodeo career, he was reunited with his mother and half-brother for a time, then volunteered for the draft in 1953, first serving in Tokyo as a “public information specialist,” (McKuen’s words) or, according to one depiction, as a “Psychological Warfare Scriptwriter.” Evening would find McKuen polishing his voice at various Tokyo nightclubs, an activity which resulted in his reassignment to Korea. Also during this time, his first book of poetry was published, a volume entitled *And Autumn Came*. Mustered from duty in 1955, he returned to the Bay Area, where he secured a job singing at a San Francisco nightclub. With his chiseled features and lank, blond hair, he was a natural for movies and it was around this time that Cobina Wright, Sr. of Universal Pictures discovered him and invited him to be her guest in Los Angeles. McKuen spent the next two years as a Contract Player at Universal, taking supporting roles and starring in a few westerns until a dispute over a script left him summarily suspended. With a poet’s impetuosity he then moved to New York, focusing exclusively on his musical career with occasional unsuccessful forays into the world of theater until, in 1962, his throat gave out and he returned to the Bay Area.

In San Francisco, McKuen recovered his voice and began a gestation period in which he traveled, wrote poetry, and collaborated with French composers, co-writing the hit “If You Go Away” with Jacques Brel. Having already developed a cult following, in 1966 he self-published his second book of poetry, *Stanyan Street and Other Sorrows*, selling it through a classified advertisement. Despite this

primitive arrangement, the book sold briskly. It was picked up by Random House. The follow-up, *Listen to the Warm*, perhaps McKuen’s most famous work, was a runaway success. With the publication of *Lonesome Cities*, McKuen could boast of finishing the year with three books on the *Publisher’s Weekly* year-end top ten list, making him the first author in 70 years to do so.

McKuen is the poet critics love to hate, and through the years his books have drawn uniformly unkind reviews. In fact, criticism of his poetry is uniformly vituperative, as if his popular success was a direct affront to the academy at large. McKuen reacts to his critics distaste evasively—“the people who find it easy to criticize my work more often than not haven’t even read it”—or with hurt—“I would be dishonest to say it didn’t bother me.” How could “so devitalized a singer, so bad a poet, so without wit or tune,” as Margot Hentoff wrote, prove such an abiding success? “Why the commercial success with poetry of such poor quality?” was the way critic Andrew Hirt posed the conundrum in the Spring 1970 issue of the *Journal of Popular Culture*. McKuen’s figurative answer—“It just happens I’ve said something at a time when people need to be talked to”—was occasion for Hirt to suggest, “Maybe great masses have latched on to his poetry because it satisfies a desire in them to feel intellectual.”

The brief liner notes from one of McKuen’s albums sums up his appeal to the masses: “Rod McKuen speaks to those who’ve lost them for those who seek them.” His ineffable yearning-to-be-loved poetry stemmed from the trauma of his attenuated childhood, and particularly the absence of his natural father. In 1976, he wrote *Finding My Father*, a book about his unsuccessful quest to find this phantom, the presumptive father who, ironically, died ten years previous to the book’s publication, an ice-man in Santa Monica, only a few short miles from McKuen’s house.

While the period when critics actively loathed him is long over, McKuen remains a seminal figure, not in the arena of poetry where the gates have long since been barred against any serious consideration of his work, but in the annals of publishing where McKuen’s massive popular success may never be equaled again.

—Michael Baers

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McLish, Rachel (1958—)

Rachel McLish earned immortality by becoming the first woman to win the Ms. Olympia bodybuilding contest in 1980. (The Mr. Olympia contests for men, begun in 1965, had quickly become the sport’s most prestigious title). Even though it was only her third bodybuilding competition, the graceful McLish was the clear choice



Rachel McLish

of the judges. After her victory and the attendant publicity, she became a role model for aspiring young women who wanted to reshape their bodies by training with weights.

McLish, who was of Hispanic descent and was raised in South Texas and trained in ballet, became well known outside of the subculture of bodybuilding with the release of the feature film *Pumping Iron II: The Unprecedented Women* (1985). A pseudo-documentary, *Pumping Iron* concentrated on the differences between the lithe McLish and the heavily muscled Beverly Francis, a power-lifting champion. McLish went on to work in other films and in television, and was seen in *Getting Physical* (1984), *Aces: Iron Eagle III* (1992), and *Raven Hawk* (1996).

—Jan Todd

McLuhan, Marshall (1911-1980)

As an audience of millions watched the first United States television appearance of the Beatles, a scant few months after the assassination of John F. Kennedy, one person thought to connect these two events. If the new rhythms, the lyrics, and the haircuts of the

Liverpool four brought the first genuine distraction for some from the senselessness of Dallas, for media analyst Marshall McLuhan it brought confirmation of his view that the medium is the message. McLuhan was about to publish his *Understanding Media*, a book that would stake a place for itself amid the turbulent events of the 1960s, explaining them in terms of the effects of electronic technology on the physical senses and sensibilities of mankind.

Born in Edmonton, Canada, McLuhan spent most of his youth in Winnipeg. He attended the University of Manitoba, receiving his B.A., and then an M.A. with a thesis on nineteenth century English novelist George Meredith, before going to Cambridge University, where he earned a Ph.D. in 1942 for his dissertation on the work of sixteenth century dramatist and satirist Thomas Nashe. When McLuhan achieved international renown in the 1960s and 1970s, many people assumed that somewhere between completing the Nashe thesis and publishing *Understanding Media* he had quietly dropped the study of English literature. But in McLuhan's earliest days in Cambridge, and in the earliest days of his teaching career in the United States, literary studies and media analysis were already complementary for him, and remained so.

There are at least two suitable metaphors for McLuhan's life. The first, the title of Edgar Allan Poe's story "A Descent into the Maelstrom," McLuhan himself used for over 30 years in evoking the effects of technology on our bodies, our clothes, our homes, our cities, our jokes, our toys, our words, our weapons, and more. The second metaphor is related to the solution that Poe's sailor finds for surviving the deadly waters of the Maelstrom, but it is McLuhan's own phrase: "escape into understanding."

The phrase is an injunction, the injunction at the center of all McLuhan's teaching and teasing, an invitation to join him on a voyage of discovery. Applied to McLuhan himself, to his life and his legacy, the phrase also summons us to escape from the misunderstandings that surrounded and still surround McLuhan's teachings. Though it was television that he likened to bacteria and poison (prescribing the antidote of reading), journalists could confidently report that he condemned print. If we look carefully at what McLuhan taught, we find him saying that as new media develop they do not so much replace older ones as complicate them. In an age of on-line encyclopedias and dictionaries, and the latest Tom Wolfe available only on CD (compact disc), we may take this for granted; in 1964 it was obvious to few but McLuhan, and just as few reported his percepts with much accuracy.

Even casual inspection of McLuhan's writings makes it apparent that the rich variety of his sources includes fields as diverse as anthropology, economic theory, psychology, philosophy from antiquity to the twentieth century, literary criticism, and English and European literatures spanning four centuries. McLuhan said in *Understanding Media* that language was the first technology by which humans let go of their environment in order to grasp it in a new way. The same book devoted one early chapter to the spoken word (conjuring French symbolist poet Charles Baudelaire but discussing philosopher Henri Bergson) and the next to the written word (subtitle: "An Eye for an Ear"). McLuhan's posthumously published *Laws of Media* transformed the ancient rhetorical device of chiasmus into the dynamic vectors of tetrad structures for describing semiotics, slang, cliché and symbolist poetry, and advanced the notion that all man's artifacts are structurally linguistic and metaphoric. Clearly, probing the nature of language and fully understanding its role in human affairs was a central concern for McLuhan.



Marshall McLuhan

Another McLuhan theme, inherited from William Blake, that of cleansing the channels of perception, comes together not only with the entire, timeless, poetic enterprise of offering a critique of language but through the work of James Joyce, I. A. Richards (as well as Richards's sometime collaborator, the mysterious C. K. Ogden), and even the father of modern semiotics, Charles S. Peirce.

Marshall McLuhan knew nothing about galvanic skin response technology, terminal node controllers, or the Apple Newton. He did not know what a biomouse is. But he pointed the way to understanding all of them, not in themselves, but in their relation to each other, to older technologies, and above all in relation to ourselves—our bodies, our physical senses, our psychic balance. He was disturbed about western society moving toward the twenty-first century with nineteenth century perceptions. His writings continue to challenge us to escape into understanding.

—W. Terrence Gordon

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McMurtry, Larry (1936—)

A prolific writer of rare lyrical gifts, Larry McMurtry has enjoyed a reputation as the most eloquent voice of the contemporary American West. Born and raised in rural Texas, McMurtry published his first several novels to critical kudos, but these initial literary efforts won him few home-grown fans. Some Texans were offended by the author's irreverent and unsentimental treatment of his home state, as he exposed the limits of Texas mythology, and portrayed small towns such as Thalia (the fictional equivalent of Archer City, where McMurtry graduated from high school) as desiccated and stifling. Scholar Lera Patrick Tyler Lich describes McMurtry's dusty Thalia as "a place to go insane, a place to be lonely," noting that "a vast expanse around the town and a wind that blows into it seem to choke out life." In later works, McMurtry did equal justice to Texas's sprawling, rowdy cities as crass, commercial meccas of philistinism. Though he continually dismissed his own work as without merit, McMurtry has offered a gallery of indelible images from a region of America caught between a sylvan past and a spiritless urban and suburban future.

McMurtry was a popular high school student, active in sports and on the staffs of student publications, but an ambivalence for his West Texas environs was taking hold in the well-read young writer. After graduating from Rice University with a Master of Arts in English and winning a prestigious Wallace Stegner Fellowship at Stanford University, McMurtry published *Horseman, Pass By* when he was just 26 years old. This wise novel about the decline of the Western way of life is essentially a coming-of-age story, as the young Lonnie Bannon surveys two opposing—and unappetizing—models of male possibility: his rancher grandfather Homer, whose diseased cattle represents a dying era, and Lonnie's Uncle Hud, a callous, cynical lady-killer whose only allegiance is to his own appetites. "Hud had made terms with the twentieth century," McMurtry notes in *In A Narrow Grave*, his volume of essays, "whereas Homer was unwaveringly faithful to the nineteenth." McMurtry deals Western pride a death blow as he documents the cowboy clichés passing into anachronism, as the "horsemen" either race their fancy Cadillacs or else fold up and die. McMurtry's auspicious debut invited comparisons to Thomas Wolfe and James Jones, and became the basis for a widely respected film, *Hud* (1963), with Paul Newman in the title role.

Throughout the 1960s, McMurtry taught English and creative writing and continued to publish compelling novels. The offbeat love story *Leaving Cheyenne* appeared in 1963 (it was filmed in 1973 as *Lovin' Molly*) and in 1966 McMurtry published perhaps his best-known work, *The Last Picture Show*, a bleak evocation of the isolation and emptiness of small-town life. In it he paints a forbidding landscape—"miles of lonesome country" and "a few sandscraped ranch houses." This is a world so lacking in opportunity and ambition that middle-aged town denizens can find little to do but worship high school athletes and prom queens as if they were movie stars, and prey upon them as sex objects. As the new urban frontier lures the talented and the energetic away, and as Thalia's storefronts are boarded up one by one under vast, empty skies, the author depicts "a place's loss of its only coherent tradition," according to scholar Raymond L. Neinstein. With the publication of *The Last Picture Show*, the *New York Times* praised McMurtry as "an alchemist who converts the basest materials to gold." Director Peter Bogdanovich's gritty, black-and-white film adaptation emerged as one of the most admired films of 1971, a contemporary classic contributing, in the words of Pauline Kael, to "a legendary period in movies."

The perceptive and frank *In A Narrow Grave: Essays on Texas* appeared in 1968, followed by the 800-page mega-novel of displacement and ennui, *Moving On* (1970), and *Terms of Endearment* (1975), a moving story of a complex mother-daughter relationship. When the film version of *Terms of Endearment* reached screens it equaled or surpassed the success of previous movie adaptations of McMurtry's work, winning the Academy Award for Best Picture of 1983. In *Somebody's Darling* (1978) and *The Desert Rose* (1983), McMurtry explores other milieus but his favorite themes—tradition versus modernity, country versus city—are much in evidence; the former novel depicts the often mindless vagaries of the Hollywood movie industry, while the latter tells of a sweetly vapid Las Vegas stripper named Harmony and her beautiful but calculating daughter. McMurtry regards Harmony as sort of a distaff cowboy, part of "a dying breed" of buxom, lacquered showgirls. As in his male-dominated works, *The Desert Rose* demonstrates an older generation's innocence and helplessness in an increasingly complicated and ravaging world. Horsemen are not the only ones passing by, into obscurity.

Other McMurtry novels of note include *Cadillac Jack* (1982); the prize-winning nineteenth century epic, *Lonesome Dove* (1985), which spawned a popular television mini-series; *Texasville* (1987), an ambitious and satirical sequel to *The Last Picture Show*; and the elegiac sequel to *Terms of Endearment*, *The Evening Star* (1992).

—Drew Limsky

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McPherson, Aimee Semple (1890-1944)

A charismatic and gifted Pentecostal preacher, Aimee Semple McPherson gained fame as a barnstorming evangelist in the era of Billy Sunday (depicted so tellingly by Sinclair Lewis in *Elmer Gantry*). In every respect, she was a pioneer and an original—her flamboyant style and colorful personal life guaranteed that she was good press, and her radio broadcasts from the Angelus Temple in Los Angeles drew her flock from coast to coast to hear "Sister Aimee." Her Church of the Foursquare Gospel was a hybrid of show business and Bible-based simplicity. As a minister, her message was "to bring sinners to Jesus." Renowned for her stirring sermons and for healing by a laying on of hands, her following was such that her personal appearances resembled those of movie stars. Charlie Chaplin, an admirer, remarked that "... You give your drama-starved people who absent themselves through fear, a theater which they can reconcile with their narrow beliefs. . . . Whether you like it or not, you're an actress."

The first woman to hold a broadcast license, McPherson was shrewd and farsighted in seeing the potential in a media ministry, and as a healer and media personality she laid the groundwork for preachers such as Oral Roberts, Katherine Kuhlman, and Jim and Tammy Baker. Always well and expensively dressed, she created a persona that withstood controversy and sustained her ministry; the Church of the Foursquare Gospel and the L.I.F.E. Bible College she founded remain active in 83 countries and claim two million members.



Aimee Semple McPherson

Born Aimee Kennedy in 1890 in Salford, Ontario; at the age of six weeks she was “consecrated to God and the Salvation Army” by her mother Minnie, a fervent convert to “the Army” which was making considerable inroads in conservative Canadian towns with “Jubilee services”—music and prayer. With this beginning, Aimee, the child her mother believed marked by destiny to be a religious leader, found the inspiration for her services. A first marriage to Robert Semple led her to accompany the missionary to China, and his death became the impetus for her to pursue her own calling as an evangelist. She married Harold McPherson and unsuccessfully tried to be a conventional wife and mother. By the time her second marriage disintegrated, Aimee had found her calling and was touring the country in her “Full Gospel Car”—first with McPherson and their son Rolf and then with her irrepressible mother Minnie.

Wherever “Sister” went she was an immediate success. The novelty of a woman preacher brought out the crowds, but McPherson’s power as a speaker and her reputation as a formidable “soul-saver” and healer built her reputation. Her early campaigns were conducted in tents, but finally in 1919 McPherson found her home base in the rapidly expanding city of Los Angeles, where the movie business boomed. She frequently recalled that she arrived there with “ten dollars and a tambourine” and her ministry quickly grew from a simple storefront to large auditoriums. “Sister” did not promote herself as a healer, but the crowds came in hope of miracles. She herself said, “Jesus is the healer. I am only the office girl who opens the door and says, ‘Come In.’”

McPherson loved music, and she is credited with bringing popular music into the church—jazz in particular. She later composed operas, a natural outgrowth of her performances in the pulpit which were elaborate spectacles featuring “Sister” in costume, props (which included animals) and a supporting cast of followers. In just four years she opened the 5,300 seat Angelus Temple, built by the contributions of her faithful, “entirely debt-free” as she proudly asserted.

McPherson continued to travel the world, always grabbing headlines. A 1927 New York appearance requested by the notorious Texas Guinan, (“Queen of the Nightclubs”) was reported as “Evangelist Preaches at Speakeasy.” Her appearance became increasingly glamorous as her fame swelled the congregation. Now blonde-haired as any movie queen, “Sister” preached the Gospel while controversy swirled about her personal life. The most notorious incident, which significantly affected her reputation, was the sensational 1926 “kidnapping” from a California beach. McPherson always insisted she had been snatched, drugged, and held captive in Mexico, and later escaped. Upon her triumphant “return from the dead” (after being believed drowned), “Sister” greeted a cheering crowd of 50,000 people and led a procession to the Angelus Temple. Subsequent attempts to prove she was actually holed up in a “love nest” with Kenneth Ormiston, her radio operator and a married man, were not enough to destroy her popularity. The press, previously friendly, were now her inquisitors. Squabbles (primarily financial) with her mother, her daughter Roberta, and other Temple officials made news and landed her in court on a regular basis, yet McPherson continued to insist that she wanted nothing more than to preach “that old-time religion.” A poor judge of character, she married a third husband, David Hutton, despite her own doctrine that a divorced person should not remarry during the life of the former partner. This marriage ended disastrously, and her health, always fragile, began to give way. Her death at the age of 53 in 1944 gave rise to speculation that she had

committed suicide, and the evidence remains inconclusive, like so much in Aimee Semple McPherson’s life.

What is evident is that her celebrity allowed her a considerable platform to both preach and to administer her extensive social welfare programs during the Great Depression. She remained popular until the end: 60,000 mourners passed by her funeral bier to say a last goodbye to “Sister.” Her legacy is the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, now headed by her son Rolf, and by her example helped women gain a place as ministers in a patriarchal religion. While there has been relatively little scholarly attention given to McPherson, journalists and filmmakers have retold her story with relish. Faye Dunaway played her in a well-received 1976 television film, *The Disappearance of Aimee*.

—Mary Hess

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McQueen, Butterfly (1911-1995)

As Scarlett O’Hara’s slave Prissy in *Gone with the Wind*, Thelma “Butterfly” McQueen probably did more than any other entertainer to further the typecasting of African American actors and actresses in menial roles; as a life-long advocate for racial equality in Hollywood, she certainly did as much as anyone to put an end to such discrimination. One of the most widely recognized black actresses of her era, McQueen’s 1947 decision to abandon cinema for a lifetime of menial labor helped pressure the film industry into abandoning its long-standing practice of relegating African Americans to menial roles. Yet throughout her six decade career, McQueen was plagued by her most celebrated on-screen line: Prissy’s admission to Miss Scarlett that “I dunno nothin’ ’bout birthing babies.”

Born on January 11, 1911 in Tampa, Florida, to a stevedore and a domestic, Thelma McQueen intended to study nursing in New York City until a high school teacher suggested that she try her hand at acting. After studying under Janet Collins, McQueen danced with the Venezuela Jones Negro Youth Group and debuted on stage in George Abbott’s *Brown Sugar*. Around this time she acquired the nickname “Butterfly”—a tribute to her constantly moving hands—for her performance in the *Butterfly Ballet* (1935). She then moved on to the large screen where she appeared as Lulu, the cosmetics counter assistant, in *The Women* (1939). Yet it was as Prissy, the whiny, comic, tearful and almost pathetic house slave in David Selznick’s *Gone with the Wind*, that the 28-year-old actress gained instant acclaim. The part was a minor one. McQueen, originally turned down for the role as too old and too dignified, transformed it into one of the leading character performances of all time. She stole scenes from



Butterfly McQueen

stars Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable with her careful blend of the sassy and the obsequious. Prissy's admission to Scarlett O'Hara (Leigh) that she can not assist at the child-bed of Melanie Wilkes (Olivia de Havilland) attracted an outpouring of sympathy from white audiences. McQueen, however, instantly regretted her contribution to black stereotyping. "It was not a pleasant part to play," she observed. "I didn't want to be that little slave. But I did my best, my very best." Late in life, she came to terms with the part. "Now I'm happy I did *Gone with the Wind*," she told *The Washington Post* in an interview. "I wasn't when I was twenty-eight, but it's a part of black history. You have no idea how hard it is for black actors, but things change, things blossom with time."

McQueen contributed to that progress when, after bit parts as maids in *Mildred Pierce* (1945) and *Flame of the Barbary Coast* (1945), she abandoned Hollywood to work as a real-life maid, a taxi dispatcher, and a Macy's salesgirl. Although she returned briefly to acting as one of television's first black stars, creating the role of the maid Oriole on *The Beulah Show* (1950-1953), the proud actress eventually refused to be typecast in demeaning parts and publicly declared her frustration with racial attitudes in the film industry. Her outspoken opposition to discrimination helped open doors for successors such as Paul Robeson and Sidney Poitier. McQueen devoted the remainder of her life to a variety of causes including the Freedom From Religion Foundation and the Humane Society. She earned a bachelor's degree in political science from The City College of New York at the age of 64. When McQueen finally returned to cinema, playing Clarice in *Amazing Grace* (1974) and Ma Kennywick in *Mosquito Coast* (1986), African American actors ranked among the

largest box office draws in the nation. The "Beautiful Butterfly" was killed in a house fire on December 22, 1995.

McQueen's plight as an actress paralleled that of many African Americans in the era before the Civil Rights movement. Forced to choose between minor, often subservient parts or complete exclusion from film, McQueen came to believe that no roles were better than regressive ones. "I hated it," she stated. "The part of Prissy was so backward. I was always whining and complaining." Ironically, it was McQueen's complaint against the film industry that helped relegate such parts to the footnotes of history.

—Jacob M. Appel

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McQueen, Steve (1930-1980)

The highest-paid movie actor of the 1960s and early 1970s, Steve McQueen was thought to be the most popular star of his generation. The essence of early 1960s cool, McQueen established his reputation as America's heroic anti-hero in films such as *The Magnificent Seven* and *The Great Escape*. The charismatic and macho McQueen went on to become one of the decade's most sought-after leading men, helping to forever define the qualities looked for in cinematic action heroes. Following his untimely death at age 50, McQueen has remained an enduring pop culture icon—that rare performer whose work transcends the era in which he lived and becomes timeless.

The early life of Terence Steve McQueen reads like a movie script—a single mother raises her only child during the Depression after being abandoned by her husband, and young Steve grows up a troubled boy with little interest in schooling. When his mother remarried, his stepfather beat him and the teenager rebelled by getting into trouble with the law. At age fifteen, he was sent to a reform school called Boys Republic in Chino, California. A year and a half later, he left the school and hit the road, working as a sailor, lumberjack, and later in the oil fields of Texas. At 17, McQueen joined the Marines for three years. Although he did 41 days in the brig for going AWOL (absent without leave), he received an honorable discharge and decided to move to New York City. There he underwent a revelation that transformed his life.

Twenty-year-old Steve McQueen loved New York City. He would later say, "For the first time in my life, I was really exposed to music, culture, a little kindness, a little sensitivity. It was a way of life where people talked out their problems instead of punching you." When he was introduced to famed drama coach Sanford Meisner by one of his girlfriends—an aspiring actress—McQueen became intrigued with acting and decided to audition for a play. With his



Steve McQueen (left) and James Garner (right) in a scene from the film *The Great Escape*.

ruggedly handsome, blond, good looks, McQueen was cast in a bit part and fell in love with the theatre. He enrolled in Meisner's Neighborhood Playhouse and began earnestly to work at learning the craft of acting. With his tuition paid by the GI Bill, McQueen went on to study with Uta Hagen, Herbert Berghof, and finally Lee Strasberg, where he was one of five students out of 2,000 applicants selected to join the prestigious Actors' Studio. A student of the classics, McQueen honed his craft in summer stock and in touring companies before finally making it to Broadway.

Offstage, however, Steve McQueen remained a rebel—riding motorcycles, having serial affairs with countless women, and generally living the bohemian life in Greenwich Village, before meeting and falling in love with dancer Neile Adams. Steve was smitten with the beautiful and talented Adams, and the couple moved in together almost immediately. Not long thereafter, the 26-year-old actor was cast in his first movie. Originally hired as an extra in *Somebody Up There Likes Me*, the story of Rocky Graziano starring Paul Newman, McQueen was noticed by director Robert Wise, who gave McQueen a small speaking role.

But it was not McQueen's movie debut that prompted the young actor to move to Hollywood a few months after the wrap of the film. McQueen loved New York and seemed content to find acting work there. But when Neile Adams was cast in Robert Wise's next film,

which was to be filmed in California, McQueen reluctantly agreed to head West. After a difficult period of adjustment, McQueen and Adams decided to get married and, while his wife was making pictures, Steve began to find steady work in television. Then, in 1958, he landed his first supporting role in a film, *Never Love a Stranger*, playing a lawyer. His next film, the cult classic, *The Blob*, starred McQueen as a handsome high school loner. Both films were only moderately successful but, six weeks after their release, Steve McQueen became a household name as the star of television's *Wanted: Dead or Alive*, playing bounty hunter Josh Randall.

Capitalizing on his newfound fame, McQueen began to receive above-title billing in his films. But it was not until he was cast in the 1960 Western, *The Magnificent Seven*, that McQueen found his niche playing Vin, a quiet but deadly gunslinger. Inspired by Kurosawa's *The Seven Samurai*, and featuring an all-star cast that included Yul Brynner, Eli Wallach, James Coburn, Charles Bronson, and Robert Vaughn, *The Magnificent Seven* became a huge hit and McQueen, playing the second lead, began to mold his public image.

Although the handsome McQueen would continue to be cast in romantic leads, film audiences particularly loved him as the defiant anti-hero in films such as *Hell Is for Heroes* and *The Great Escape* (1963), which catapulted him to international stardom. As Judith Crist wrote in her review for the *New York Herald Tribune*, "Steve

McQueen plays a familiar American war-movie type—brash, self-interested, super-brave emoter. For sheer bravura, whether he's pounding a baseball in his catcher's mitt in solitary or stumping cross-country on a motorcycle with scores of Germans in pursuit, Steve McQueen takes the honors. McQueen's likable machismo captured the public imagination and landed him on the cover of *Life* magazine.

For the remainder of the 1960s and well into the 1970s, Steve McQueen would be one of Hollywood's most popular leading men. As noted in Katz's *Film Encyclopedia*, "He was one of that rare breed of film stars who didn't have to act or do anything else to mesmerize a screen audience. He could dominate the screen and fill the box-office coffers on the force of his personality alone." Starring opposite some of Hollywood's most beautiful actresses—from Natalie Wood in *Love with the Proper Stranger* to Candace Bergen in *The Sand Pebbles* and Ali McGraw (whom he would later marry) in *The Getaway*—McQueen's rugged good looks made him a top leading man. But still it was in his role as action hero that McQueen continued to carve out a unique niche for himself, in films such as *The Cincinnati Kid* and *Bullitt*.

Throughout his career, McQueen continued to surprise fans and critics alike with the depths of his acting ability. Nominated for an Academy Award for *The Sand Pebbles*, McQueen later more than held his own co-starring with Dustin Hoffman in *Papillon* in 1973. But after starring in *The Towering Inferno* in 1974, McQueen decided that he only wanted to act opposite his new wife, Ali McGraw. When no offers surfaced for the couple, McQueen hoped to begin directing. His efforts, however, were thwarted and a disgruntled McQueen began to let himself go, gaining more than 30 pounds and refusing to cut his hair or beard. One of Hollywood's most popular movie stars for more than a decade, McQueen did not make another movie until 1978, and when he finally reappeared on screen; it was in an unlikely role. Longing to return to his theatrical roots, McQueen brought Henrik Ibsen's classic play, *An Enemy of the People*, to the screen. But having been out of the public eye for almost five years, McQueen's popularity had begun to wane and even a return to an action role in *The Hunter* (1980) did nothing to restore McQueen's stardom.

Diagnosed with cancer later that same year, McQueen, who had long been afraid of doctors, refused to consent to ordinary medical treatment and instead sought out questionable alternative therapies in Tijuana, Mexico. Hounded by the press, McQueen eventually succumbed to his illness in November 1980. Despite his early death, Steve McQueen has remained one of Hollywood's most enduring stars. His influence on film and popular culture helped to jumpstart the action movie craze of the 1980s and 1990s.

—Victoria Price

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Me Decade

The 1970s have been referred to as many things, but are often remembered as a decade of selfish and self-indulgent behaviour. In

Habits of the Heart, one of the most influential books about the decade, Robert Bellah noted that "there has been a shift from a socially integrated paradigm for structuring well-being, to a more personal or individuated paradigm for structuring well-being." Following the stereotypical homogeneity of the 1950s and the tumult of the 1960s, many American institutions had broken down and Americans were left with very little holding them together. In lieu of such common fabric, many scholars argue that Americans in the 1970s formed the "me generation."

The political crises of Vietnam and Watergate, coupled with record high inflation, forced many Americans to retreat from social concerns in order to think more singularly about personal growth and success during the 1970s. Self-help books proliferated, and offered advice far different from the "work hard and succeed" mantra that had guided previous generations. Bestsellers like Wayne Dyer's *Your Erroneous Zones* (1976) and Thomas Anthony Harris's *I'm O.K., You're O.K.* (1969) urged readers to know and accept themselves and to celebrate who they were, and Werner Erhard's est seminars used strict training within a group format to build self-awareness and offer individual fulfillment. George and Nena O'Neill's *Open Marriage: A New Life Style for Couples* (1972) advised couples to take their newfound self-knowledge and share it with others within the context of a marriage that allowed multiple sexual partners. Those who sought self-knowledge without the touchy-feely psychologizing took part in some of the many health and fitness fads that blossomed during the 1970s, including the jogging craze and the growth of interest in healthy cooking and vegetarianism.

Though individuals seemed bent on pursuing personal growth, social and economic changes in the 1970s brought a new homogeneity to American culture. Business growth generated massive mergers and the formation of conglomerates that would lay the framework for an economic shift toward service industries. Many such enterprises expanded globally, creating multinational companies that soon exceeded the power of the nations in which they operated. McDonald's, for instance, erected 4,000 new outlets during the 1970s. What McDonald's did for hamburgers, Holiday Inn did for travel, Kmart for retailing, and 7-11 stores for neighborhood groceries. Every American city of any size had a "miracle mile" or "strip" nearly identical to that of every other. And, as more white Americans left the troubled inner cities for the safer suburbs, the homogeneity of community life increased as well.

Rick Moody's 1994 novel *The Ice Storm* (filmed in 1997 by director Ang Lee) dissected the sense of anomie that lay at the heart of those living in the me decade. Moody depicted a set of bored middle-aged adults whose search for happiness in drink, work, or with their neighbor's spouse leaves them blind to the collapse of their family life. Moody captured the stereotype of the decade; like all stereotypes, it contained more than a grain of truth.

—Brian Black

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Meadows, Audrey (1924?-1996)

Actress Audrey Meadows was born Audrey Cotter in 1924 (though her birthdate is listed in other sources between 1921 and 1926) to Episcopal missionary parents in Wu Chang, China. She intended to become a journalist, but her sister, Jayne, persuaded her to pursue a career in show business. Meadows had an on-again, off-again career on television, radio, and the Broadway stage when she happened upon her most famous, and memorable, role as Alice Kramden on *The Jackie Gleason Show* in 1952. At first considered too young and pretty for the role of the long-suffering wife of Ralph Kramden, loud-mouthed bus driver and perennial hatcher of get-rich-schemes, Meadows submitted photos to Gleason of herself dressed in dowdy dresses with her hair askew. He hired her for the role, which had originally been created by Pert Kelton on the “Honeymooners” sketches on Gleason’s *Cavalcade of Stars*. When Gleason brought the show to CBS in 1952, he replaced Kelton with Meadows. She performed in “The Honeymooners” sketches on his hour long show from 1952 to 1955 and then in the classic 39 episodes of *The Honeymooners* from October 1955 to September 1956. She played Alice as strong but practical and understanding in her constant crusade to better the Kramdens’ life while opposing her blustering husband’s relentless pursuit of crack-brained schemes to get rich. She was nominated for four Emmys as Best Actress in a Supporting Role from 1953 through 1956, winning the coveted award in 1954. Meadows did some guest shots on television dramas and panel shows, and she had a featured role in the Cary Grant/Doris Day film *That Touch of Mink* (1962). After marrying Continental Airlines chairman Robert Six, she retired from show business. In 1977 she returned to television for a *Honeymooners* reunion and followed with guest shots on *The Love Boat* and other shows, as well as a recurring role on *Too Close For Comfort* in 1982-1983. Audrey Meadows died of lung cancer on February 3, 1996.

—James R. Belpedio

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Mean Streets

Made in 27 days on a very modest budget, *Mean Streets* is arguably Martin Scorsese’s first significant film. A hit at the 1973 New York Film Festival, important popular critics like Pauline Kael and Vincent Canby were taken with its freshness and rough, documentary quality, comparing it to French New Wave films like Godard’s *Breathless* (1959), Truffaut’s *400 Blows* (1959), or American John Cassavetes’ intimate, improvisational *Faces* (1968) and *Husbands* (1970). Critic Joseph Kanton even saw the film as part of an indigenous American New Wave which, along with

films like George Lucas’ *American Grafitti* (1973), Ralph Bakshi’s *Heavy Traffic* (1973), and Lamont Johnson’s *The Last American Hero* (1973), brought a new “energy and originality” to the American cinema.

Scorsese, however, claims that the film’s visual quality, both documentary-like and expressionistic at the same time, derives as much from budgetary limitations as it does from aesthetic choices. Whatever the source of the film’s style, it was greeted as a breath of stylistic fresh air, and as a breakthrough film for a promising young director who eventually became one of the most significant American filmmakers of his generation.

Like much of Scorsese’s early work, *Mean Streets* is about “the neighborhood.” Scorsese argues that, “*Mean Streets* was an attempt to put myself and my old friends on the screen, to show how we lived, what life was like in Little Italy. It was really an anthropological or a sociological tract.” As in many Scorsese films, Catholicism and the Italian-American experience are at the heart of his thinking, and the film can be seen as a continuation of his earlier *Who’s That Knocking at My Door* (1969), with some real life experiences and family legends added in.

Mean Streets is also the first of Scorsese’s three gangster films, the others being *GoodFellas* (1990) and *Casino* (1995), and he has argued that he meant it as a homage to the Warner’s gangster cycle of the 1930s and 1940s. Like many filmmakers of his generation, Scorsese is in love with the cinema, and his films, including *Mean Streets*, are filled with references and homages to his own favorite films like John Ford’s *The Searchers* (1956). *Mean Streets* is also the first pairing of actors Robert De Niro and Harvey Keitel, a pairing which would culminate in Scorsese’s brilliant and controversial *Taxi Driver* in 1976.

The plot of *Mean Streets* is a loosely woven series of episodes in the life of Charlie Cappa, Jr. (Keitel), a small time gangster who works for his uncle Giovanni, a powerful and respected Mafia don. Charlie is a street kid who is caught between his childhood friends and his demanding uncle, and he is obsessed with religion, guilt, and the need to do penance—but not the simple penance prescribed by the church. As Charlie says, “You don’t make up for your sins in the church. You do it in the streets.” A born peacemaker, Charlie is a good, but rather ineffectual man—a saint, Scorsese argues—who lives on the margins in a world of violent gangsters and small-time thugs.

His struggle to survive is set against a sound track composed of rock and roll songs popular in his time. This use of popular music is a significant Scorsese stylistic flourish. Unlike other films where the use of rock and roll has become a cliché, Scorsese carefully chooses the songs for their thematic and atmospheric relevance to both plot and character development.

Mean Streets is set in a small, self-contained society, a closed world where the rules of behavior are strictly enforced. Charlie’s main problem is his relationship with Johnny Boy (De Niro), a free spirit who violates social convention with humorous abandon. Johnny Boy is an obsessive, over-the-top gambler who owes everyone in the neighborhood money—money which he never pays back. This leads him into conflict with both Giovanni and Michael (Richard Romanus), a small time loan shark who ultimately takes his revenge on both Charlie and Johnny Boy. In some sense Johnny Boy is Charlie’s ultimate penance and in the end Charlie cannot redeem him—or himself. But the lively Johnny Boy also has the joy of life so lacking in the conventional and obsessed Charlie. It is exactly this complexity of

character development and storyline that makes *Mean Streets* a classic Scorsese film.

—Jeannette Sloniowski

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Media Feeding Frenzies

Sharks tend to be solitary creatures, but blood in the water can draw them from a long distance away. Sometimes, when a number of sharks are consuming the same prey, they can be gripped by a kind of hysteria in which they frantically attack their food, each other, and anything else that may happen by. Such a display of mindless bloodlust is known as a “feeding frenzy.” And according to William Safire, this expression was first applied to reporters in 1977, in a speech given by Gerald L. Warren, editor of the *San Diego Union*. Warren compared the overly aggressive tactics of some journalists to “sharks in a feeding frenzy.” Today, the term usually refers to the covering of a story by a large number of reporters, who do their work aggressively, intrusively, persistently, and, in some cases, recklessly.

A media feeding frenzy usually stems from two elements: a celebrity and a scandal. “Celebrity” can be used to describe anyone well-known to the public, such as an actor, politician, or star athlete. “Scandal” usually involves allegations of immoral behavior—often, but not always, of a sexual nature. The two biggest scandals to attract the American media’s attention in the 1990s were President Bill Clinton’s relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, and athlete-turned-sportscaster O. J. Simpson’s trial for the murder of his wife, Nicole, and her friend, Ron Goldman.

Some feeding frenzies have taken place even when celebrity involvement was lacking. In 1992, teenager Amy Fisher, dubbed the “Long Island Lolita,” was accused of attempting to murder the wife of Joey Buttafuoco, her considerably older boyfriend. The salacious elements of the story (including the revelation that the 17-year-old Fisher had been working as a call girl) were enough to create a frenzy—first in the New York City media market, and, eventually, nationwide—despite the fact that none of those involved were public figures. Four years later, Atlanta security guard Richard Jewell was accused of involvement in the Olympic Park bombing that killed one person and injured several others at the 1996 summer games. The

media frenzy, which all but convicted Jewell in the court of public opinion, began with a leaked FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation) report saying that Jewell was the “focus” of the investigation. Jewell was ultimately cleared of any involvement in the bombing, and he successfully sued several media outlets for defaming his character.

But media feeding frenzies most commonly involve scandals of the famous. In America, they have focused on the misbehavior of presidents (Clinton and Lewinsky; Richard Nixon and Watergate), presidential candidates (Clinton and Jennifer Flowers; Gary Hart and Donna Rice; Joseph Biden and speech plagiarism), vice presidential candidates (Dan Quayle’s military service; Thomas Eagleton’s mental health), members of Congress (Ted Kennedy and Chappaquiddick; Wilbur Mills and stripper Fanne Foxe; Bob Packwood and a host of women), Cabinet nominees (John Tower and allegations of drunkenness and womanizing), Supreme Court nominees (Robert Bork and allegations of racism and sexism; Clarence Thomas and sexual harassment charges by Anita Hill), sports figures (Pete Rose and gambling; Mike Tyson and rape; Billie Jean King and a lesbian affair), television evangelists (Jimmy Swaggart and prostitutes; Jim and Tammy Fae Bakker and corruption), and movie stars (Hugh Grant and a prostitute; Eddie Murphy and a cross-dressing male prostitute).

Although the terminology may be of relatively recent origin, media feeding frenzies are not new phenomena. One of the worst frenzies of the twentieth century took place in 1935. It stemmed from the trial of Bruno Hauptmann for the kidnapping and murder of the 18-month-old son of Charles Lindbergh. In this case the celebrity (Lindbergh, who, in 1927, had been the first to cross the Atlantic Ocean in an airplane) was a victim, not the alleged perpetrator, but that did not stop the Hauptmann trial from turning into a three-ring circus that would have made P. T. Barnum proud. Reporters declared Hauptmann guilty before the trial had even begun; drunken journalists caroused in the streets of Flemington, the small New Jersey town where the trial was held; and reporters in the packed courtroom were able to pass notes to both the prosecutors and defense lawyers as the trial took place. So egregious was the conduct of the press on this occasion that it prompted the American Bar Association to pass its Canon 35, which led to the banning of cameras and radio microphones from all courtrooms. It was a restriction that lasted for 15 years, and even then it was only amended, not abolished. Judges were given discretion about allowing television cameras into their courtrooms, as well as complete control over the ways the cameras were used when their presence was permitted.

According to Professor Larry Sabato of the University of Virginia, several developments in modern society underlie the rash of feeding frenzies noted in recent years. A major factor is the changing nature of the news business, especially its greatly increased scope, speed, and competitiveness.

There is much more news coverage in the 1990s than was available just 20 years before. This is especially true of television, the source for most of the news that Americans receive. Although the half-hour of network news at dinnertime remains a staple, even the networks have added to their coverage of feature stories by offering a plethora of prime-time “magazine shows” such as *60 Minutes*, *20/20*, *48 Hours*, and *Dateline NBC*. Additionally, cable television offers a wide variety of news programming, much of it available 24 hours a day. Cable News Network (CNN) was the first to provide this service and was successful enough to spin off a second channel, Headline News. This has led to such ventures as CNBC, MS-NBC, and Fox News Channel, with more still to come. In addition, sports networks like ESPN offer news coverage of athletes, both on and off the field;

entertainment channels, such as E!, present news focusing on films, television, and popular music; and specialized “ethnic” cable networks provide news programs geared toward blacks, Latinos, or other ethnic or racial groups. There is, in short, an immense amount of news being offered to the American (and international) viewer every day. That void has to be filled somehow, which places heavy demands upon those who find, report, and package the news.

As a result of the sheer amount of news programming that is available, and the rapidity with which it can be collected and presented to the public, competition between news organizations has reached a new level of intensity. This is one of the prime reasons behind media feeding frenzies. When a “newsworthy” story breaks, a large number of journalists will descend on the scene of the story, driven to find material to fill the many hours of news broadcasting, and eager to outdo the competition in discovering new angles to pursue. If the story has elements that make it especially “newsworthy” (i.e., celebrities and scandal), then the feeding frenzy will begin in earnest.

Another important reason for the increase in the number and intensity of feeding frenzies derives from the way that both journalists and the public have come to view news. For instance, among reporters there has been seen a marked decrease in civility. This manifests itself in such practices as reporters swarming around a public figure, cameras running and microphones extended, as well as the practice called “ambush interviewing,” wherein a reporter, usually with a minicam operator in tow, will attempt to surprise an interview subject who has already shown a disinclination to talk to the media.

But the largest difference in terms of civility in the late twentieth century is that, for journalists, nothing is considered “off limits” anymore. For instance, President John F. Kennedy is known today to have been a chronic womanizer, and his weakness was no secret to most White House correspondents during the Kennedy administration. But there were no exposes in the media about Kennedy’s many affairs, because journalistic conventions of the day held that private sexual conduct was not newsworthy unless it affected public behavior. Those who followed the frantic media coverage of President Bill Clinton’s sexual involvement with a White House intern (and possibly other women, as well) can easily discern how much media ethics have changed since the early 1960s.

The way that journalists approach the gathering of news has also been affected by an increased cynicism within the profession. It is doubtful that experienced reporters were ever given to wide-eyed naivete, but events over the last several decades have done much to prompt the Fourth Estate to expect the worst of the public figures they cover. President Lyndon Johnson’s rhetoric justifying American involvement in Vietnam eventually led journalists to coin the term “credibility gap”—which meant that many people thought that Johnson had engaged in deliberate deception in his relations both with reporters and the American people. A few years later, the Watergate scandal revealed the lengths to which a president could go to deceive the press, manipulate public opinion, and attack his political enemies. In the following decade, reporters covering the Iran-Contra scandal learned how an uninvolved president, “plausible deniability,” and the judicious use of paper shredders could combine to violate the law and undermine the nation’s foreign policy.

At times, journalistic cynicism seems to be matched by public prurience. As is shown by the ready market for such “tabloid television” programs as *Hard Copy* and *A Current Affair* (as well as their print counterparts, which are available at any supermarket checkout lane), there is a substantial appetite for sleaze in this

country. Many Americans are loath to admit their taste for such programs, perhaps out of embarrassment, but the numbers speak for themselves. At the height of the media feeding frenzy over the O.J. Simpson criminal trial, a network anchor was asked for his reaction to polls that showed a large percentage of Americans claiming to be disgusted with the media’s obsessive coverage of every aspect of the case. “They may say that,” the anchorman replied, “but look at the ratings. Our evening news numbers are up since trial coverage started, and every ‘Special O. J. Report’ we do in prime time pulls in bigger audiences than our regular programming usually gets. . . . People may say they don’t like this stuff,” he concluded, “but they still watch it—they watch it a lot.”

Apart from whatever media feeding frenzies may say about American culture, they pose other concerns, as well. One involves journalistic objectivity. Journalists involved in the excitement of a scandal story soon begin to take sides, whether they recognize it or not. If a President is accused of sexual misconduct, reporters know that the audience interest is usually in what he did and with whom, not in an evenhanded sifting of the evidence, with full weight given to the denials by the accused. Thus, sides are taken, and objectivity falls by the wayside.

If objectivity is endangered by feeding frenzies, accuracy may not be far behind. A reporter who finds a new angle to a story, or an undiscovered bit of evidence, knows that the competition is not far away. The glory, acclaim, and fame come from being first with the story. This leaves precious little time to double check information, or to ponder the credibility of those providing it. Of course, one can always issue a retraction for a mistake, but retractions never seem to be accorded the same audience attention as allegations, and there is often no way a retraction can wipe out the harm that may have been done.

Furthermore, any news program (or publication) is subject to zero-sum logic. That means, for every minute (or column inch, in print) devoted to Story A, there is correspondingly less time available for Stories B, C, and D. The subject of a media feeding frenzy will almost always be given considerable air time—such a story generally guarantees good ratings, competing stations will almost certainly feature it, and news editors have to be able to justify the resources allocated to the covering of the story. The result is that the “frenzy” story will take up a significant portion of the newscast, and other stories, regardless of their import, will likely receive short shrift—and short segments. And this practice will probably be repeated, night after night, for as long as the story remains current.

The principal fact to keep in mind about the news business is that it is a business. Although the Constitution says that the news media have a public service obligation, in practice public service today is considered far less important than the bottom line. Feeding frenzies take place because the result of all this frenetic news coverage, to use an old phrase, “sells papers.” And the future does not appear to offer hope for much improvement. Competition between news outlets is likely to increase in intensity, and the technology of information transmission will only become faster. As a result, the media feeding frenzies of the future may make the coverage of the O. J. Simpson trial look like a model of good taste and self-restraint.

—Justin Gustainis

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Medicine Shows

From about 1870 until World War I, the medicine show was a major form of American popular entertainment, rivaling the traveling circus in popularity. The antecedents of the medicine show date back to the performances of European mountebanks—quack doctors who worked from small temporary stages. The harangues of these quacks were accompanied by performances from popular entertainers. Musicians, circus acts, jugglers, conjurers, and comedy-players became allies of these pitchmen.

By the early 1700s acrobats and street performers were all over the colonies. Quacks and peddlers, working alone or with a few assistants, soon allied themselves with these performers. Selling from the back of a wagon (the high pitch) or from a tripod set up on a street (the low pitch), the medicine men gathered a crowd, entertained it, and peddled fake panaceas that caused little or no harm. Their remedies and potions were generally harmless concoctions, usually herb compounds mixed with liniment, oil, alcohol, and sugar.

The increase both in the size and popularity of the medicine shows mirrored the phenomenal growth of the American patent medicine industry. As the United States industrialized after the Civil War, manufacturers promoted their products with saturation advertising in newspapers, as well as outdoor advertising on barns and other structures throughout the countryside. They moved from the individual pitch of the mountebank to a large scale Barnumesque extravaganza. Medicine shows appropriated the growing repertoire of American Popular Entertainments, adding trick shooters, banjo artists, and minstrelsy. The shows became advertising vehicles for manufacturers who craved a national market. The largest companies sent out their own shows to sell their line of products.

The medicine shows were most popular in small cities and towns where they were often the only live professional entertainment available to inhabitants from year to year. Charging little or no admission, the shows essentially offered free entertainment in order to sell medicinal cures and merchandise. As with minstrelsy and the circus, a parade down main street heralded the arrival of the show. Bills often changed nightly to encourage repeat business and performers had to be skilled in presenting a melange of songs, dances, and skits, as well as the traditional afterpiece, an extended sketch which involved violent clowning, unfeeling stereotypes (often a blackface character), and a sheeted ghost. Entertainment composed two-thirds of a two hour show, with the remainder devoted to pitches for soaps, tonics, and gadgets such as liver pads which contained a spot of red pepper and glue which when melted provided a sense of warmth and good health.

Ersatz doctors delivered the medical pitches, exalting the miraculous powers of the products. The prestige of German Universities provided the inspiration for German "Doctors," while the mystery of the Far East provided rural audiences with Oriental healers and remedies. The culture of the American Indian inspired the most famous of all shows. As Native Americans were pushed further West,

confined to reservations, and, ultimately, eliminated from the life of the burgeoning nation, popular culture seized on them as a symbol of natural health and fitness. The Kickapoo Indian Medicine Company sent out the biggest and most elaborate of the touring shows. Founded in 1881 (and having no connection with the Kickapoo Nation), the company promoted a full range of cures, including cough syrups, Indian Oils, and Worm Expellers, and, most famously, Kickapoo Indian Sagwa (an invented word) advertised as a cure to dyspepsia, rheumatism, and other ailments. A mixture of Iroquois, Sioux, Crees, and Pawnees, whose services were often leased from Indian agents on reservations, pitched and promoted these products from a traveling Indian village and presented standard Indian show fare, such as War Dances, Marriage Ceremonies, and Lectures, as well as, in some instances, Irish and blackface comedy.

By 1920 increasing modernization, the mobility brought about by the automobile, the rise of motion pictures, and, not least, the effects of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 had all combined to alter the nature of small town life and eliminate the lure and excitement of the medicine show. The 1938 Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act mandated harsher penalties for fake medicines. The form sputtered on into the 1950s and the last show abandoned the road in 1964. The descendants of the quacks and pitchmen live on in the purveyors of "healing" crystals, relaxation tapes, and purveyors of glandular extracts and dietary supplements that regularly appear at both street and country fairs.

—Louis Scheeder

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Meet Me in St. Louis

Released in 1944 by Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) studios, *Meet Me in St. Louis* became one of Hollywood's most popular musicals. Mixing family melodrama with light comedy and whimsical romance, it features one of the entertainment world's most compelling voices, Judy Garland, and was directed by the man who would become Garland's husband, Vincente Minnelli, who was considered one of Hollywood's finest musical directors. An early example of Technicolor, *Meet Me in St. Louis* glows with extravagant warmth both visually and thematically, evoking nostalgia in its World War II audience for its depiction of American turn-of-the-twentieth-century domestic tranquility and prewar innocence.

The story centers on a year in the life of the Smith family as they anticipate the opening of the 1904 Exposition in St. Louis. The patriarch, Alonzo Smith, played by Leon Ames, is a hard working lawyer often oblivious to the comings and goings of his own family, even as he sounds the voice of familial authority. His wife, Anna Smith, portrayed by Mary Astor, is a traditional maternal figure, in charge of the home but willing to concede to her husband's wishes. The romantic angst of her two oldest daughters, Rose (Lucille



Judy Garland in a scene from the film *Meet Me in St. Louis*.

Bremer) and Esther (Judy Garland), concerns her as much as does the quality of catsup the family housekeeper, Katie (Marjorie Main), busily brews in the opening scene. The home constitutes her domain while the public sphere belongs to Alonzo. Rounding out the Smith family are Princeton-bound son Lon (Henry Daniels) and youngest children, Agnes (Joan Carroll) and Tootie, played by child star Margaret O'Brien who won a special Academy Award for her performance, and Grandpa Prophater (Harry Davenport).

The matrimonial state of the eldest sibling, Rose, offers the first hint of anxiety as she rather desperately attempts to prompt a proposal from her beau who is away in New York. Esther develops a crush on new neighbor, John Truett (Tom Drake), but because she is only a teenager the situation is not dire, giving rise only to one of the film's lasting songs, "The Boy Next Door." The little girls play mock-morbid games with dolls they have deemed terminally ill or already dead and collude with a gang of fellow Halloween hooligans to "kill" Mr. Brokauff, a neighbor with ethnic, middle-European physical features. Tootie's mission to throw flour in his face forms a dark xenophobic edge to the film's depiction of a prosperous, mid-western

town wanting for nothing. Each family member takes a turn humming or singing the tune "Meet Me in St. Louis" as evidence of the family's contentment with their grounded sense of place and time. The narrative's organization around the passing seasons reflects the apparent naturalness of their lives. A sepia tintype drawing of each one—beginning with summer and ending with spring—introduces every episode and dissolves into live-action color.

With wedding engagements waiting in the wings, little girl plans for dolls, and Grandpa's eccentric collection of old hats and stories arranged just-so in his upstairs room, one evening into their tranquility Alonzo drops a bomb—he plans to move the family with his job to New York. Everyone, including Katie, is devastated by the news. But rallied together by Anna, the family groups around the piano as she and Alonzo sing, "Just You and I," and they all reluctantly accept the decision. On Christmas Eve, however, Alonzo witnesses Tootie in the back yard bludgeoning her snow people because she can not take them with her to New York. With the light of a match for his cigar as he sits alone in a darkened room surrounded by packing boxes and bare walls, Alonzo changes his mind and vows to stay in St. Louis

“until we rot.” The family remains and the film ends with their attendance at the fair, “right here in our hometown.”

Meet Me in St. Louis was Judy Garland’s first film shot entirely in color, and it secured her stardom. Providing her with her first smash hit of the time, “The Trolley Song,” the film’s score arranged that all but two songs either include her or be sung by her as solos. The film offered Garland her first song written especially for her, one that would become one of her most famous: “Have Yourself a Merry Little Christmas.”

The success of *Meet Me in St. Louis* also gave Garland unprecedented clout at MGM and permanently established Minnelli’s career in only his third outing as director. Called “a love letter” from Minnelli to Judy by critic Gerald Kaufman, the picture broke box office records all over the country as not only Judy’s greatest hit to date but MGM’s top money maker, second only to *Gone with the Wind*. Its success encouraged other studios to attempt imitations, including Twentieth Century Fox’s *Centennial Summer*, a musical set against the background of the Philadelphia Great Exposition of 1876. Its afterlife included yearly appearances on television at Christmas time and a special video release on its fiftieth anniversary in 1994. It remains one of Judy Garland’s best performances and a testament to a bucolic, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant and family-centered view of the United States even as cities expanded, the number of automobiles

and roads multiplied, and the ethnic makeup of the population continued to evolve.

—Elizabeth Haas

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Mellencamp, John (1951—)

Viewed through the majority of his career as a “poor man’s Springsteen,” John Mellencamp has been haunted by his record company imposed moniker Johnny Cougar, and all the shallow pop boy-toy imagery associated with it. Since the release of his first album in 1976, this Indiana-born rock artist has made the transformation from Johnny Cougar, the tight jeans wearing pretty boy, to John Mellencamp, a serious artist who still doesn’t always get respect. Acknowledging this fact, Mellencamp once said during a VH1



John Mellencamp

documentary on his life, “It’s never been cool to like John Cougar Mellencamp.” Nonetheless, since the release of 1985’s *Scarecrow*, Mellencamp has carved out a niche for himself as one of America’s great, unpretentious songwriters that can accurately reflect the social moods of the time, though he would be the last to recognize that title. If music critics have been harsh, then Mellencamp is even harder on himself—once going so far as countering an interviewer’s claim that he was a great songwriter by saying, “But don’t forget, I’m the f—ker who wrote ‘Hurts So Good,’” one of his early 1980s hits.

John Mellencamp started his musical life at the age of fourteen playing around his Indiana hometown of Seymour, as well as other Midwestern towns (in such wretchedly named bands as Snakepit, Banana Barn, and Crepe Soul). After getting his girlfriend pregnant as a teenager, Mellencamp married Priscilla Esterline and worked a number of blue collar jobs to support his new family before making the big move to New York City at the age of 24. This led to a recording contract with MCA, which—to his dismay—dubbed him Johnny Cougar for his first album, *Chestnut Street Incident*. After his debut album and his follow-up, 1977’s *Kid Inside*, sold poorly, Mellencamp was dropped from the label and went on to record three insignificant albums for the Riva, though he did score a hit in 1979 with the single “I Need a Lover.” Picked up by Mercury records, he recorded the uneven commercial flop *Nothin’ Matters & What If It Did* before releasing his breakthrough album, 1982’s *American Fool*. Containing two of his biggest hits, “Hurts So Good” and “Jack and Diane,” it still only hinted at the more artistically credible material he would produce by the end of the 1980s.

Mellencamp finally hit his artistic stride, while never losing his commercial clout, with 1985’s *Scarecrow*, which dealt with the plight of the American farmer, the decay of American social institutions and government neglect of its poorest citizens. The political messages that were implicit in his music were made more explicit when he shunned the more trendy Live Aid concert, which he was invited to play, and helped organize the long-running Farm Aid concerts with Neil Young and Willie Nelson, concerts that helped raise money for noncorporate, family farmers. *The Lonesome Jubilee* (1987) and *Big Daddy* (1989) expanded his sound and explored darker lyrical territories that reflected the gloominess Mellencamp felt when his marriage failed and he lost faith in his songwriting ability. This loss of faith resulted in Mellencamp not being heard from for nearly two years after the release of *Big Daddy* as he spent time at home painting and feeling bad about himself. An explicit indication of the self-doubt that has plagued Mellencamp throughout his career is the title of his 1997 greatest hits collection, *The Best That I Could Do 1978-1988*.

The 1990s found Mellencamp dropping the “Cougar” moniker for good and trying on a variety of musical styles that never strayed far from his straight ahead roots rock-influenced sound. His albums sold respectably, some better than others, and Mellencamp still enjoyed the occasional hit single. In 1998, Mellencamp severed his long-standing ties with Mercury, releasing a well-received self-titled album on Columbia in 1998.

—Kembrew McLeod

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Mencken, H. L. (1880-1956)

From the 1920s through the 1950s, H. L. Mencken was one of the best-known and most feared writers in the United States. Professionally, Mencken was a newspaperman (for the *Baltimore Evening Sun*), a literary and social critic who debunked pompous politicians and simple-minded Americans as belonging to the “booboisie,” a magazine editor (of *The American Mercury*), and a philologist (as author of the unscholarly but esteemed *The American Language*). Temperamentally, he was a curmudgeon, iconoclast, satirist, cynic, and writer provocateur. Known for his acid wit, he spared no one and pilloried everyone. He was both ruthless and rigid, Edmund Wilson once said, and also courageous and fearless. Mencken did not suffer fools gladly, if at all, although he was probably glad for their presence because they provided fodder for his newspaper and magazine columns. He has been compared with Thomas Paine, Jonathan Swift, and Mark Twain.

The comparison with Twain would no doubt make Mencken proud. As a child, he read voraciously; Twain was his favorite author and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* his favorite book. The idiosyncratic intellectual who become known as the “Sage of Baltimore” never went to college, but gave no evidence of being unlettered. Mencken started his newspaper career at the age of 18 in 1899



H. L. Mencken

at the *Morning Herald* in his native Baltimore. He got the job through persistence by offering to work for free, and was hired when he quickly showed his talent as a reporter. His first published story was about the theft of a horse, buggy, and several sets of harnesses. Within a year, he was pontificating on subjects far and wide in his own weekly column on the editorial page, in which he also published some of his own poetry. He brought to the page an original and fresh point of view and also began to contribute to national magazines such as *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, which helped expand his audience from local to national.

In 1906, Mencken joined the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, and he would remain affiliated with the *Sun* papers for most of his lifetime. Later, he became a literary reviewer for *The Smart Set*, a second-tier but important magazine. In 1920 he rejoined the *Sun* and resumed his weekly commentary. In 1924 he became co-editor of a new magazine, *The American Mercury*, over which he had total editorial control in a year. As the editor of the *Mercury*, Mencken went to Boston to sell an issue of the magazine so he could be arrested for selling material that was considered indecent by the standards of the day. The judge threw out the case, and Mencken's star rose because he had thumbed his nose at the bluenoses. By then, he was widely known and widely discussed. He was an intellectual who rose to the top at a time when the written word was supreme, not yet in competition with radio and television. The written word was the medium for conveying ideas, and Mencken's blunt and fresh prose set him off from many other writers of the day.

During the culture wars of the 1920s, Mencken was clearly on the side of the modernists; he coined such phrases as "the Bible Belt" and "the Monkey trial" to refer derisively to the 1925 trial of John Scopes, the Tennessee school teacher who had been arrested for teaching evolution. The trial pitted William Jennings Bryan against Clarence Darrow, and when Bryan died as the trial ended, Mencken wrote: "There was something peculiarly fitting in the fact that his last days were spent in a one-horse Tennessee village, beating off the flies and gnats, and that death found him there."

When he was putting down certain elements in American society, Mencken would refer to them as "homo boobensis Americanus" or "homo boobiens," more of his neologisms for the "booboisie." He was hard on religion of any stripe and once referred to an unnamed evangelist as a "Presbyterian auctioneer of God." He said that Puritans had "the haunting fear that someone, somewhere, may be happy." Politicians were also among his targets. Of the long-winded 1932 convention that nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who went on to become a four-term president, Mencken wrote of speaker after boring speaker: "More than once weary delegates objected that the Niagara of bilge was killing them and along toward four in the morning Josephus Daniels went to the platform and protested against it formally." As was often the case with Mencken, the phrase "Niagara of bilge" was original. He did not write that patriotism is the last vestige of a scoundrel—that phrase is rightly credited to Samuel Johnson—but he did say: "Whenever you hear a man speak of his love for his country it is a sign that he expects to be paid for it." Displaying his contempt for the masses, Mencken once said: "Democracy is the theory that the common people know what they want, and deserve to get it good and hard."

Mencken spent the early part of his life in effect disavowing his German roots, but was later accused of being soft on Hitler, anti-Semitic, and racist. His diary, published nearly 40 years after his death, resulted in an anti-Mencken backlash, which is somewhat

surprising given that his equally pointed letters had been published 20 years earlier, but not so when it is understood that the diary appeared as a politically incorrect document in a generation that valued political correctness. It is sometimes difficult reconciling the private Mencken with the public Mencken. During his lifetime and after his death, several prominent Jews and blacks came to his defense, and shortly before a cerebral thrombosis in 1948 ended his public career, he wrote a piece for the *Evening Sun* condemning the Baltimore Park Board for a law that forbade blacks and whites from playing tennis together on municipal courts. Even if the board had the right to make the law, Mencken argued that such a law reflected neither common sense nor common decency.

Mencken was a prodigious writer. In addition to his essays, he wrote (counting subsequent editions) more than fifteen books. The most enduring of them was *The American Language*, whose first edition appeared in 1919. By the time the fourth edition was published in 1936, it was believed to be a significant if unscholarly contribution to the field of philology. Unlike much of what Mencken wrote, *The American Language* was a book in praise of something, although he jabbed at anyone who was pretentious, including real-estate agents who wanted to be known as "Realtors" and who insisted that the word was protected by trademark and should therefore be capitalized. Mencken wrote the book to lay out the differences between the "English" spoken in Great Britain and the "American" spoken in the United States, and so it was for three editions. But when the fourth appeared, Mencken noted that American had begun to subsume English, a sign not only of the growing U.S. influence after World War I but also an indication that the British had become more accepting of American English. The book is heavily footnoted, for Mencken was profuse in acknowledging the many tips that came his way from readers of earlier editions.

A handsome man, Mencken parted his hair down the middle. Photographs almost always show him with a cigar in his mouth, no doubt a habit he acquired because his father was a cigar manufacturer. A contemporary, Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant, described the journalist in 1927: ". . . I saw a rather short, stocky figure of a man whose blue eyes shone ahead of him like a sort of searchlight. He leaned a little forward, stooping his shoulders, as if to hasten his pace, and he was strongly careened to the right: a boat under full sail." His good looks and intellect made him attractive to women and he certainly had numerous sexual liaisons, but he did not marry until 1930, after his mother died. That childless marriage, to a woman nearly two decades his junior, was cut short by his wife's death in 1935. He never remarried.

—R. Thomas Berner

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Mendoza, Lydia (1916—)

Lydia Mendoza, known as the “Meadowlark of the Border,” was the first great Mexican American recording star, the first to sing in the vernacular, rather than the cultivated operatic style, and to appeal to a broad section of working-class Mexican Americans. Beginning in the early 1930s, her career as a recording star and performer lasted well into the 1960s, and her fame extended throughout the Southwest, Mexico, Central America, and northern South America. Her experiences as a performer span the gap of performing in the open marketplace in San Antonio and in tent theaters in rural South Texas during the Depression to having massive parades organized in her honor in northern Mexico. Her discography contains well over three hundred entries for a diverse list of labels.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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Men’s Movement

Prior to the men’s movement of the 1970s, few American men thought consciously (or at least publicly) about what it meant to be a man. Masculinity seemed to be a solid (if not precisely defined) social construct. Masculine norms were defined by a loose constellation of characteristics rooted in Judeo-Christian traditions and scriptural stories, and transmitted to all children through such codes as the Boy Scout Law; stories emphasizing the importance of strength, endurance (physical and psychological), and competitiveness; and acceptance of and support for the gender status quo. Deviating from these norms, or failing to live up to them, was regarded as—depending on the era—tantamount to being a heathen, a Communist, a sissy, or any number of other terms reflecting individual failure.

This fairly uniform view of gender was severely fractured by the cultural changes of the 1960s and 1970s, specifically the growth of the counterculture, the rise of the women’s liberation and gay liberation movements, and the ongoing “sexual revolution,” all of which openly challenged and rejected previously accepted standards for gender-appropriate conduct, expectations, and values. Writing in the journal *Liberation* in the autumn of 1970, in one of the first public statements made concerning what would become known as the men’s movement, Jack Sawyer in “On Male Liberation” challenged men to “free themselves from the sex role stereotypes that limit their ability to be human.” The stereotypes included the ways men related to women, questions of power and dominance in both private and public life, and freedom for full emotional expression. Sawyer and colleague Joseph Pleck would later expand this discussion in their 1974 work *Men and Masculinity*. The year 1970 also saw the foundation of the

Men’s Center in Berkeley, California, which became the base for the discussions that would coalesce into the first men’s liberation groups. By October 1971, men’s discussion groups had come into being in Boston, New York, Madison, Wisconsin, Chicago, and Seattle, as well as in California. In 1971, educator Warren Farrell helped form the National Task Force on the Masculine Mystique within the National Organization for Women, an idea which quickly spread to over fifty local NOW chapters and provided a framework for the further development of the men’s movement. Farrell’s more lasting contribution to the growth of men’s awareness of their culturally limited options was his influential 1975 book *The Liberated Man: Beyond Masculinity*, which quickly assumed for men the place occupied in women’s liberation by Betty Freidan’s *The Feminine Mystique*. Its publication sparked the beginning of a separate men’s literature concerned with offering theories of and solutions to male oppression. Two viewpoints characterized this body of writing: acceptance of feminist criticism of masculine status and behaviors, and calls for the restoration of “traditional” masculine social roles. Among the more important works produced at this time were Herb Goldberg’s antifeminist *The Hazards of Being Male: Surviving the Myth of Masculine Privilege* (1976), and the anthologies *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role* (1976) and *For Men against Sexism: A Book of Readings* (1977).

Many of these early debates took place within the structure of consciousness-raising groups, enabling like-minded men to begin the redefinition of their identities, a process which became more formally institutionalized after the first annual Men and Masculinity Conference in 1975, held in Knoxville, Tennessee, and sponsored by the National Organization of Men Against Sexism. While useful as forums for increasing awareness, these conferences did little to spark local political organizing on men’s issues. Instead, they allowed men to formulate philosophical responses to culturally entrenched sexism and male class privilege, responses that would identify them as the men’s liberation, pro-feminist segment of the diverse men’s movement. Basic to the men’s liberation philosophy was the renunciation of racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes and behaviors. It was this branch that heavily influenced the content of the academic field of men’s studies and much of the formal literature prior to the rise of the popular mythopoetic approach in the 1980s.

Although discussions of men’s issues continued in small group meetings at community centers and private homes throughout the 1970s, it was not until the early 1980s that the men’s movement expanded significantly as an institutionalized cultural phenomenon in the United States. This decade witnessed a major cultural preoccupation with appropriate role models for male life, the appearance of men’s periodicals such as *M*, *Gentle Men for Gender Justice*, and the *Men’s Studies Review*, and the emergence of several major organizations centered upon various men’s issues. While earlier bodies such as the Male Liberation Foundation had existed since 1968, these new groups, such as the National Organization for Men (formed by Sidney Siller in New York in 1983), developed in the midst of the emergence of a “New Age” view of men which emphasized the development of such qualities as sensitivity and vulnerability. Readily identifiable and traditionally masculine behaviors were questioned in favor of more “sensitive” masculine traits (which critics called “wimpiness”). This last issue created a dilemma for men: how did they give up their negative masculine traits without losing what they knew as their masculinity? It was a dilemma that the next wave of the men’s movement sought to resolve, by defining and reclaiming a valid masculinity that was not reliant on male aggression and dominance.

A recognition of the diverse male psyche and the validity of male spiritual needs and values, drawn from the lore of many cultures (but especially Native American cultures), characterized a second major branch of the men's movement, the mythopoetic. Due to its popularity and the frequent media appearances of some of its prominent writers and philosophers (especially Robert Bly and Sam Keen), it became identified in the public mind during the early 1990s as the standard image of how the men's movement thought and functioned. Its signature events were weekend or weekly retreats featuring the use of social forms such as the sweat lodge, the medicine wheel, public councils and giveaway ceremonies, and the use of drumming. The mythopoetic men's movement emphasized the reclamation and revitalization of structured ceremony as a vehicle for the definition of essential qualities of manhood, and the conscious generation of a contemporary male-centered mythology suited to modern society. The best known writings to emerge from this stage of the men's movements were Bly's widely read 1990 book *Iron John*, which stimulated a whole genre of mythic writings and interpretations during the following decade, and Keen's *Fire in the Belly: On Being a Man* (1991).

Another kind of men's organization, modeled on the twelve-step programs of Alcoholics Anonymous, approached masculinity by examining individual relationships with the father, using such concepts as "woundedness" and "toxic masculinity." The idea of man as victim was also promoted by the fourth major division of the movement, the men's rights and father's rights groups, which centered their sometimes militant attention on issues of child support and custody, the rights of unmarried fathers, and abortion issues. Organizations such as the Cambridge-based Men's Rights, Inc. centered their lobbying activities on equitable treatment of male rights in divorce and opposition to an all-male draft. The rhetoric of this small but vocal segment of the movement was characterized by reversing the logic of many arguments used by feminists, particularly on such topics as sexual harassment.

The major differences between the men's movement and the other social movement's emphasizing consciousness raising and role explorations lie in its scope, participants, and leadership. In contrast to the women's movement, whose message was readily understandable and many of whose issues were valid for women from every social class and background, the men's movement appealed primarily to middle-aged white men. Moreover, group leaders emerged either from the academic or religious communities or from a segment of the community of hurt men. Movement leadership was thus perceived as offering limited intellectual and emotional perspectives, which hampered their ability to appeal to the majority of American men. Popular reaction to the men's movement has ranged from confusion over the concerns which stimulated its existence and the archetypal figures being offered in the new male-centered mythology, to snickering at the spectacle of middle-class men participating in weekend sessions of chanting and male bonding.

Though the men's movement(s) never achieved the kind of organizational momentum or public profile that allowed the women's and gay liberation movements to achieve many of their aims, they did set the stage for other social actions that focussed on recognizing the needs and issues facing American men. The Million Man March, held in Washington on October 16, 1995, centered on reaffirming the spiritual needs, authority, and duties of African American men. A similar emphasis on parental responsibility and obligations to family and spouse was a central principle of the controversial Christian

men's political, religious, and cultural organization, the Promise Keepers, which was founded in 1990 as a spiritual reaction against the perceived decline of the secular men's movement and fueled by unease with the faintly pagan flavor of mythopoetics. These events reflected a maturation in the American men's movement, for they indicated that concern for the character and content of the cultural education of men had become a central concern of many social groups by the 1990s.

—Robert Ridinger

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Merton, Thomas (1915-1968)

One of the most highly acclaimed writers of the twentieth century, Thomas Merton is best known in literary circles for his autobiographical novel of religious conversion, *The Seven Storey Mountain*, published in 1948. In the same decade, Merton became a Trappist monk, entering the monastery of Our Lady of Gethsemani, in Kentucky. Continuing to write and produce books of poetry, spiritual meditations, and journals (many of which have been published posthumously) Merton found himself at lifelong odds with both the Order's plans for him and his own belief that writing was keeping him from achieving his full spiritual potential.

Merton was never able to completely resolve the conflict between his vocation as writer and as contemplative. He was also never able to reconcile his moral outrage at the state of America and the world, particularly during the Vietnam War era, with his desire to live a simple, quiet life. His protests and friendships with counterculture

luminaries like Bob Dylan and Joan Baez earned him the admiration and respect of many young people in the 1960s, who saw in Merton the possibility to find spiritual nourishment while rejecting the perceived immorality of the establishment.

—Dan Coffey

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Metalious, Grace (1924-1964)

Grace Metalious is best known as the author of the infamous *Peyton Place*, a book that caused a social upheaval even before it was published in 1956. She was born Marie Grace DeRepentigny in Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1924. Metalious's father deserted his wife and three daughters when Grace was 11 years old. At that time divorce was unusual in a French Canadian family, and Grace and her sisters felt stigmatized. Metalious, however, discovered the pleasure of writing early. Many of her stories featured a romantic heroine who gets her hero in the end. Grace also enjoyed acting in school plays. These activities seemed to offer her an escape from a generally unhappy family.

In high school Grace met George Metalious, who was neither Catholic nor of French-Canadian background and, thus, highly unacceptable to her family. Nevertheless, they married in 1943. A few years later, with one child already, the Metalious's moved to Durham, New Hampshire, where George attended the University of New Hampshire. It was here that Metalious began writing seriously, neglecting both her house and, eventually, three children, despite the condemnation of her neighbors.

After graduation George was offered a position as a principal at a school in Gilmanton, New Hampshire. By now the family had three children, all dependent upon his meager salary. It was while she was living in Gilmanton that Julian Messner, a New York publisher, agreed to publish *Peyton Place*. The book was a best seller by the fall of 1956, and Metalious became a wealthy woman overnight. Eventually, 20 million copies were sold in hardcover, along with another 12 million Dell paperbacks. Metalious became famous as the housewife who wrote a bestseller; she was referred to as "Pandora in Blue Jeans," the simple small-town woman who opened the box of sins.

Peyton Place is the story of a small New England town that, beneath its calm exterior, is filled with scandal and dark secrets. The novel contains sex, suicide, abortion, murder and a subsequent trial, and rape. The citizens of Gilmanton were outraged, certain that Grace Metalious was describing real people in the book and sure that she had brought shame and unwarranted notoriety to their town. After *Peyton Place* was published, the whole image of the small town in America

was forever changed. From then on the very phrase "Peyton Place" was used to describe a town that is rife with deep secrets and rampant sex beneath the veneer of picturesque calm.

Peyton Place was banned in many communities; in fact, the local public library refused to purchase a copy of the book and did not have one until 1976, when newswoman Barbara Walters donated one to them. In Gilmanton there were threats of libel suits against Grace Metalious. Ministers and political leaders all over the country condemned the novel, claiming that it would corrupt the morals of young people who read it. The novel was banned altogether in Canada and several other countries.

Despite its notoriety and the large amounts of money it earned her, the book led to the ruination of Grace Metalious. She purchased a house that she had long admired in Gilmanton, then had it extensively remodeled. Meanwhile, her husband's contract with the Gilmanton school was not renewed. Officially, he was not fired, but the rumor was that the dismissal was because of his wife's book. At any rate, it made good publicity for the book. George eventually got a new job in Massachusetts, but Grace refused to leave her house. Eventually the two divorced and Grace, who had begun drinking heavily, married a local disc jockey.

Grace went on to write three other novels: *Return to Peyton Place* (1959), *The Tight White Collar* (1960), and *No Adam in Eden* (1963). None of them achieved the same kind of success as *Peyton Place*, though there are critics who feel that *No Adam in Eden*, a gritty book about the lives of mill workers in Manchester, is her best. By 1960 Grace and George had reconciled and remarried, only to separate again in 1963. She died in 1964 of cirrhosis of the liver and is buried in Gilmanton.

After she died, George wrote his own book called *The Girl from "Peyton Place."* The book offers a husband's view of how Metalious was exploited after the publication of the book, but also of how she was responsible for bringing unhappiness to herself and to others. A whole series of other "Peyton Place" books were produced after Grace Metalious's death, with titles like *The Evils of Peyton Place* and *Temptations of Peyton Place*. None of these were a commercial success.

Peyton Place was made into a movie starring Lana Turner and Hope Lange in 1957. The town of Gilmanton opposed having the movie filmed there, and eventually it was filmed in Camden, Maine, a location totally unlike any rural mill town. A television series, starring Mia Farrow and Dorothy Malone, was produced that lasted from 1964-1969. Both the film and the television show were cleaned up and did not contain the language or sexual specificity of the novel.

Although *Peyton Place* is still well known for its depiction of a certain kind of small town society with many hidden secrets, few people read the book any longer. Scandalous in its time, it no longer has the same force of shock that it did when it was published.

—Robin Lent

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Metropolis

Although made at the UFA Studios in Germany, Fritz Lang's visionary silent film *Metropolis* (1926) was inspired by a visit the director had made to New York, on whose skyline its massive and impressive sets were based. The innovative pioneering special effects were created by Eugen Schufftan (who, like Lang, later fled the Nazis, settling in Hollywood as cinematographer Eugene Shuftan). The Schufftan Process combined life-size models with live action. Despite criticism about the weakness of its plot, and the naivety of its resolution, *Metropolis* remains one of the most expressive testimonies of its age. A potent allegory against totalitarianism, the film reveals not only political conflicts, hopes, and fears, but also enthusiasm for technology and the American way. With its combination of powerful architectural metaphors, its gallery of contemporary visions, technological experimentation, and political philosophy, *Metropolis* marked an influential and important turning point in the development of film art. The film was admired around the world, although its huge production costs brought UFA to the edge of bankruptcy. In 1984, Giorgio Moroder edited the film's original 153 minutes down to 83, and added tinted sequences and a rock score.

—Anna Notaro

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Metropolitan Museum of Art

Among the largest, richest, most famous and most comprehensive art museums in the world, the New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art boasts collections spanning virtually all periods and cultures. The millions who pass through its handsome and expertly arranged galleries each year—paying a voluntary sum for admission—to view both the permanent collection and the special exhibitions are testament to the museum's democratic founding ideal that art exists not just for the cultured few but the benefit of the many. Chartered in 1870, opened in 1872, and moved in 1880 to its present handsome building in New York City's Central Park, the Metropolitan had burgeoned, by the 1990s, into a complex of over 17 acres; its medieval branch, The Cloisters, opened in Fort Tryon Park in 1938. Besides paintings and sculptures, outstanding treasures include collections of arms and armor, costumes, musical instruments, Tiffany glass, baseball cards, and an entire Egyptian temple.

—Craig Bunch

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MGM (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer)

“More Stars Than There Are in the Heavens” is the most recognizable tagline of any motion picture studio in Hollywood's Golden Age, and perhaps the most descriptive. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, with its trademark Leo the Lion, was arguably the king of the Hollywood studios, boasting an impressive roster of stars who were exhibited in glossy productions that proved enormously popular.

The studio was formed in 1924 as the corporate brainchild of Marcus Loew. The new company name was derived from a combination of the names of the three subsumed companies, Goldwyn Pictures Corporation (formerly owned by Samuel Goldwyn), Louis B. Mayer Pictures and Metro Pictures Corp. which had been in business since 1915. In a move that foreshadowed the mergers of the 1980s and 1990s, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Corp. was formed as a subsidiary of Loew's, Inc., one of the largest theater chains in North America. Under Loew's corporate umbrella and the financial leadership of Loew's executive Joseph Schenk, MGM soon became the most financially successful Hollywood studio, with production, distribution, and exhibition arms throughout the world. It's reputation was that of the “Tiffany” studio, hallmarked by films such as *Grand Hotel*, classy, often very highbrow productions that combined lavish production values and star power with audience-pleasing stories.

Unlike Paramount, a director-driven studio, MGM was more a producer-driven studio. MGM was initially headed by two very different men: studio head Louis B. Mayer and production chief Irving Thalberg. Mayer, a Russian immigrant with a flair for histrionics and storytelling, started in the film business as an exhibitor/theater owner and by the early 1910s became a successful film producer. Mayer's lowbrow tastes and despotic demeanor contrasted sharply with the more intellectual Thalberg, who preferred high-toned films, often adaptations of literary classics. Thalberg began his producing career at Universal pictures when he was barely into his twenties, then, in 1923, moved to Metro Pictures, where he became head of production and the creative force behind many of that studio's early successes. Thalberg maintained a strong personal involvement in almost all of the studio's projects, as Darryl F. Zanuck would later do at Twentieth Century-Fox. Thalberg is credited with masterminding MGM's hallmark look, glossy photography, expensive Cedric Gibbons supervised sets, and glamorous Adrian gowns.

During its first decade, MGM established its image with the production of a number of high-budget films. To cast its glamorous productions in the 1920s, MGM kept a slate of contract players. The impressive list of popular stars included Greta Garbo, Lillian Gish, John Gilbert, John Barrymore, Ramón Novaro, Joan Crawford, and Buster Keaton. MGM's formula met with financial and critical success. One of the most profitable films of the 1920s and 1930s was the Fred Niblo-directed adaptation of *Ben-Hur* in 1925. King Vidor's powerful antiwar drama *The Big Parade* also met with financial success that same year. Equally impressive, though far from profitable, was Erich von Stroheim's drastically edited masterpiece, *Greed*,

released in 1924. By 1929, MGM's popular "all talking—all singing—all dancing" musical *The Broadway Melody* brought the studio an Oscar for Best Picture.

The 1930s were the studio's most successful years. Throughout this decade, MGM's nurtured the careers of stars who have remained icons to the present day, including Clark Gable, Joan Crawford, Myrna Loy, Jean Harlow, William Powell, Mickey Rooney, Judy Garland, Spencer Tracy, and Greta Garbo. But the star power of the studio is perhaps even more significant when one considers their second-level stars such as Robert Montgomery, Eleanor Powell, and Robert Taylor. In addition to these A-list stars, the studio also maintained an impressive list of B-level stars, who could easily carry the studio's more pedestrian features, among them the serviceable Robert Young, George Murphy, and Walter Pidgeon.

Some of MGM's most popular titles of the 1930s included comedies such as *The Thin Man* (1934) and *A Night at the Opera* (1935), musicals like *Dancing Lady* (1933), *Naughty Marietta* (1935), *Rosalie* (1937), and the Oscar-winning *The Great Ziegfeld* (1936). Dramas included the highly regarded, yet atypical, MGM picture *Fury* (1936), directed by Fritz Lang. The usual MGM dramatic fare were titles like *Anna Christie* (1930), *The Sin of Madelon Claudet* (1931) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1936).

Thalberg's power at MGM remained relatively unchecked until the early 1930s. Despite his enormous capacity for work, the producer was hampered by physical frailty from early childhood. A massive heart attack in December 1932, coupled with struggles with Mayer and Schenk precipitated his taking a lengthy leave from the studio. During this period, Mayer's son-in-law, David O. Selznick, joined the studio as an executive producer, prompting the often repeated Hollywood joke "the son-in-law also rises." In many ways Selznick was on the same plane as Thalberg, specializing in high-class dramas such as *A Tale of Two Cities* (1935) and *David Copperfield* (1935). Selznick also successfully oversaw sophisticated comedies such as *Dinner at Eight* (1933). But following some frustration at MGM, Selznick left the studio in 1935 to become an independent producer through his company Selznick International Pictures.

Upon returning to MGM in mid-1933, Thalberg, though nominally still in charge, had much less power at the studio and increasingly came into conflict with Mayer. Nevertheless, Thalberg continued to be an important producing force at MGM, fostering such prestige projects as *The Good Earth* (1937) and *Goodbye Mr. Chips* (1939), both of which had been on the MGM production schedule for many years. Thalberg's health eventually failed and he died in September 1936, at the age of 37. Studio personnel, as well as most of the Hollywood community, were stunned by Thalberg's death.

All MGM production stopped for several days. But when filming resumed, the studio shifted away from production of Thalberg's (and Selznick's) classy, literary-oriented films toward Mayer's vision of family entertainment, epitomized by titles such as *Love Finds Andy Hardy* (1938). Many producers who had had close ties to Thalberg were no longer as prominent and several films either under Thalberg's direct or indirect supervision were temporarily shelved. And for *Maytime*, the Nelson Eddy-Jeanette MacDonald picture, MGM scrapped all footage shot prior to Thalberg's death and resumed production with a new producer, director, and supporting cast.

As the studio tried to establish its new image under Mayer's supervision, it also tried to accommodate new technology and a war. When three-strip Technicolor began to take hold in Hollywood, MGM was the last studio to jump on the bandwagon, preferring to

release some of their prestige pictures in glistening sepia prints. MGM's first Technicolor feature was *Sweethearts* (1938). The studio soon used color to their advantage, though, and many prestige productions of the 1940s were filmed in color, among them the highly successful picture *National Velvet* (1944), starring Elizabeth Taylor and Mickey Rooney. But despite the change in production philosophies and introduction of color, the high watermarks of the studio's output in the early 1940s retained the glossy MGM look with releases such as *Mrs. Miniver* (1942), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), and *Woman of the Year* (1942).

During the war years, several of MGM's top stars went into the armed services, among them James Stewart, Robert Montgomery, and Clark Gable. Though some the studio's greatest talent left to serve the country, MGM quickly found replacements. New actors such as Van Johnson and Gene Kelly became stars, and Hedy Lamarr, Esther Williams, Judy Garland, Greer Garson, and Lana Turner were the new queens of the studio, supplanting Joan Crawford and Myrna Loy.

Though Mayer had imposed his vision on the various production units at the studio since Thalberg's death, things changed dramatically in 1948 upon the hiring of Oscar-winning screenwriter and producer Dore Schary. Known for a preference for socially conscious films, Schary soon changed the course of the studio. While musicals featuring stars such as Gene Kelly and Judy Garland were still mainstays of production, Schary promoted a number of more gritty films, including *Battleground* (1949) and *The Next Voice You Hear* (1951). Such starkly realistic films incurred the ire of studio head Mayer, but he ultimately lost the power struggle with Schary and was forced into retirement in 1951.

Despite the enormous success of some MGM films in the 1950s, most notably *An American in Paris* (1951), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *Gigi* (1958), and the 1959 *Ben-Hur*, the encroachment of television, runaway productions, and rising costs led to a reconsideration of many of the long-time contract players. Clark Gable, Robert Taylor, and Esther Williams, among others, were let go and the studio became increasingly cost conscious.

The cost consciousness took a toll on the studio's image. The look of MGM production in the 1960s and 1970s blurred into a sameness with many of the other Hollywood studios. In 1972, the company was purchased by financier Kirk Kerkorian who sold off the fabled backlot and auctioned off most of the studio property. He combined the company with United Artists creating a new entity, MGM/UA. The hits, however, were few and far between. With the exception of UA's long-running James Bond series, the combined company's products did poorly at the box office and Kerkorian decided to cut his losses. In 1985, media mogul Ted Turner purchased MGM from Kirk Kerkorian, promising in many newspaper articles to bring the studios back into the glory days. The plan was either short-lived or nonexistent, as Turner soon sold the studio back to Kerkorian, while retaining the library for television and cable.

This ultimately led to the virtual collapse of the studio. The Culver city lot was sold to Lorimar pictures (and ultimately to Sony, parent company of Columbia pictures) and the facilities consisted primarily of offices at various parts of West Los Angeles and Culver City. MGM was sold to Italian producer Giancarlo Piretti who mortgaged it to pay off his purchase expenses. In the 1990s the studio was taken over by the French bank Credit Lyonnaise who hired experienced executive Frank Canton to restore it to enough prominence to be able to put it on the market once again. In 1996, Canton and a group of the studio's executives put together a financial package

backed by Kirk Kerkorian's Tricinda Corp. and purchased the company from the bank. In 1998, MGM purchased the Polygram library and once again had the distinction of owning the largest film library in Hollywood. Though the studio boasted a few modest financial and critical successes in the 1990s, it remained uncertain whether MGM/UA would recapture its former glory days.

—Steve Hanson

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Miami Vice

No television series represented the style or dominant cultural aesthetic of the 1980s as fully or indelibly as *Miami Vice*. A popular one-hour police drama that aired on NBC from 1984 to 1989, *Miami Vice* was in one sense a conventional buddy-cop show—not unlike *Dragnet*, *Adam 12*, and *Starsky and Hutch*—featuring an interracial pair of narcotics detectives who wage a weekly battle against an urban criminal underworld. But the look and feel of the series—a mixture of flashy production values, music video-style montages, and extensive use of Miami's beach-front locales and art-deco architecture—elevated *Miami Vice* from standard cops-and-robbers fare to bona fide television phenomenon in the middle part of the decade. The show's unique attention to sound, form, and color spawned a host of imitators, sparked fads in the fashion, music, and tourism industries, and helped transform the traditional face of broadcast television by appealing to a young, urban viewership that was, according to one of the show's writers, becoming "more interested in images, emotions, and energy than plot and character and words."

In exploiting the quick-cut visual style of rock music videos, *Miami Vice* both reflected and consolidated the burgeoning influence of MTV (Music Television) on television and popular culture in the 1980s. Tellingly, the show originated in a two-word memo written by NBC Entertainment President Brandon Tartikoff: "MTV Cops." Created by Anthony Yerkovich, a former writer and producer for NBC's more realistic law enforcement show *Hill Street Blues*, *Miami Vice* was filmed on location in Miami at a cost of \$1.3 million per episode—one of television's priciest at the time. The show's production staff selected exterior locations, buildings, and cars with a keen sense of detail, and scenes were composed in a painterly style more akin to cinema than television. Tropical pastels—pink, lime green, and turquoise—dominated the show's color scheme, and executive producer Michael Mann decreed early on that there would be "no earth tones." Music was also an integral part of the *Miami Vice*

aesthetic: each episode featured contemporary pop songs that served as critical commentaries on the plots (NBC paid up to \$10,000 per episode for the rights to the original songs) as well as instrumental scores by Czech-born composer Jan Hammer, whose synthesizer-driven music supplied the show with its moody atmosphere; Hammer's theme song hit number one on the pop charts. Two successful *Miami Vice* soundtrack albums were also released.

The show's slick depiction of Miami as a Mecca for the international drug trade, an American Casablanca teeming with cocaine cowboys and drug runners, initially met with strong local resistance from city officials who balked at the show's glamorization of Miami's chronic crime problems. Their fears were soon allayed, however, when it became apparent that *Miami Vice's* emphasis on the city's splashy architecture, gleaming beaches, and cultural exoticism was actually a civic virtue, enhancing the city's public image and focusing international attention on the South Beach area. The series' opening title sequence—a montage of palm trees, pink flamingoes, and bikini-clad women—played like a promotional ad for Miami's tourist industry, and by the late 1980s, *Miami Vice* had contributed to the revitalization of once-decrepit Miami Beach and helped the city reclaim its image as a trendy resort playground for the wealthy and fashionable.

At the heart of *Miami Vice's* popularity were its two charismatic stars, Don Johnson and Philip Michael Thomas, who played hip undercover detectives Sonny Crockett and Ricardo Tubbs. The series rocketed both actors to international sex-symbol status, landing them on the cover of *Time* and *Rolling Stone* in the same year (1985). Their trendy, expensive clothes were a key element of the show's appeal. Crockett sported a casual-chic look consisting of pastel-colored Italian sport jackets paired with T-shirts, baggy linen pants, and slip-on shoes with no socks, while Tubbs wore dark double-breasted suits, silk shirts with slender neckties, and a diamond earring. The *Miami Vice* "look" soon infiltrated clothing lines in department stores across America. One company even marketed a special electric razor with a "stubble device" designed to leave a Crockett-like five o'clock shadow. To round out the effect, each detective drove a flashy car: Crockett cruised the streets in a black Ferrari, while Tubbs drove a vintage Cadillac convertible. Little effort was made to explain how the detectives could afford such amenities on a meager cop's salary—one of many signs that the show generally favored style over dramatic exposition.

In addition to a supporting cast that included Edward James Olmos as the brooding Lieutenant Castillo (the role earned the actor an Emmy award in 1985), *Miami Vice* featured a high-profile parade of unusual guest stars—rock musicians, politicians, professional athletes, and corporate magnates—whose appearances were a testament to the show's initial "hotness"; it finished number nine in the 1985-1986 Nielsen ratings. In its third season, the show's popularity dipped when executive producer Mann ordered a dramatic shift to "darker" tones. Blues and blacks replaced the earlier pastels, the plots became murkier, and NBC scheduled the series unsuccessfully against CBS's long-running soap *Dallas*. By its final season, *Miami Vice* had slipped to 53rd place in the Niensens and was no longer the "hot" property it had once been. Production values declined, and the show's original visual flair grew muted. As one *TV Guide* critic noted of the series' rapid rise and fast fall, "That's the thing about cutting edges: they're the first thing to get dull."

Despite its fadishness, however, *Miami Vice* did contain a marked moralistic component. Many episodes hinged on the problem



Don Johnson (left) and Philip Michael Thomas in a scene from *Miami Vice*.

of “cops who’d gone bad” and the fact that Crockett and Tubbs, undercover vice detectives masquerading as drug dealers, blended in most smoothly with the criminals they were supposed to apprehend. Episodes rarely ended with an unambiguous “triumph” by the detectives; often what victories they did achieve were pyrrhic or outside the conventional channels of the “system.” *Miami Vice* also paid explicit attention to contemporary political controversies—Wall Street support of the Latin American drug trade, United States involvement in Nicaragua, and others—that highlighted the difficulties of legislating local justice in a world of multinational political and economic interests. The fact that this serious “political” commentary was often at odds with the show’s more obvious worship of Reagan-era wealth and materialism (the clothes, the cars, the money) made *Miami Vice* both an interrogation and endorsement of the dominant conservative political and cultural ideology of the 1980s.

The show’s formal characteristics, especially its emphasis on visual surfaces, also made it a popular “text” among postmodern academic theorists and cultural critics who found in its pastel sheen both an ironic critique of the 1980s worship of glamour and money

and a wholehearted participation in that fetishization. This so-called “complicitous critique” of 1980s culture prompted Andrew Ross to dub *Miami Vice* “TV’s first postmodern cop show,” while other critics, such as Todd Gitlin, derided the show’s “studied blankness of tone” and saw in its stylized emphasis on “surface” the same techniques of enticement used to lure consumers in car commercials. Despite, or perhaps because of, its relatively short-lived popularity and brief vogue in academia, *Miami Vice* remains an illuminating artifact for scholars interested not only in the history of television but in the visual, aural, and political texture of the 1980s.

—Andrew Sargent

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Michener, James (1907-1997)

With the passing of James Michener in 1997, America lost one of the most prolific American novelists and outstanding philanthropists of the twentieth century. In his popular, although often lengthy books—spanning 50 years of almost continuous output—Michener explored places as diverse as the South Pacific, South Africa, Spain, Afghanistan, Poland, Japan, Israel, the Caribbean, Hungary, the American West, Chesapeake Bay, Alaska, and Outer Space . . . to name but a few. Through reading Michener, millions of people worldwide were introduced to these places via a dramatic narrative tied to the geographical and historical events of the chosen place. His experiences gained from a lifetime of wandering the globe, absorbing the lives and cultures of ordinary people, became the central focus in his books. In his autobiography, *The World Is My Home* (1992), he explains that writing to him was a mental discipline, and that his strengths lay in capturing a reader's interest and holding it with a good narrative. He wanted people to see the diversity of human life and understand and accept individual differences. He argued for the universal ideals of religious and racial tolerance, the value of hard work and discipline, and self-reliance. He was often referred to as "America's Storyteller" and his books are rich in characters who reflect the history of their countries.

Every one of Michener's books was a commercial success, beginning with his first published book *Tales of the South Pacific* (1947), a Pulitzer prize winner. This was a collection of stories dealing with the exploits of men at war in the South Pacific and based upon Michener's own wartime experiences when he was posted to the South Pacific. In it he depicted the tedium, anxiety, and frustrations of individuals caught up in a conflict which was waiting to happen. Adapted for the stage by Rodgers and Hammerstein, it was titled *South Pacific* (1949) and starred Mary Martin and Ezio Pinza. It was a hit on Broadway, becoming one of the longest running musicals (1,925 performances) and later becoming a blockbuster Hollywood film, launching the career of Gwen Verdon.

James Albert Michener was born on February 3, 1907 in New York City. An orphan, he was rescued by Mabel and Edwin Michener of Doylestown, Pennsylvania—the place that became his home during his formative years. His childhood was spent in poverty, which, as he explains in his autobiography *The World Is My Home* (1992), led to his liberal ideals. At the age of 13, he and a friend, with only a few cents between them, hitchhiked to New York City, thus beginning Michener's love of travel. He enjoyed meeting new people and finding out about cultures vastly different from his Quaker

upbringing. His second major work of fiction, *The Fires of Spring* (1949), deals with a character much like the young Michener—a poor Pennsylvania schoolboy who hitchhikes across America, encountering many different characters and experiences which later become the basis for a writing career.

After graduating with Honors from Swarthmore College in Philadelphia in 1929, Michener became an English teacher. In 1933 he received the Joshua Lippincott fellowship to travel and study abroad, visiting Spain for the first time. In *Iberia* (1967), he wrote about his intense interest in the people and places of Spain. He returned to teaching in 1936 and became an Associate Professor at Colorado State College of Education, completing his Master of Arts in 1937; Michener was awarded over 30 honorary doctorates during the course of his career.

Although James Michener's two early marriages ended in divorce (Patti Koon, Vange Nord), his third marriage in 1955 to Mari Yoriko Sabawa was not only successful but also influential in his continuing commitment to the arts in America. After her death in 1992, Michener pledged \$5,000,000 each to art museums in Doylestown, Pennsylvania and Texas, which had become his home after his monumental epic *Texas* (1985). With her guidance and his literary success, Michener devoted time and financial support to the arts. Many of Michener's works were adapted for films and television. One of the most memorable of these was *Centennial* (1976), an epic tale of the history of Colorado which became the longest ever mini-series on television with 26 hour-long episodes.

Michener was outspoken in his beliefs and often took action on the causes in which he believed. In 1950 he visited Japan, just after the Korean War began. This led to his later books *The Voice of Asia* (1951), *The Bridges at Toko-Ri* (1953), and *Sayonara* (1954). During the Hungarian revolt in 1956, Michener was in Austria where he assisted dozens of Hungarians to safety, writing of his experiences in *The Bridge at Andau* (1957). In 1971, he wrote a sympathetic account of the tragic student protests at Kent State University in *Kent State: What Happened and Why*. In the 1960s he was a John F. Kennedy supporter and he ran unsuccessfully for Congress in 1962 as a Democrat. In 1972, however, he visited China and Russia as a correspondent travelling with President Nixon, a Republican. His efforts for world peace led to his receiving the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1977 from Gerald Ford. In that year he also launched his television series, *The World of James Michener*.

In 1996, *Fortune* magazine ranked Michener among the nation's top philanthropists, estimating that he had donated \$24 million dollars in that year alone to charities, art institutes, and institutions of learning.

—Joan Gajadhar

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The Mickey Mouse Club

Mickey Mouse began as Mortimer Mouse in 1927, drawn by the imaginative hands of Walt Disney. By the 1930s, the Mouse was well established as part of American culture, and clubs had sprung up across America. On Saturdays, children and parents hurried to



The Mousketeers go to school on the Disney lot.

department stores where they sang and watched cartoons. To the delight of the children and the chagrin of parents, Disney merchandise was readily available. The clubs, boasting several million members, eventually disbanded because they had grown too large and too awkward to handle. In the 1950s television was still in its infancy, and it became an obvious medium for allowing America's children to watch the show in the privacy of their own homes. Debuting in 1955, the *Mickey Mouse Club* quickly became a staple in the lives of pre-teens who watched the show every afternoon after school and before dinner. When it was abruptly withdrawn from the air in 1959, its fans, who were rapidly growing up, transferred their loyalties to the teen dance show *American Bandstand*. While the *Mickey Mouse Club* was briefly revived in 1977 and 1989, it is the original show that lives on in the hearts of baby boomers and in late night reruns on the Disney channel.

The debut of the *Mickey Mouse Club* introduced 24 young people to television audiences. Walt Disney conducted a nationwide search for personable, unknown youth who would come together for an hour each weekday to entertain America's children. The young stars ranged in age from nine to 14. Ironically, Annette Funicello, the last of those cast, would prove to be the most popular and to have the

greatest staying power. The cast was told that getting along was more important than talent. Those who could not get along, or whose parents were too aggressive, were quietly replaced. A core group of the most talented and charismatic emerged: Funicello, Sharon Baird, Darlene Gillespie, Karen Pendleton, Sherry Alberoni, Lonnie Burr, Bobby Burgess, Tommy Cole, and Cubby O'Brien. Other Mousketeers who would go on to fame were Don Grady of *My Three Sons*, Paul Petersen of *The Donna Reed Show*, and Johnny Crawford of *The Rifleman*. In her autobiography, Annette Funicello writes that profanity was forbidden on the lot and that respect for adults was promoted by their calling them "Uncle" and "Aunt." Uncle Walt was obvious, of course, but the cast carried the command further by labeling the crew by names such as "Aunt Hairdresser" and "Uncle Make-up." The adults on the show were Jimmie Dodd, a deeply religious actor, songwriter, and dancer, and Roy Williams, a long-time Disney animator.

The *Mickey Mouse Club* offered the consistency so important to young viewers, along with enough diversity to keep them from becoming bored. The established elements were simple: attractive young stars performing before a live audience, clowns, magicians, cartoons, guest stars, educational elements, and music written for the

show. Each day of the week was devoted to a specific theme: Mondays were Fun with Music Day; Tuesdays were Guest Star Day; Wednesdays were Anything Can Happen Day; Thursdays were Circus Day; and Fridays were Talent Round-Up Day.

While cartoons were frequent occurrences, education was promoted by the regular appearance of Jiminey Cricket—from Disney's *Pinnocchio*—who walked children through the encyclopedia. News-reels brought events around the world to the attention of young viewers. Notable guest stars were actors James Cagney, Fess Parker, and Buddy Ebsen, and singers Judy Conova and the Lennon Sisters. Additionally, the show included various series featuring the regulars or other young stars. The most popular of these series were *The Hardy Boys*, starring Tom Considine and Tommy Kirk as Frank and Joe Hardy; *The Adventures of Spin and Marty*, with Tim Considine as Spin and David Stollery as Marty; and *Annette*, which ultimately led to a recording contract for Annette Funicello.

When the show ended unexpectedly in 1959, it was still rated the top children's show of the day. In 1980, 31 members of the cast came together to celebrate the 25th anniversary of *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Assisted by Paul Williams, who had always wanted to be a Mousketeer, and Tim Considine, who should have been a Mousketeer, the stars danced and sang with as much enthusiasm and a lot more poise than they had at the show's debut. Most still retained some connection to show business. Annette, who had been the only Mousketeer retained by the Disney Studios when the show ended, went on to make a series of *Beach Party* movies with Frankie Avalon, wrote an autobiography that became a made-for-television movie, and became a spokesperson for muscular dystrophy. Bobby Burgess spent 20 years with *The Lawrence Welk Show* and continues to dance. Cubby O'Brien is a noted drummer, Sharon and Sherry do cartoons and commercial voice-overs, and Lonnie is a playwright. Tommy is an award-winning make-up artist, and Paul Petersen has become a major voice in the battle to protect the financial rights of child stars.

There has been much speculation about the impact of the *Mickey Mouse Club* on baby boomers. Its success was not complicated—it simply provided children of the 1950s with positive role models while entertaining them and promoting self-esteem. Why did America's young people tune in every day to watch the show? Because they believed the Mousketeers when they ended each show with the promise to return again and again "because we like you." It was a constancy in the lives of a generation that would spend the rest of their lives looking to television for answers to society's questions.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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Microsoft

Over the course of two decades Microsoft, a computer software corporation founded in 1975, has become synonymous in the minds of many with the computer age and its high-speed advances in technology and communication. Often called the General Motors of the computer industry, the mystique of Microsoft in the public

imagination has many sources, not the least of which is that favorite American myth of unlimited opportunity: the rags to riches story. From its beginnings in the minds of two computer-obsessed students to its status in the 1990s as a 14 billion-dollar-a-year industry giant on a sprawling campus in a Seattle suburb, Microsoft seems to fulfill that archetypal American promise.

This is perhaps most appropriately reflected in a satirical computer game called "Microshaft's Winblows '98," where players compete to rise from Penniless Nerd to Supreme Ruler of the Galaxy. The nerd in question is William Henry Gates, III, usually referred to as Bill, the CEO of Microsoft. Though never exactly penniless, Gates' lanky, bespectacled appearance fit the stereotype of the "computer nerd," and many have cheered his success for just this reason. Many others have expressed disgust for the other side of the stereotype, the Supreme Ruler, charging Gates as self-congratulatory, self-aggrandizing, and simply too rich.

Bill Gates and Paul Allen were upper-middle-class Seattleites, both attending the exclusive private Lakeside School in the late 1960s, when they were introduced in eighth grade to the use of computers and programming languages. Their mutual fascination with the new technology drew them together, and by 1972 they had developed their first software and formed their first company. Traf-o-Data offered city and state traffic departments computerized equipment for counting and analyzing traffic information. Slow-moving government bureaucracies were not quick to adopt the new technology, and Gates and Allen continued to search for more popular applications for their product. In their work on Traf-o-Data, they had incorporated a new invention—the microprocessor chip. Sensing a revolution in technology, they continued designing software for use with the new microprocessors.

It was their work on a programming language for an early personal computer, the MITS Altair, which resulted in the formation of Allen and Gates' next company, Micro-Soft (later Microsoft). Gates was attending Harvard, but dropped out in his sophomore year to focus on his work with Allen in Albuquerque, New Mexico. There, over the course of the next few years, they developed computer programming languages BASIC, FORTRAN-80, and COBOL 80. In 1978, they worked on developing software for the new Apple II personal computer, and by 1979, Microsoft had acquired 15 employees and moved back to Gates and Allen's hometown, Seattle.

Microsoft's giant leap into public awareness and business history came in 1980 when IBM approached the little software company, seeking operating software for its upcoming line of personal computers. In a brilliant entrepreneurial double-play, Gates and Allen bought an existing operating system that they could quickly modify for IBM's use, and began planning to make that operating system the most widely used system in the industry. Seattle Computer had a disk operating system called QDOS that Microsoft bought for \$50,000, carefully concealing IBM's interest in the product. Then, recognizing the inevitable rise of "clones" or copies of the IBM-PC, Allen and Gates began to lobby for other software companies to write applications for their operating system, then called MS-DOS. Manufacturers of the IBM clones began to bundle the Microsoft system with their computers and soon MS-DOS was the industry standard operating system. Microsoft's place at the head of the industry had been established.

Soon after, Paul Allen was diagnosed with Hodgkin's Disease, a form of lymphatic cancer. Though his illness was controlled with



Microsoft CEO Bill Gates

treatment, he no longer felt driven to keep a business at the cutting edge of the technological revolution. Though he and Gates remained friends, Allen retired in 1983 with his six billion-dollar profit to live a more relaxed life on his vast lakeside estate near Seattle, playing music in a band, purchasing sports teams, and managing his investments.

Bill Gates continued to run the rapidly expanding Microsoft. In the mid-1980s the company developed the revolutionary Graphical User Interface (GUI) for Apple Computer's Macintosh. The GUI made the computer much more accessible, since commands were delivered by pointing to pictures, or icons, with a lightweight movable attachment called a "mouse," thus eliminating the need to learn complex DOS codes to tell the computer what to do. In 1988, Microsoft introduced its own GUI, called Windows, so that the DOS-based IBM machines could make use of the "user-friendly" features attracting customers to the Apple Macintosh.

That year, in the first of many lawsuits that would be brought against Microsoft, the company was taken to court by Apple for copyright violations in the creation of its Windows operating system. Four years later, the suit was dismissed without a trial. Many consider that Microsoft's actions regarding Apple are consistent with a tradition of ruthless, even unscrupulous, business practices. Some in the industry accuse the company of following a policy of "build, buy, or crush" with its competition; that is, what it cannot build, it will buy

and resell at enormous profit, and what it cannot buy, it will destroy. While some competitors simply accuse Microsoft of lack of innovation, others have more dramatically compared its tactics to those of the Mafia.

In the late 1990s the United States Justice Department brought an anti-trust lawsuit against Microsoft. The suit accused the software giant of violating anti-trust laws by bundling too much of its software into its Windows operating system, thereby giving its own software, particularly its Internet browser, an unfair advantage over the Internet browsers of competing companies. While Microsoft has continued to insist that it has done nothing wrong, debate continues to rage over whether the groundbreaking corporation represents an influence for good or evil.

Microsoft continues to expand, updating its Windows systems and other software and entering vigorously into the new world of computer communications—the Internet and the World Wide Web. In 1996, Microsoft and the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) joined to create MSNBC, a 24-hour news channel on cable television. In addition, MSNBC Interactive is a corresponding site on the World Wide Web that allows visitors to customize topics such as news, weather, or sports reports to their personal needs.

Bill Gates continues to be driven as a businessman and as a computer advocate. He has written two books focusing on the role of

the computer in daily life, *The Road Ahead* and *Business at the Speed of Thought*, which concentrates on the business uses of the Internet. His youthful goal of “a computer on every desk and in every home, all running Microsoft software” has seemed to come closer each day. Though certainly a computer in the home is most often a middle class acquisition, computer courses in public schools and libraries have put more computers than ever within reach of poor and working class people. In 1995, 85 percent of the world’s personal computers were run on Microsoft software.

Perhaps it is Microsoft’s embodiment of the rags to riches dream that causes the controversy that swirls around it. From two high school computer whiz kids holed up in a room together with computer magazines and ambitious ideas, Microsoft grew into the world’s most valuable company. In 1986, it moved to a mammoth complex in Redmond, Washington, just across the lake from Seattle. Fifteen thousand employees work on two campuses, ranging over 295 acres in 41 buildings, earning the corporation over 14 billion dollars a year.

CEO Bill Gates, worth over 13 billion dollars, has the world’s largest personal fortune, and the highest international profile of any corporate businessman. Many of the early employees of the firm have also earned huge profits from stock options, causing Seattle residents to coin the term “Microsoft millionaires,” and to blame rapidly rising local housing costs on the out-of-proportion incomes of software executives. The other side of the rags to riches story is the hostility and jealousy of those still left in rags. Both individuals and media snarl at the excessive wealth of both Microsoft and Gates, while being simultaneously fascinated by it. There is no doubt, however, that Microsoft has played a monumentally significant role in the popularization of the personal computer. And, if Microsoft is the General Motors of the computer world, computers themselves seem—for better or worse—destined to change American society irrevocably, much as the automobile itself once did.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Middletown

Robert and Helen Lynd set out to study the spirituality in a representative American town in the late 1920s, but instead wound up studying the inhabitants’ entire culture. Their work, one of lasting impact and the first “functionalist” study in American sociology, combined sociology and anthropology and considered society on a holistic level. *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture*, first published in 1929 and named after the pseudonym of the place studied—Muncie, Indiana—was a work of both critical and popular acclaim, changing traditional disciplinary attitudes about sociological studies and exposing the public to the shifts in the social fabric brought about by burgeoning consumerism.

Ironically, neither Robert Lynd (1892-1971) nor his wife Helen Merrell Lynd (1896-1981) were formally trained sociologists. Robert Lynd, a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary, began his work as a Christian minister, but soon became disenchanted by his own admitted agnosticism. Helen Lynd was a graduate of Wellesley and later completed a master’s degree from Columbia in philosophy. Their collaborative work grew out of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.’s Committee on Social and Religious Surveys (CSRS) organization, which conducted field surveys on people’s religious practices. In 1923 the CSRS became the Institute for Social and Religious Research, which commissioned new studies; the group’s ultimate goal was to unite all Protestant churches in the country in order to create a national network geared toward social service.

Eventually, the directors decided to conduct a more in-depth study of one town, and considered many small cities in the Midwest. They settled on Muncie, Indiana, because of its manageable population (38,000 in 1924) and its relative homogenization: at the time, the city was made up of 92 percent native-born whites and housed few blacks, immigrants, Catholics, and Jews. While the Institute commissioned a study that focused on the religious practices of Middletown, the Lynds were more inclusive in considering what constituted a community’s “spirituality.” They believed that “cultural change” could better be measured without a racial component, and also that social progress resided in the efforts of people living in the “Heartland”—midwestern, native-born Protestants. The Lynds gathered their information from many sources, including participant-observation studies, documentary materials, statistics, interviews, and questionnaires; they also studied many details of ordinary life, such as what time people got out of bed, how the car was used, who went to the movies, how the laundry got done, who went to church, what was taught in school, and so on.

The study began in 1923 and lasted 15 months. Lynd himself stated that his goal was “to define and measure the changes in the life (i.e., habits or behavior) of a small city over the critical period since 1890 as those changes affect the problem of the small city church,” and to conduct “a straight fact-finding study.” In reality, the Lynds’ goals went beyond this to not only study Middletown culture, but also to critique it, especially in light of the changes brought about by consumer culture. Rockefeller’s Institute did not approve of the focus of the study, and therefore refused to publish it. Harcourt, Brace, and World published the work, *Middletown*, in 1929, and it went on to become one of the most popular and influential books of the twentieth century. It sold over 32,000 copies during the eight years of the Depression alone, and was both a study of and an addition to the growing self-consciousness of consumer society. As historian Richard Wightman Fox has said, “That book had such an enormous and

immediate impact on its thousands of readers because it caught the subtle tensions and confusions of the early years of consumer society in America.”

Significantly, the *Middletown* study, tinged with the irony of the Lynds’ own critical voices, exposed small town America’s increasing preoccupation with money and consumption. The townspeople embodied contradictions in that “they showed signs both of possessing the capacity to organize their own lives and of succumbing to the emergent national agencies of ‘pecuniary’ culture,” according to Richard Wightman Fox. By himself, Robert Lynd returned to Muncie in 1935 for a follow-up study, later published as *Middletown In Transition*, an even more personally critical work that exposed Lynd’s growing biases against advertising and small-town thinking. In this second work, Lynd contended that people were, in fact, not rational at all, and powerless and passive in the face of advertising.

While Robert Lynd’s career foundered after this second major work, he had already left an indelible impression on American culture—he studied a population, unearthed the inner workings of people’s daily lives, and exposed this to a vast readership. He also, and more significantly, established Muncie, specifically (the most studied town in America), and midwestern towns generally, as places characterized by the provincial, conservative, and largely ignorant groups of people who stereotypically inhabited them.

—Wendy Woloson

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Midler, Bette (1945—)

One of the brightest and most versatile performers of the last decades of the twentieth century, Bette Midler has conquered every entertainment medium: movies, television, recordings, and the concert stage. Candid, intelligent, and supremely talented, Midler, who burst upon the scene with her ability to shock and provoke, eventually assumed her place as one of America’s most beloved entertainers.

Named after actress Bette Davis by a star-stuck mother, Midler was born in Honolulu, Hawaii. A white, Jewish outsider in a mostly Asian environment, Midler caught the performing bug in high school, which helped to overcome some of her social anxieties. After filming a bit part in George Roy Hill’s *Hawaii* in 1965, Midler left her far-flung home for New York City—where she quickly landed a role in the chorus—and later a supporting role, in the Broadway sensation, *Fiddler on the Roof*. She remained in the show for three years, all the



Bette Midler

while honing an inventive stage act composed of torch songs, upbeat novelty numbers, and risqué chatter; her raunchy stage persona, “The Divine Miss M,” emerged from engagements at a number of popular New York nightspots. Of all her performances during this fecund early period, she is perhaps best remembered for her legendary two year run at the Continental Baths, a gay bathhouse. Word-of-mouth about this newcomer—part Judy Garland, part Mae West—was strong enough to attract a noticeable straight following to this unlikely venue of towel-clad patrons.

The early 1970s brought continued interest in her career as Midler drew critical accolades for her first album, *The Divine Miss M*, and for concerts at New York’s Carnegie Hall and Palace Theater. To many, her mix of soulful ballads and campy humor was irresistible; she was not above flashing her breasts and delivering outrageous sexual banter—an example: “Did you hear Dick Nixon bought a copy of *Deep Throat*? He’s seen it 10 or 12 times. He wanted to get it down Pat.” Her wonderfully irreverent wit never obscured her genuine musical craft, as she branded her signature on songs such as “Do You Wanna Dance?” and “Friends.” Guided by the management of her sometime lover Aaron Russo, Midler turned down a number of high-profile movie projects during this time (including *King Kong*, *Nashville*, and *Rocky*), but her *Clams on the Half-Shell Review* proved a triumph on Broadway in 1975, and her 1977 television special, *Ol Red Hair is Back*, earned her an Emmy Award.

The Rose (1979), a thinly disguised biography of Janis Joplin, was Midler’s film debut, catapulting her to a new level of stardom. In it she was able to display both her musical talents and considerable

dramatic ability; for what *New Yorker* film critic Pauline Kael called a “passionate, skilled performance,” Midler earned an expanded following and an Oscar nomination. She capitalized on that accomplishment with the release of *Divine Madness* (1980), a filmed version of her stage show of the same name, and soundtrack albums for both movies followed. The title track to *The Rose* became Midler’s trademark song, a favorite to her fans.

Despite her achievement in *The Rose*, which was a box-office as well as a critical success, the fledgling film actress was “snubbed by the movie industry,” according to Midler biographer George Mair. The reasons remain mysterious, for the similarly heralded movie debut a decade earlier of another unconventional upstart, Barbra Streisand, had garnered the actress her choice of roles and lucrative contracts. Not so for Midler, who admitted, “I was nominated for an Oscar, but the fact is that I never got another offer.” The failure of the caper comedy *Jinxed* (1982)—a dubious project, but the only one Midler could get off the ground during this troubled time—sent the performer into an emotional and professional tailspin. Her late 1982 return to the concert stage in “De Tour”—to cheering crowds—acted to heal some of those wounds.

Decidedly under-appreciated, but ever-resourceful, Midler was able to revive her movie career with a string of profitable Disney comedies in the mid-1980s, of which *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), directed by Paul Mazursky, was the subtlest and most interesting. *Ruthless People* (1986) and *Outrageous Fortune* (1987) were rather broad, but showed Midler at her comic best. To movie critics, it seemed she could do no wrong: in her review of *Big Business* (1988), Pauline Kael found Midler’s skills comparable to Chaplin’s.

The comforts of marriage (to Martin Von Hasleberg) and motherhood came along with commercial success, and Midler’s newfound stability in Hollywood enabled her to form her own production company. She wielded considerable control over the making of such films as *Beaches* (1988) and *For the Boys* (1990), although she never found a vehicle approaching the artistic merit of *The Rose*. Her comeback in films spurred a renewed appreciation for Midler’s singing, and pop ballads such as “The Wind Beneath My Wings” (from *Beaches*) and “From a Distance” enhanced her reputation as a unique song stylist. The mid-1990s found Midler’s career to be thriving, with her much-admired television remake of the musical, *Gypsy* (1993), the surprise box-office bonanza of *The First Wives’ Club* (1996), and sold-out concert dates, most notably at New York’s Radio City Music Hall. Though her career evolved in a rather more conventional fashion than many would have guessed, Midler’s ability to delight audiences has never waned.

—Drew Linsky

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Midnight Cowboy

The New York Times film critic Vincent Canby may not have thought *Midnight Cowboy* “a film for the ages” when it first appeared in 1969, but the movie represents a particular cultural instance of how Hollywood catered to a new youth market and attempted to bring into the mainstream the underground culture of the late 1960s. A bleak tale made poignant by the tender friendship between a naive Texas stud and the petty con who first hustles him, *Midnight Cowboy* follows the pair as they struggle to survive the unforgiving streets of New York, dreaming of a better life in Florida.

Directed by British filmmaker John Schlesinger, *Midnight Cowboy* is based on the novel by James Leo Herlihy and was adapted for the screen by Waldo Salt. While Herlihy’s story focuses predominantly on Joe, the rather dim country boy turned big city hustler, Waldo Salt’s screenplay draws out the character of Ratso Rizzo, the limping con artist who befriends Joe. Another notable difference between the novel and the screenplay involves the sexual politics of a number of scenes. In particular, a sexual encounter between Joe and a pickup in the film is played out violently, while in the novel the



Dustin Hoffman (left) and John Voight in a scene from the film *Midnight Cowboy*.

exchanges between Joe and the man are situated within the larger context of the growing S/M culture of the 1950s and 1960s. While many critics of the time read the relationship between Joe and Ratso as nonsexual, others (particularly openly gay reviewers) argued that they were missing the film's subtext. As Michael Moon wrote in 1993, "Despite its apparent concession to the desire of many of its viewers to believe that Joe Buck . . . and Ratso Rizzo . . . are 'really' and ultimately 'innocent,' *Midnight Cowboy* suggests something much more complicated, and much more perverse, about its protagonists and the masses of men they represent."

Midnight Cowboy was technically Dustin Hoffman's first film role, but multiple script revisions prevented the film from being released until 1969, two years after Hoffman's appearance in Mike Nichols' *The Graduate*. This film catapulted the young actor to stardom for his performance as Benjamin Braddock, a disenchanted yet sympathetic college graduate desperately seeking a life different from that of his parents. Hoffman's turn as Ratso in *Midnight Cowboy* was vastly different from his previous work on screen, and the two performances hinted at the versatility of the talented actor.

Midnight Cowboy was Jon Voight's first starring role, but the actor was not Schlesinger's original choice to play Joe. Michael Sarrazin, a Canadian actor who had starred in films such as *The Flim-Flam Man* and *The Sweet Ride*, was Schlesinger's first pick for the role. When a contractual obligation required Sarrazin to film *They Shoot Horses Don't They?* during the time when shooting for *Midnight Cowboy* was scheduled, Voight stepped into the role that audiences would remember for years to come.

Midnight Cowboy was shot during a hot summer in 1968 for about \$3 million, an average budget for a Hollywood feature made during the 1960s. The film marked the American directorial debut of Schlesinger, a member of the British New Cinema who got his start in filmmaking as a documentarist for the British Broadcasting Company (BBC). Schlesinger's previous films were influenced by Italian Neo-Realism, Britain's Free Cinema documentary movement, and the French New Wave, influences found in many of the films of his contemporaries such as Tony Richardson and Lindsay Anderson. Schlesinger achieved commercial success with *Darling* in 1965, which introduced Julie Christie to audiences and showcased the director's eye for detail, ear for dialogue, and fascination with interpersonal relationships.

Dustin Hoffman has said that Los Angeles audiences walked out of test screenings of *Midnight Cowboy*, yet the film set records upon its release in May of 1969. Given an X rating (currently NC-17) by the newly formed ratings system for its graphic depiction of violence and sexuality, *Midnight Cowboy* played for over a year at both the Baronet theater in Manhattan and the Mann Bruin in Los Angeles, eventually grossing more than \$20 million. Two years earlier audiences had been stunned and seduced by the almost lyrical depiction of violence in Arthur Penn's *Bonnie and Clyde*. Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* and Sam Peckinpah's *The Wild Bunch* also made an impression on audiences hungry for a new kind of cinema. As a group these films heralded the beginning of New Hollywood, and *Midnight Cowboy* continued the trend of American films influenced by social and cultural changes as well as European film movements such as the French New Wave.

Midnight Cowboy received mixed critical reviews upon its release. Although Vincent Canby doubted the film's timelessness, he

described it as "brutal but not brutalizing," and wrote that some of the scenes were "so rough and vivid it's almost unbearable." Characteristically market-conscious, *Variety* commented on Joe Buck's fashions: "Whether fringed leather coats of the kind he wears on screen will hereafter come into, or go out of fashion around town is one of the provocative questions that the film poses." The reviewer was prescient, however, when predicting that *Midnight Cowboy* would be "both hailed and denounced" by audiences and critics alike. Many reviewers praised the surprisingly tender relationship between Joe and Ratso while criticizing Schlesinger's heavy reliance on self-conscious stylization popular in films of the time. Despite an uneven critical reception, *Midnight Cowboy* was recognized by the international film community with seven Academy Award nominations and numerous British Academy Awards as well as the New York Film Critics Award for Best Actor and a Golden Globe for Most Promising Newcomer, both awarded to Voight. Of all the awards and accolades the film received, the most notable was its Academy Award for Best Picture. Although its rating was commuted from an X to an R after its Oscar win, *Midnight Cowboy* is the only X-rated film in Hollywood's history to have received the prestigious award.

In 1994, 25 years after its controversial explosion onto movie screens and into the collective cultural consciousness, *Midnight Cowboy* was re-released into theaters. The re-issue of the film was tied to the re-emergence of the film's distributor, United Artists, after a six-year hiatus. Commenting on his film 25 years later, Schlesinger predicted that the same film pitched to a studio executive in the 1990s would not get made. Noting that the tenderness between the male characters would still resonate for contemporary audiences, Schlesinger sadly acknowledged that in a climate of political correctness, the depiction of this relationship would have to change. "Lack of knowledge is awfully freeing," a wistful Schlesinger told the *New Yorker*.

The film that Roger Ebert once likened to a Diane Arbus exhibit may seem tame compared to contemporary cinema, but when *Midnight Cowboy* appeared in 1969, it represented changes not simply in American culture but, as Moon has written, in how the culture conceived of the "real" America. Released during the cinematic heyday of the New Hollywood, *Midnight Cowboy* illustrates the narrative and stylistic elements of that period while foreshadowing what one writer called "the antiheroic bleakness of the Seventies films to come."

—Alison Macor

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Mildred Pierce

The complex film *Mildred Pierce* (1945) commented on the appropriate roles for women in the post-war era. As one of the top-grossing films of the 1940s, *Mildred Pierce* provided a dark composite view of post-war suburban America and suggested that society preferred women to stay in the home. Nevertheless the film offered strong female characters and reversed the gender roles of the typical film noir, ensnaring the lead female character in a series of inescapable calamities that have been provoked by the men in her life.

Based on James M. Cain's 1941 novel of the same name, *Mildred Pierce* has been compared to the Greek legend of Medea, the story of a woman who seeks to win the favor of her children but who destroys them in the process. Mildred Pierce tries to create a life for herself and her two daughters apart from her unfaithful husband. After leaving her eleven-year marriage, she succeeds in becoming a successful business owner. But in so doing, she neglects her daughters and becomes involved with Monte Beragon, a financially-irresponsible, lecherous man who woos her older daughter, Veda. The more voraciously Pierce pursues her career, the more distant she becomes toward her daughters, eventually losing one to pneumonia and the other to Monte Beragon. And though Pierce appears to have control of the men in her life—marrying Beragon for his name only and verbally dominating her accountant—she is duped by her accountant and new husband Beragon when they sell her business out from under her.

The film differs from the book in that it adds a murder mystery to the plot, which in turn highlights the villainous, opportunistic aspects of Veda and Beragon's characters. Veda's murder of Beragon becomes the focal point of the film and provides a framework for the flashback technique. During the flashback sequences, *Mildred Pierce* is one of the few noir films to be narrated by a female. In addition, when Pierce confesses to the murder of Beragon to save her daughter, she takes the place of the typical male film noir protagonist who will defend the *femme-fatale* even to the death. Directed by Michael Curtiz, the 1945 film was a tour-de-force for Joan Crawford in the title role, winning her an Oscar for Best Actress. Ann Blythe, playing Veda, and Bruce Bennett, as Bert Pierce, were nominated for Oscars for their supporting roles.

In the end, both the book and the film suggested that women can not and should not compete with men in business. Pierce loses both her daughters, her business, and her new husband, but she is given a chance at redemption: she can return to her original husband, the original domestic purpose for her life. Given the anxiety in 1945 over the number of married women in the workplace, the film reenforced the idea that women could not be successful mothers and work outside the home.

—James R. Belpedio

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Militias

Militia activism has been a part of the American political and social landscape since the beginning of the Republic. Beginning with the Anti-Federalists during the founding period, there has always been a group of Americans who believe that patriotism obliges them to guard our liberty against what they see as a corrupt federal government. Although the names of these citizen groups have changed over the years—Anti-Federalists, Minutemen, Militias—their belief in a government of limited powers has remained the same. There have been two periods in the twentieth century when militias have been brought under the scrutiny of popular opinion and academic analysis: the 1960s, when groups like the Order and the Posse Comitatus were formed against the background of the civil rights movement and Cold War narratives; and the 1990s, with events like the Ruby Ridge standoff in Idaho in 1992 and the bombing of the Federal Building in Oklahoma City in 1995.

Militia members claim their legitimacy from the Second Amendment to the Constitution and from an institutionalized historical tradition under which militias have operated at various times in American history. In the colonial period, the militia played an integral role in taming the land during the conflict with Native Americans. Because large standing armies were a symbol of oppression that caused many Americans to flee the old world, militias became the main line of defense for many. A fear of governmental corruption convinced many Americans to allow only a limited role for a professional army, which was seen as necessary only to guarantee secured seacoasts and to tame the frontier. The role of citizen-militias in defending America, however, was short-lived. Those who favored building an American empire began to use the Militia Act of 1792 as ammunition in their fight to establish a professional army solely under the control of the federal government. They criticized the militia as ineffective in the War of 1812 and pressured politicians to dissolve the militia or to place it under federal control.

The United States emerged from the Spanish-American War as a world power, and it soon became clear that a standing army was needed to maintain the empire. Because the National Guard performed so well during the Spanish-American War, its place in the American defense machine was secure. Citizen-militias were factored out of the American defense equation with the Militia Act of 1903, which segregated the militia into two classes. The Organized Militia became the National Guard formations, and the Reserve Militia



Northern Michigan Regional Militia commander Norman Olson poses in his gun shop in Alanson, Michigan.

became the non-enrolled citizen-militias. It was the National Defense Act of 1916, however, that sealed the fate of militias as a remnant of a bygone era. The Act placed the National Guard more firmly under federal control as the primary reserve force and created an enlisted reserve to supply the professional Army, which was enlarged. As the push towards professionalization grew, those involved in militias came to be looked upon as weekend warriors and gun-toting extremists eager to play war games. Removed from their place in the context of Anti-Federalist patriotism, militia groups in the twentieth century have been characterized in similar ways. While most people view them as a threat to the government, militia members view themselves as the original protectors of American liberty who have been relegated to the position of delinquents and aliens on their own soil.

The first significant moment in the twentieth century that spurred paramilitary groups into action was the civil rights movement in the 1960s. The strength of the left during this time disturbed the far right, which saw itself losing ground to forces seen as detrimental to the "American Way." Cold War narratives provided further impetus for groups like the Minutemen and militias to mobilize under the themes of resisting outside invasion and government corruption. Militia groups were convinced that America was being attacked by a Communist conspiracy both internally and externally; even as most Americans ceased to fear an imminent invasion from an external

power, paramilitary groups shifted to the "enemy within." As social critic Harry Johnson noted in *The Minutemen*, "The emphasis shifted to the threat of an internal take-over of the country by the 'Communist-Socialist' conspiracy." Groups like the Posse Comitatus, founded in Portland, Oregon in 1969, demanded that public officials be arrested by citizens and lynched for their failure to defend their image of the American way of life.

In the 1990s, the Ruby Ridge standoff and the Oklahoma City bombing focused public attention on militia activity when government officials and the media made them out to be fringe groups with a penchant for violence that threatened to disrupt domestic tranquility. In the wake of these events, members of such groups as the Militia of Montana (M.O.M.) and the Michigan Militia were called to testify before the Senate about their activities. Although there was never a direct link established between specific militia groups and Ruby Ridge or Oklahoma City, it is widely reported that these are the types of events militia organizations would sponsor. It has not been uncommon for militia members to be arrested for plotting to attack the federal government without actually having carried out any such activities. Indeed, America's enemy in the late twentieth-century is the extreme right, often defined as militia activism. It is also interesting to note that Ronald Reagan's anti-government rhetoric in the 1980s helped ignite militia activism in the late twentieth century.

Many people who felt disenfranchised from the political process found consolation in calls to patriotism and a restoration of the America that once was. Economic dislocation also caused many to look for extreme solutions to societal ills.

Analysts often link militia activism to groups such as the Freemen and the Posse Comitatus. The Posse Comitatus—Latin for “the power of the county”—believes that government at the county level is the only legitimate form of government. Although some militia members on the extremes of militia activism believe that the sheriff of a county is the ultimate authority figure in that jurisdiction, most are taxpaying citizens who believe in the need for a federal government and recognize its authority. Furthermore, unlike most militia groups in the late twentieth century, the Posse has an openly racist agenda. Members of the Posse agree that although they share common themes with militia groups, they differ greatly in ideological content.

Certainly, some fears of militias are warranted. Not all militia members, however, are extremists. Indeed, involvement in militias and commitment to their programs varies greatly. The tamer side of militia activism is represented by members who are still confident that the content and form of the American government are intact and are just in need of readjustment. In their eyes, it is their duty to hold government officials accountable to the people they serve and to motivate an apathetic populace to become involved in institutional politics, e.g., voting, lobbying politicians for desired change, and serving one’s community through involvement in civic organizations.

Because of the loose-knit organization of militias for strategic and philosophical purposes, it is difficult to estimate the number of people involved in them. A report compiled by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) in early 1995 stated that “militias are operating in at least 40 states, with membership reaching some 15,000.” By April 25, 1995, the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR) in Atlanta, Georgia, reported that “there are about 100,000 militia activists in the U.S. proving their ability to draw mainstream Americans into their movement. Militias are active in at least 30 states. No portion of the country is exempt.” By April 22, 1996, the Southern Poverty Law Center “ha[d] identified 440 self-proclaimed antigovernment militias active in every state in the country.” Membership in militias remains strong despite the fact that many analysts characterize militia activism as a passing fad. Because inexhaustible resentment fuels militia activism, they will remain a part of the American landscape for some time to come.

—Tim Seul

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Milk, Harvey (1930-1978)

The first openly gay man to be elected into a position as a city supervisor, Milk (affectionately remembered as “the mayor of Castro Street”) was assassinated just 11 months after taking up office. Arguably, he has become posthumously more famous than he was when alive, a martyr to the progress of gay rights; his political struggles during the 1970s were emblematic of the first major backlash against the gay rights movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and established the terms by which political clashes over issues of sexuality have subsequently been fought.

Born in Long Island, New York, on May 22, 1930, Harvey Bernard Milk was raised in a middle-class Jewish family in Woodmere. In 1951 he graduated from Albany State College, where he had majored in math. Soon after leaving college he joined the Navy, where he rose to the status of chief petty officer before being dishonorably discharged when his homosexuality was uncovered. After living a fairly closeted life in New York in the 1950s and 1960s, he moved to San Francisco in 1972. At the time, San Francisco’s reputation as the gay capital of the United States was forming; post-Stonewall, previously invisible lesbians and gay men in rural locations and small towns began to migrate towards major cities. By the mid-1970s, it was estimated that 20 percent of the population of San Francisco was homosexual.

In San Francisco, Milk impulsively opened a camera store on Castro Street. Following an alleged extortion attempt against him, Milk decided to run for council office in 1973. In doing so, he challenged the city’s more conservative gay establishment—including Jim Foster’s Society for Individual Rights (SIR)—who believed that San Francisco would not be able to cope with a gay councillor. Milk, however, garnered populist support—including that of several of the toughest unions—by presenting himself as a “man of the people,” fighting for democratic American values: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Milk portrayed himself as someone who just happened to be gay; when talking of sexuality, he argued for acceptance of homosexuals as human beings.

Milk’s popularity grew; on his third attempt at office in 1977, he was elected. At this time, anti-gay sentiment was starting to build in the United States. Political sympathies were moving to the right, and television evangelism was beginning to grow in popularity. Opponents of gay rights championed the threatened nuclear family, and claimed that homosexuals were “unnatural” and “perverted,” recruiters of heterosexuals to their cause, and molesters of children. Individuals like Anita Bryant—pop singer, born-again Christian,



Harvey Milk (with both arms raised) during a gay rights parade.

orange juice publicist, and head of the anti-gay organization Save Our Children, Inc.—campaigned and sometimes won; for example, several states repealed their gay rights legislation. The Briggs Initiative, or Proposition 6, suggested that openly gay individuals should be prevented from teaching in California’s public schools; at the last moment, however, it was defeated by a three-to-two victory.

At the same elections which saw Milk taking up office, Dan White, a former police officer, was also elected as a city supervisor for the first time. White’s allegiances made him almost the political opposite of Milk: he represented a more conservative, Irish, working-class constituency. The San Francisco media were fascinated by the two men, and they often appeared on talk shows together. Initially Milk and White courted each other’s support, but after disagreements over juvenile offenders and a gay rights bill, their relationship became one of enmity. In the autumn of 1978, White resigned from his post; ten days later, he appealed to Mayor George Moscone to reinstate him. Under pressure from White’s political opponents, Moscone refused. On November 27, 1978, White entered City Hall with a .38 Smith and Wesson and killed both Moscone and Milk.

In court, in front of a jury composed mostly of white, working-class Catholics, the defense was made that White had been suffering from depression, and that he had been eating a great deal of junk food, which, by causing alterations in blood sugar levels, can cause

antisocial behavior; this tactic would later be known as “the Twinkie defense.” The case for the prosecution was weak; it made no attempt to outline White’s motivations. White was found guilty, on May 21, 1979, of two counts of voluntary manslaughter; after the announcement, a crowd besieged City Hall and police stormed the Castro. One hundred homosexuals and 61 police officers were hospitalized; the evening’s events were subsequently termed the “White Night Riots.” White was paroled in 1985; unable to obtain employment, he committed suicide before the end of the year.

Harvey Milk serves as a model example of how integrationist politicians can intelligently and sensitively handle issues of sexuality to their advantage. But to define him solely as a gay rights activist is a disservice to his memory; he was a champion of minorities, of the working person’s interests, in a patchwork city of segregated communities. His version of “American values,” and its contrast with those espoused by the Right, established the field for similar battles in subsequent decades.

—Glyn Davis

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Millay, Edna St. Vincent (1892-1950)

The quintessential romantic American poetess of the 1910s and 1920s, Edna St. Vincent Millay became a popular heroine to an entire generation of girls who grew up dreaming of becoming modern women writers. Millay's family was an unconventional one. After Millay's parents separated, Millay's mother, a nurse, reared her children alone, making sure to encourage their creativity. A published poet at 20, Millay became a popular literary figure while still in college at Vassar. There she developed a reputation as free spirit, whose romantic and sexual liaisons with women were recorded in her lyric verse. After graduating and moving to avant-garde Greenwich Village, Millay came to epitomize the modern bohemian lifestyle. A woman who "burned the candle at both ends," Millay took many lovers of both sexes, even as she continued to write popular and award-winning poetry and plays. After marrying feminist Eugen Boissevain in 1923, Millay's poetry and personal life gradually became more conservative. But she continued to write and to tour the country reading her poetry. Wearing only scarlet, Millay continued to attract overflow audiences of women who looked to the poetess as a heroine whose life exemplified the myriad hopeful possibilities for women in the twentieth century.

—Victoria Price

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Miller, Arthur (1915—)

Arthur Miller is probably America's most famous living and most enduring playwright. From the production of his first play in the 1930s through the 1990s, Miller has continually sought to explore and demystify the foundations upon which American power was built. During the 1950s, in particular, Miller risked his artistic career in order to expose the lies and hysteria that underpinned the McCarthy era. As a symbol of artistic integrity and resistance, his plays contain universal themes that have transcended their American origins; few other American playwrights can claim to be so heavily and consistently produced throughout the world. Miller has written more than 50 plays, stories, and novels, and he still continues to fascinate because of his marriage in the 1950s to Marilyn Monroe.

Born October 17, 1915, in New York, Miller was raised in a middle-class Jewish household in Harlem supported by his father's coat manufacturing business. The impact of the Depression, however, forced the family to move to Brooklyn. After high school, Miller enrolled at the University of Michigan, then a hotbed of leftist



Arthur Miller

activity. He began to write his first plays while still at college. Miller's origins and experiences heavily influenced these early plays as Jewish themes coexisted with a socialism that was the product of the Depression. After college, Miller briefly worked for the Federal Theatre Project, and following its closure by Congress, he wrote radio plays for CBS and NBC. Miller tried to enlist during World War II, but a school football injury kept him out of the armed forces. It was not until the end of the war that Miller began to make a name for himself.

In 1947 Miller's *All My Sons* was produced in New York, which was followed by *Death of a Salesman*, Miller's major achievement, in 1949. Both these plays introduced Miller to the New York theatre-going community as a controversial young playwright, unafraid to expose the negative effects of capitalism and wartime corruption on typical American families and the "common man." Several awards, including the 1949 Pulitzer Prize for drama and the New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for best play of the year for *Death of a Salesman*, and positive critical reception signaled Miller's arrival on the American dramatic scene. Despite his new fame and unlike many of his colleagues, Miller chose to remain within the theatre industry rather than adopting Hollywood as his new home.

It was during the period of McCarthyism, at the height of the domestic Cold War in America, that Miller wrote his best plays and became an international figure. The deleterious effects of U.S. foreign policy and McCarthyism on artistic freedoms concerned Miller. His most famous play, *The Crucible* (1953), took witch-hunting as an analogy for the contemporary situation. It has since become an enduring metaphor not only for McCarthyism, but also for any system

of domestic repression, and hence is still produced all over the world today. This was followed up by *A View from the Bridge* (1955), which attacked the current vogue for informing and naming names before the various senate and congressional investigating committees that was required as a test of political loyalty. These anti-McCarthy plays, together with his support for many leftist causes, led many to label Miller as subversive. On the pretext of a misuse of his passport, the House Committee on Un-American Activities subpoenaed Miller in 1956 to account for his various actions. Miller refused to name names during his hearing and was thus cited for contempt of Congress. It was this “unfriendly” stance that set Miller apart from many of his colleagues in the film and theatre industries and contributed to his international reputation as a man of integrity. While many other liberal intellectuals were diving for cover or actively cooperating with the McCarthy witch-hunts, Miller stood out as symbol of uncompromising resistance at a time when most forms of cultural creativity were steadily being destroyed.

His fame increased further as a result of his private rather than public life. In 1956 Miller announced his engagement to 1950s icon Marilyn Monroe. Miller—the nerdy, Jewish intellectual from Brooklyn—had inexplicably attracted the most desired woman in America. Miller wrote *The Misfits* for his new wife, and she starred in the film of the same name in 1960. They divorced the following year. Their marriage was, in part, the subject of Miller’s first play in nine years, *After the Fall* (1964), and he reflected upon their relationship in his autobiography, *Timebends* (1987).

In 1962, Miller’s life entered a new phase. He married his third wife, professional photographer Inge Morath. Following his experience of Nazi trials in 1959, Miller openly turned to very personal issues in his work. *After the Fall*, *Incident at Vichy* (1964), *The Creation of the World and Other Business* (1972), *Playing for Time* (1980), and *Broken Glass* (1994) all dealt with the universal issues of the Holocaust and “man’s inhumanity towards man.” These plays continued his lifelong fascination with the problem of evil and the responsibility of the individual. He also wrote other plays concerned with family, identity, and memory. In addition, Miller wrote many articles and short stories, and he continued to be politically active, becoming the president of PEN in 1965 and an anti-Vietnam campaigner.

—Nathan Abrams

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Miller Beer

In 1855, when Frederick E. Miller purchased the abandoned Plank Road Brewery in Wisconsin for \$3,510, he could not have imagined what his business would become. In the 1990s, the Miller Brewing Company had become the second largest brewery in the United States, and its top brands, Miller High Life and Miller Lite,

were household names. Miller’s success can be attributed to the phenomenally successful marketing campaign started when Philip Morris purchased the company in 1969. Using former athletes and other celebrities to promote their products, Miller’s marketers coined snappy catch phrases that entered the daily language of America. Slogans such as “Welcome to Miller Time” successfully transformed Miller High Life from an upscale to popular product, while “Less Filling! Tastes Great!” and “Everything you always wanted in a beer . . . and less” convinced men that Miller Lite was not just for weight-conscious women. These successes sent the company’s profile and its profits soaring, and the beer was established as a popular staple ingredient of American life by the end of the twentieth century.

—Alexander Shashko

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Miller, Glenn (1904-1944)

Bandleader, trombonist, composer, and arranger, Glenn Miller was one of America’s most prominent pop-music icons of the big-band era of the 1930s and 1940s. In his brief eight-year professional career as a bandleader, Miller accomplished more than most other bandleaders did in a lifetime. Recordings sold by Glenn Miller and his Orchestra sold in the millions, superseding records previously established by Benny Goodman. Miller’s lyric instrumentals, with their distinct grouping of clarinet and saxophones, ushered in a unique sound in popular dance-band music. His compositions and recordings included his theme song “Moonlight Serenade,” as well as “In the Mood,” “Tuxedo Junction,” and “Pennsylvania 6-5000,” songs that symbolized the swing era for millions of people around the world.

Born Glenn Alton Miller on March 1, 1904 in Clarinda, Iowa, Miller moved with his family to Fort Morgan, Colorado, where he spent his formative years. His early musical exposure included listening to his mother play a pump organ at home, and his playing trombone with the local Bob Senter Orchestra. Miller studied briefly at the University of Colorado before embarking on a professional career in music. He later studied orchestral arranging with Joseph Schillinger. Miller did extensive work as a sideman with various groups, including stints with Ben Pollack in 1926-27, Paul Ash in 1928, Red Nichols in 1929-30, and the Dorsey Brothers in 1934. Miller was much in demand and well-compensated for his work as a studio musician in New York City in the 1930s. Along with bandleader Tommy Dorsey, Miller was also a frequent sideman with jazz clarinetist Benny Goodman. By 1935, Miller was the *de facto* leader, co-organizer, and sideman for Ray Noble’s American band. Miller also admired the Jimmie Lunceford and Count Basie bands.

In 1937, Miller decided to form his own orchestra, but it disbanded when its recordings did not sell well, as did a 1938 successor that suffered the same fate. In 1939, Miller’s third band obtained work at the prestigious Glen Island Casino in the suburbs of New Rochelle, New York. The band’s next date was at the Meadowbrook in New Jersey. Both venues featured the orchestra in radio broadcasts, and by mid-summer the band had achieved a national following. In the same year, the band began a series of radio

broadcasts for Chesterfield cigarettes, reaching phenomenal peaks of popularity with a series of hit records, and winning the *Down Beat* poll for top “sweet” band in 1940-41. The band made two films—*Sun Valley Serenade* in 1941 and *Orchestra Wives* in 1942.

Glenn Miller and his band’s recordings were not strong on jazz improvisation. A few soloists were featured on each release, although more of them appeared at live dance dates. An important addition to the band was the Modernaires, an excellent vocal quartet that provided the band with such hits as “Chattanooga Choo Choo,” which sold a million records in the first six months of its release. Ray Eberle was featured on ballads such as “At Last” and “Serenade in Blue.” Gunther Schuller, in his seminal study *The Swing Era*, observed that “The essence of Miller’s formula was a kind of smoothed-out jazz: reliable, consistent, sufficiently predictable not to disturb but colorful enough to retain a mild element of surprise, and, above all, not too emotional or deeply expressive, i.e. an attractive patina rather than the real thing.” Although Miller rarely played or arranged in later years in order to concentrate on achieving the widest public appeal for his orchestra, he employed the best of arrangers, including Bill Finegan, who arranged “Little Brown Jug,” and Jerry Gray, who arranged “Pennsylvania 6-5000.”

The band’s first recordings in 1939 were very eclectic. The second recording date on Brunswick featured songs with a swing

beat. Several hits followed the Glen Casino booking, including “Moonlight Serenade” (a Miller composition), “Sunrise Serenade,” and “Little Brown Jug.” “In the Mood,” released in 1939, was Miller’s most monumental hit. “Chattanooga Choo Choo,” released in 1941, was the first record formally certified as a million seller.

The Miller sound permeated the popular music of the time, and until this day it remains the most nostalgically evocative of the Swing Era. While not a style or genre, the Miller sound was so distinctive, thanks to its unique and skillful use of the band’s reed section, that listeners could instantly identify the sound as his. This distinctive sound featured Wilbur Schwartz’s fervent and throbbing clarinet over four saxes. Another Miller trademark was the repetition of a riff until it would softly fade away and then suddenly return at full volume with the cycle repeated. Each contrasting texture (reeds or brass) was tied to a dynamic level.

In September of 1942, as a gesture of American patriotism, Miller entered the Army Air Force, leaving behind an extremely lucrative career as a bandleader. His earnings had been estimated at \$100,000 per month from recordings alone. “I, like every American, have an obligation to fulfill. . . . It is not enough for me to sit back and buy bonds. . . .” was Miller’s explanation in a public statement that astonished the music world. Once in uniform, he proceeded to form the war’s most famous service band, an all-star Army Air Force Band



The Glen Miller Orchestra, 1942.

consisting of forty-two pieces, including a nineteen-man jazz component comparable to his civilian band plus one French horn and a twenty-piece string ensemble. The band was based in New Haven, Connecticut, and in the spring of 1943 initiated a series of weekly coast-to-coast Air Force recruitment radio broadcasts. In the spring of 1944, orders came for the band to go to England. The band that was chosen to go overseas was augmented with three arrangers, a copyist, and five singers. The band played in England, broadcasting over the BBC.

On December 15, 1944 on a small plane from London, Miller headed to Paris, liberated that summer, to make arrangements for the band's arrival there. The plane disappeared in flight. After Miller vanished, his death was mourned internationally and he was honored as a war hero. His band continued playing in Paris under the direction of Jerry Gray and Ray McKinley for a six-week engagement that was extended to six months because of its popularity.

After the band returned to the United States, Tex Beneke kept the band and its legacy alive with a new group called The Glenn Miller Band with Tex Beneke. In 1953, the *Glenn Miller Story*, a film vaguely based on his life, was released by Hollywood. Beginning in 1956 and for a decade thereafter, a band sanctioned by the Miller

estate toured the United States and internationally under his name and under the direction of Ray McKinley. Miller's short but rich career left a permanent legacy of lyric instrumentals and a distinct sound that evokes the lively musical style of the late Depression and World War II years. During the 1970s, the lines "Boy, the way Glenn Miller played/Songs that made the hit parade. . ." were heard by millions each week from coast to coast, sung by Archie and Edith Bunker as a theme song to open their *All in the Family* sitcom. That Glenn Miller had been selected to represent the danceable, singable, hummable music of the good old days so idolized by the Bunkers came as no surprise to those of a certain age who believe that American popular music lost its way in the raucous, post-World War II years.

—Willie Collins

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Miller, Henry (1891-1980)

Henry Miller is an American-born bohemian writer whose works, with D. H. Lawrence's, are the first respected books of the twentieth century containing explicit sex. His first and most famous book is *Tropic of Cancer* (1934), an autobiographical novel portraying Miller's promiscuous Paris lifestyle. His subsequent works, including *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939), *The World of Sex* (1940), and the trilogy *Sexus*, *Plexus*, and *Nexus* (1949-1960), are similarly explicit and autobiographical, while also rich with brilliant commentary on the nature and meaning of being a freethinking artist-writer in the modern world. Though personal and nonpolitical, Miller's work is often obscene and as such has often been censored in the United States and the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, Miller has always been widely read, and is the key precursor to the 1950s Beat Poets and to the sexually-frank hippie writers of the 1960s. Miller is also known for his paintings, his 1941 travel narrative on Greece, and his relationship with diarist and critic Anaïs Nin.

—Dave Goldweber

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Miller, Roger (1936-1992)

Songwriter and singer Roger Miller is best known for his humorous novelty songs that topped the country music charts in the mid-1960s. Miller was born in Fort Worth, Texas, in 1936, but after the death of his father, his mother underwent a serious illness and Roger went to live with his aunt and uncle in Erick, Oklahoma, a small farming community. Leaving school at the end of the eighth grade, Miller worked as a ranch hand and as a rodeo rider. During these years, he taught himself to play guitar, banjo, fiddle, piano, and drums. Leaving Oklahoma to join the Army, Miller was stationed in Korea, where he worked as a jeep driver. Displaying his musical skills on the side, he was soon transferred to the Army's Special Services division, where he became part of a hillbilly band entertaining the troops. His success there encouraged him to pursue a musical career after leaving the Army in 1957.

Miller went to Nashville in 1957, working as a bellhop while he wrote songs on the side. His success in getting established Nashville singers to record his songs was limited, until Ray Price recorded Miller's song "Invitation to the Blues." The song became a hit, and



Roger Miller

Miller went to work as a songwriter in country singer Faron Young's music company. He wrote a number of hit songs there, including "That's the Way I Feel" for Faron Young, "Half a Mind" for Ernest Tubb, and "Billy Bayou" for Jim Reeves. His success in songwriting renewed Miller's interest in becoming a recording artist himself. He had a hit on the RCA label in 1961 with "You Don't Want My Love" and "When Two Worlds Collide."

Miller took his newfound success as a performer to Hollywood, where he briefly studied acting and became a regular guest on such popular shows as *The Jimmy Dean Show* and *The Merv Griffin Show*. In Hollywood, Miller developed a new style that became his hallmark sound. Instead of the straightforward country-pop sound popular in Nashville at the time, Miller developed a rather goofy and humorous persona showcasing novelty songs. In such songs as "Dang Me," a top-ten hit in 1964, Miller sang about a standard country-music theme—a man out honky-tonkin' and drinking his paycheck away while his wife and month-old baby sat at home alone—but did so in a humorous style. The bouncy country beat and Miller's country-scat singing put a brighter tone on this story of a man feeling guilty about his actions, but not enough to do anything about it. "Dang me, dang me," he sang, "they oughta take a rope and hang me." That same year, Miller scored a hit with "Chug-A-Lug," a song about discovering alcohol on a Future Farmers of America/Four-H field trip. Miller's slurred speech and funny noises added to the novelty effect of the song. In 1965, Miller scored his biggest hit in "King of the Road," a light-hearted song about a hobo singer that spent five weeks in the top ten of the country music charts. Miller's most successful year was 1965. Along with "King of the Road," he scored top-ten

hits with “Engine, Engine No. 9,” “One Dyin’ and A-Buryin’,” and “Kansas City Star.” In 1966 he had a top-ten hit with “England Swings.” Miller also enjoyed a brief run on NBC television as the star of his own weekly show in 1966.

After these successes, Miller’s career declined. Some of his songs continued to be hits for other artists, including Andy Williams with “In the Summer Time” and Eddy Arnold with “The Last Word in Lonesome is Me.” He also had a few hits with songs by other writers, including Bobby Russell’s “Little Green Apples” in 1968 and Kris Kristofferson’s “Me and Bobby McGee” in 1969. He recorded less often during the 1970s, giving his attention to business concerns such as his “King of the Road” hotel chain. He did, however, write songs for Walt Disney’s animated film, *Robin Hood*, and he had hits with “Open Up Your Heart” and “Tomorrow Night in Baltimore.” Miller’s last major work was music he wrote for *Big River*, a 1985 Tony award-winning Broadway musical based on the works of Mark Twain. Miller died in 1992 after a brief battle with throat cancer.

—Timothy Berg

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Milli Vanilli

The popular music group Milli Vanilli rose to worldwide fame on the strength of their hit singles and compelling stage presence, but will be remembered most for their inauthenticity. Established in 1988, the pop duo consisted of the attractive and charismatic Rob Pilatus (1965-1998) and Fabrice Morvan (1966—) who—unbeknownst to the audience—danced and lip-synched to the songs of the unattractive American studio band, Numarx.

The Milli Vanilli hit, “Girl You Know It’s True,” reached number two on the U.S. pop charts in 1989, and the group’s next releases (“Baby Don’t Forget My Number,” “Blame It on the Rain,” and “Girl I’m Gonna Miss You”) all reached number one. However, not until after Milli Vanilli won the 1989 Grammy award for Best New Artist did the public find out that Pilatus and Morvan did not actually sing on their records or on-stage. The two sported a trendy, marketable look, wearing body-contoured bike shorts and T-shirts and shoulder-length dreadlocks, but they possessed apparently no musical talent. The record producer Frankie Farian had offered them \$4,000 each plus royalties to dance and lip-synch to “Girl You Know It’s True” on European television, and after the song became a worldwide hit, the duo continued the scam on television and on-stage.

Pilatus and Morvan alleged that Farian promised them studio time but never delivered, and after “their” song became a hit, the two were so enamored of the celebrity lifestyle that they preferred not to

give up the illusion, and continued to lip-synch. When the world learned the duo was mere window-dressing, the Grammy committee rescinded their Best New Artist award. Twenty-seven lawsuits alleged fraud against Arista Records, BMG (Arista’s parent company), and several concert promoters. More than 80,000 rebates of up to three dollars were given to any individual with proof of purchase of a Milli Vanilli record or concert ticket.

In 1991, Farian released an album by the “real” Milli Vanilli (i.e., Numarx), but the public ignored it. In 1993 Pilatus and Morvan, under the name Rob & Fab, recorded a self-titled album that failed commercially and critically. A cable television documentary on the lives of Pilatus and Morvan revealed a post-scandal downhill trajectory into debt, depression, drugs, and suicide attempts on the part of Pilatus (with a premature death from heart failure at the age of 32), and a relatively low-profile life of ignominy on the part of Morvan. The tragicomedy of Milli Vanilli reinforced the cynicism in popular culture that had begun as a backlash to the rigging of *The \$64,000 Question* and other quiz shows in the late 1950s.

—Tilney Marsh

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Million Man March

On October 16, 1995, approximately 1.2 million African American men converged on the nation’s capitol to participate in the historic Million Man March, spearheaded by Minister Louis Farrakhan, the controversial head of the Nation of Islam. The march was a call for black men to “look inward at ourselves, what we are, what we have become . . . and what we can do to be better people and help build black communities.” Men from all over the country traveled by bus, plane, train, and automobile to take part in the 15-hour event, in what would be the largest gathering of African Americans in the nation’s history. Those who could not attend were asked to stay away from work in honor of the march and watch it on television, where all of the major networks carried live extensive coverage. In all, more than 2.2 million people watched the monumental event on television, and they witnessed black men from diverse backgrounds make a pledge to reclaim their communities. In the aftermath of the march there was no question that Farrakhan was, according to author Michael H. Cottman, “now one of the most influential leaders in black America.”

—Leonard N. Moore

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See Divine

Milton Bradley

Milton Bradley Inc. is well known as the producer of such popular American games as Chutes and Ladders, Parcheesi, The Game of Life, and Yahtzee. The company was founded in 1860 by a lithographer named Milton Bradley who, during the Civil War, purchased a game called The Checkered Game of Life from an inventor. By 1868, Bradley had established himself as the leading manufacturer of games in the United States. In the 1950s the company was the first to market home versions of popular television game shows. The first of these was Concentration, followed by Password and Jeopardy. On the 100th anniversary of the company, the original game was reissued as The Game of Life. In 1984, Hasbro, the second leading toy producer after Mattel, purchased Milton Bradley.

—Robin Lent

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Minimalism

“Less is more,” said the architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, echoing the words of Robert Browning in *Andrea del Sarto* (1855) and the gist of Hesiod (c. 700 B.C.), who advised “how much more is the half than the whole.” In its broadest sense minimalism refers to any form of human expression whose elements have been reduced, simplified, or even eliminated altogether. More specifically, the term has come to denote movements in painting, sculpture, architecture, and music—largely American—which flowered in the 1960s and were still influential at the close of the twentieth century. While many of its best examples have provided viewers or listeners with genuinely moving aesthetic experiences, minimalism is also notable for the degree to which it has tested both artistic limits and the patience of audiences. In twentieth-century popular culture minimal forms from the highway billboard to the 60-second sound bite have exemplified Mies’s dictum.

The quintessential minimalist painting of the 1960s was a monochrome square and its sculptural counterpart a simple geometric solid. Kasimir Malevich’s *Suprematist Composition: White on White* (1918) and Aleksandr Rodchenko’s *Black on Black* of the same year prepared the way for Robert Rauschenberg’s all-white paintings of the early 1950s and Ad Reinhardt’s all-black paintings of the 1960s. Barnett Newman, Ellsworth Kelly, Robert Ryman, Frank Stella, Brice Marden, and Agnes Martin are other names associated with minimalist painting of the 1960s. Influential early-twentieth-century precursors of 1960s minimalist sculpture include Marcel Duchamp’s found objects or “readymades” and Constantin Brancusi’s elegant and highly simplified forms such as “Bird in Space.” Donald Judd, Carl Andre, Robert Morris, and Tony Smith are among the leading figures of 1960s sculptural minimalism. Much minimalist art shares an anonymous impersonality and formal simplicity, but motives

behind the pieces have undoubtedly ranged from the purely aesthetic to dadaist playfulness, from expressionism to reactionism and philosophical pointmaking.

Minimal music (also called system or repetitive music) downplays or eliminates certain elements such as melody or harmony while emphasizing others, especially repetition and gradual change, sometimes to the point of alienating new audiences, but sometimes with beautiful and hypnotic effects. Best known of the minimal composer/performers who came of age in the 1960s are La Monte Young, Terry Riley, Steve Reich, and Philip Glass, all classically trained but variously influenced by eclectic sources including the music of non-Western cultures, jazz, and ambient sounds. Glass, who has composed the music for operas such as *Einstein on the Beach* (1976) and films such as *Koyaanisqatsi* (1983), has enjoyed the most commercial success of this group. Brian Eno, David Byrne, Kraftwerk, and a variety of new age musicians have been influenced by minimal music.

Among the most interesting examples of minimalism are those which have severely tested its limits. John Cage’s “4’33”,” a 1952 composition in which the musician performs nothing for four minutes and 33 seconds, is capable of uniquely attuning the listener to ambient audience sounds. Cage was greatly entertained and impressed with the dramatic interplay of dust particles in Nam June Paik’s otherwise imageless 60 minute film *Zen for Film* (1964). Andy Warhol produced a number of intentionally boring films including *Sleep* (1964), in which a man is seen sleeping for six hours. At another extreme are certain truly massive, though formally minimal, works of architecture and sculpture. In 1998 Richard Serra oversaw the temporary installation of his nine steel sculptures weighing a total of 750 tons at a Los Angeles museum.

While the lines of influence are not always clear, minimalism in its broadest sense has been at work or play in an intriguing range of twentieth-century contexts: the unadorned, rectilinear glass and steel architecture of Mies van der Rohe and Philip Johnson; the sound bite, the short attention span, and the 15 minutes of fame predicted for all by Andy Warhol; billboards, television commercials, and advertisements in general; the message of Simon and Garfunkel’s “The Sounds of Silence” and the cover of the Beatles’ “White Album”; the smiley face, the peace sign, and the corporate logo; the Hula Hoop and the Pet Rock; the miniskirt and the Volkswagen Bug; E. F. Schumacher’s *Small Is Beautiful*; and the comic strip and the cartoon. *Seinfeld*, the enormously popular television series of the 1990s and sometimes said erroneously to be “a show about nothing,” often had much to say about the minutiae of daily life. *Art*, Yasmina Reza’s drama featuring an all-white painting, won the 1998 Tony Award for best play. Whatever its motives, minimalism has played a role in late-twentieth-century America that is far from minimal.

—Craig Bunch

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Minivans

Associated in the minds of some demographers with baby boomers and soccer moms, minivans are a type of automotive vehicle that largely replaced the family station wagon in the 1980s and 1990s as a “kid hauler.” The most popular versions of the boxy vehicles, which were manufactured by Chrysler Corporation and introduced by its media-savvy chairman Lee Iacocca, were even credited with saving Chrysler from automotive extinction. Doron P. Levin suggested the connection between Chrysler’s development of the minivan and its economic health and noted, “Rarely had a company so close to bankruptcy sprung back to health with the vigor of Chrysler.” Brock Yates went even further when he described minivans as “the true salvation of the Chrysler product line” and argued that the Dodge Caravan and Plymouth Voyager, which were introduced in 1983, “created an entire new market category for Chrysler and the automobile industry as a whole.” The enthusiastic Yates then hailed the minivan as one of “a handful of legitimate milestone vehicles” that “turned and expanded the market in new directions due to their revolutionary qualities.”

Indeed their impact was revolutionary, as the 1980s saw minivans quickly replacing station wagons in shopping malls around the country, as well as car pool lines and Little League games. As one of the first vehicles that was deliberately designed with the growing number of female drivers in mind, the minivan was also a clear response to the Women’s Liberation movement, and many of its characteristic features were clearly targeted to women: low step-up height, carlike feel and handling, and built-in child seats. Moreover, several manufacturers deliberately placed female engineers in charge of their design teams to make sure that no appealing family-oriented innovations were missed.

The immediate popularity of the minivan, which first appeared in automotive showrooms in January 1984, probably stemmed from both the way it was designed (although associated with Iacocca, minivans are actually the brainchild of Hal Sperlich, a Detroit design engineer who also played a key role in developing the popular Ford Mustang in the late 1960s) and from the fact that Chrysler continued to undertake careful research to see what potential drivers desired in a vehicle. In fact, Yates commented enthusiastically on the innovative redesign of the minivan in 1996. Instead of designing the vehicle from the outside in (Detroit’s usual practice), the Chrysler design team “defied convention by first establishing rigid interior dimensions and then wrapping them in a boxlike structure. They decided on an interior height of four feet with a width of five feet—including a full four feet between the rear wheels in order to accommodate what had become an industry storage benchmark: a 4x8-foot sheet of plywood.” Yates also observed that Chrysler employed a polling firm who learned that potential customers wanted a vehicle with room for

as many as seven passengers that handled like a car, and also had flexible seating and easily removable seats.

While Chrysler introduced a product in the 1980s that clearly met the practical needs of drivers, minivans may have also met an emotional need of baby boomers who remembered the vans of their youth, including the Volkswagen Microbus, which was introduced in 1949 and became the primary means of transportation for 1960s flower children and California surfers, and the Corvair Greenbriar, introduced 11 years later. Although Volkswagen continued to manufacture vans, their poor handling prevented them from achieving the popularity of Chrysler’s products.

Although Chrysler held a near monopoly in minivan sales for five years and introduced a total redesign in 1996 that received *Motor Trend* magazine’s coveted “Car of the Year” award, the first minivan to be so honored, Chrysler was quickly joined by competition from Ford, General Motors, Toyota, and Mazda, who introduced their own versions of the popular vehicle. However, by the late 1990s, as their children were leaving the nest, baby boomers no longer needed a vehicle that would seat seven people. As a result, at the end of the millennium minivans were being replaced as the vehicle of choice by equally boxy sport utility vehicles. Nonetheless, the vehicle that harkened back to the colorfully painted Volkswagen bus of the 1960s remained a familiar sight on the highways and suburban streets of America by the close of the twentieth century.

—Carol A. Senf

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Minnelli, Vincente (1903-1986)

Hollywood’s preeminent director of movie musicals during the 1940s and 1950s, Vincente Minnelli was a master stylist. Characterized by a bold use of color and movement, an elegant sense of visual design, and imaginative development of surreal, fantasy sequences, Minnelli’s directorial style is epitomized in his masterworks *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *An American in Paris* (1951), *The Band Wagon* (1953), and *Gigi* (1958), the film for which he won the Best Director Academy Award. While critics suggested Minnelli’s work was more “decorative” than “substantive,” they praised his non-musical films *The Bad and the Beautiful* (1952) and *Lust for Life* (1956) and agreed that the tasteful modernism he brought to his celluloid canvases lent sophistication to the art of film entertainment. Minnelli figures prominently in celebrity gossip, due to his marriage to screen star Judy Garland in 1945 and the fame of their daughter, entertainer Liza Minnelli.

—Lisa Jo Sagolla

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Minoso, Minnie (1922—)

A former player in the Negro Leagues, the Cuban-born Minnie Minoso made his major league debut with the Cleveland Indians in 1949. In 1951, he earned *The Sporting News* Rookie of the Year honors, having led the American League in steals and triples. That same year, he also became the Chicago White Sox's first black player. A three-time stolen base champion, Minoso hit for power and average. He spent most of his career with the Indians and White Sox as an outfielder, but he also saw stints in St. Louis and Washington. A nine-time all-star and three-time gold-glover, Minoso retired in 1964 with a .298 career batting average. He briefly returned to the White Sox in 1976 to become the oldest player (at fifty-three) to collect a hit. In 1980, he became only the second major leaguer to bat in five different decades. A fan favorite, Minoso was a goodwill ambassador for the White Sox.

—Matt Kerr

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Minstrel Shows

Originating around 1830 and peaking in popularity twenty years later, the minstrel show offered blackface comedy for the common man. The minstrel show, prominent primarily in Northeastern urban centers, had a profound impact on nineteenth-century Americans, including Mark Twain who remarked in his *Autobiography* that “if I could have the nigger show back again . . . I should have but little further use for opera.” Although it declined by 1900, the minstrel show continued to shape American popular entertainment and remained a topic of intense historical and political debate. It is both reviled for its racism, including its exploitation of black culture, and celebrated as the “people’s culture” and the first indigenous form of American popular culture.

Thomas D. Rice, an itinerant blackface performer, is responsible for one of the founding moments in the history of the minstrel show. In approximately 1830 Rice saw an elderly black man performing a strange dance while singing “Weel about and turn around and do jus so;/Ebery time I weel about, I jump Jim Crow.” He copied the dance, borrowed the man’s clothes, blacked up and soon launched a successful tour in New York City with an act that included his new “Jim Crow” dance. Over the next decade ensembles, rather than solo performers, began to dominate this industry. In 1843 one of the first minstrel show troupes, the Virginia Minstrels (which included Dan



A promotional poster for the “Al G. Field Greater Minstrels.”

Emmett), formed in New York City, the birthplace and then hub of the minstrel show productions.

The blackface minstrel stands alongside the Yankee (independent, patriotic, and honest) and the backwoodsman (such as the uneducated and robust Davy Crockett) as early expressions of American identity, in defiance of European aristocracy. In literature or on stage, these stock characters undermined pretentious and immoral elites with their comedy. Significantly, the minstrel show was the first form of American commercial entertainment to draw on black culture, although scholars admit that it is difficult to sort out this complex history of racial exchange.

White male performers put on blackface to offer comic commentary on a variety of topics (including women’s rights and slavery); undermine many experts and authority figures; and make fun of immigrants, Indians, and African Americans. The burlesque of Shakespeare’s major plays—with exuberant physical comedy and transvestite heroines—was a regular feature of minstrelsy. Although the minstrel show underwent many transformations in the nineteenth century, the basic structure included three distinct parts. In the first section of the show a pompous interlocutor was situated in the center of a semi-circle of performers made-up in blackface (burnt cork or greasepaint), with two unruly endmen, named Brudder Tambo and Brudder Bones (their names referred to the instruments they played).

These comedians were usually the stars of the show. Dressed in grotesque costumes and gesturing wildly on stage, they exchanged malapropisms, riddles, and one-liners, often deflating the interlocutor with their comic barbs. The second part of the show featured variety acts, while the final segment was a one-act skit, often depicting plantation life.

The representation of African Americans, one part of this diverse entertainment form, became popular when political tensions surrounding slavery were rising. The minstrel show emerged approximately at the time of the first publication of William Lloyd Garrison's abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator* (1831), and Nat Turner's slave rebellion (1831). Songs and dialogues in the minstrel show sometimes featured grotesque portrayals of the Northern black dandy (Zip Coon) and the happy, errant slave (Jim Crow). In addition, Stephen Foster, who sold many of his songs to the minstrel show performer E. P. Christy, created images of peaceful Southern plantation life, with emotional and sympathetic slaves, in tunes like "Old Folks at Home." Through sentimental images of contented slaves in the South and rebellious, incompetent free blacks, the minstrel denigrated blacks but its depiction of slavery was often ambivalent, particularly prior to 1850. The minstrel show included black tricksters who outwitted masters and at times criticized the cruelty of slavery, particularly the break-up of slave families. One of the minstrel show's "plantation melodies" even supported abolition:

Some massas love dar darkies well,
And gib em what dey want,
Except it is dar freedom
And *dat* I know dey won't.

The minstrel show's approach to race relations was thus contradictory. Although it tended to support the Union cause during the Civil War, it envisioned no place for free blacks in the North.

The blackface mask of the minstrel show was also a medium of misogyny. Overwhelmingly male-dominated, particularly in the antebellum period, the minstrel show made independent women the butt of jokes and also attacked women's supposed moral superiority. The minstrel show, for example, often included songs that ridiculed women's rights:

When woman's rights is stirred a bit
De first reform she bitches on
Is how she can wid least delay
Just draw a pair ob britches on.

The minstrel show featured a stock low comedy character, the grotesque black woman or the "funny ole gal." In contrast to male performers' creation of the "plantation yellow girl" (an attractive, well-dressed mulatto), female impersonators made the "funny ole gal" decidedly unattractive with mismatched clothes and a shrill voice.

The minstrel show underwent substantial changes after the Civil War. The troupes became much larger, the productions became plush and more elaborate, and the topics shifted away from race. J. H. Haverly, an experienced manager, increased his profits dramatically when he enlarged his minstrel show companies and advertised their glamour. M. B. Leavitt offered an all-female cast for his minstrel show in 1870; these novel female minstrels flirted with the audience and showed off their bodies in skimpy costumes. Although minstrel show performers usually remained in blackface, players offered caricatures of immigrants, including Chinese newcomers, and also attacked business elites in America. These white minstrels turned

away from racial discussions in part because of competition from black performers who, beginning in the 1860s, became increasingly successful as professional minstrels by advertising their authentic portrayals of black life. Black performers like Bessie Smith and Ida Cox got some of their early show business training in the minstrel show.

Why was the minstrel show so popular among working-class Northern men (the primary audience for this entertainment in the antebellum period)? Some historians have argued that the minstrel show was a key to the formation of white working class identity: it helped these workers unite together as whites above blacks, gave them tools to challenge their subordinate status, and also offered some routes of escape through fantasy. Through the image of the libidinous, carefree black, the minstrel show provided an outlet for spectators' longings for a preindustrial, rural past—a way to counter the discipline and dislocation of urban, industrial life. In his influential study of the antebellum minstrel show, *Love and Theft*, Eric Lott argues that the working-class fan of the minstrel show enjoyed the denigration of African Americans, identified with them as a subjugated class, and was attracted to the childish fun they represented on stage. In these ways, the minstrel show, according to Lott, represented an ambivalent mixture of contempt and desire for African Americans. W. T. Lhamon, in contrast, argues that the minstrel show was, even more specifically, a working-class youth revolt in which young men rejected the bourgeois expectations of thrift and responsibility for adults. Considerable debate remains, however, about the extent to which the racist forms of minstrelsy served any politically progressive goals of the working class in America.

The racial borrowings and masks of the minstrel show lived on in American culture long after the professional minstrel show declined around 1900. Vaudeville and musical comedies became the primary sites of blackface entertainment, while the minstrel show also shaped the development of radio and Hollywood films. Two white men, Freeman Gosden and Charles Correll, established a successful radio show, *Amos 'n' Andy*, in which they created African American characters using racial dialect. Michael Rogin has demonstrated the salience of blackface masks to twentieth century Hollywood movies, particularly the importance of blackface to the Americanization of immigrants. Jewish film stars in blackface, such as Al Jolson in *The Jazz Singer* (1927), literally displaced African Americans on stage and screen and constructed new American identities. Similar to the minstrel show's nascent nationalism, the blackface of Hollywood movies helped construct an American "melting pot" for white immigrants. The minstrel show, a beguiling mixture of populism and racism, established the racial mixture and discrimination of blackface as enduring aspects of twentieth century American culture.

—M. Alison Kibler

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Miranda, Carmen (1909-1955)

“The Brazilian Bombshell” exploded onto the American scene in the 1940s with her lyrically unintelligible songs, her excess, and her exoticism. Miranda, heralded by the Roosevelt administration as the “Ambassadress of Good Neighborhood,” became the highest-paid actress in the world as well as the first Latin American to carve her name, handprints, and footprints on the Walk of Fame. Her films include *Down Argentine Way* (1940); *The Gang’s All Here* (1943), the first of the “banana series” movies, in which she performs “The Lady with the Tutti-Frutti Hat” amidst tropical scenery replete with gigantic—and erotic—bananas; and *Copacabana* (1947), a low-budget comedy with Groucho Marx. Although she experienced a decline in her last years, after her death Miranda was turned into an icon of “kitsch culture” and continues to be one of the most powerful symbols of “latinidad.”

—Bianca Freire-Medeiros

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Miranda Warning

The *Miranda* warning has become one of the most visible protections of Americans civil rights. Because the warning protects suspected criminals at the point of arrest, the warning has provoked debate about the benefits of protecting individual rights at the cost of impeding police investigative powers. The warning only protects a person from self-incrimination, and it does not deter the police from making an arrest, only interrogating a suspect. Movies, television police dramas, and “real” cop shows, have done much to inform the public of the protection offered by the *Miranda* warning. Tom Hanks even delivered a (mercifully abbreviated) rap version of the warning in the 1987 movie *Dragnet*.

The case of *Miranda v. Arizona* began with the 1963 kidnapping of a young Phoenix, Arizona, woman. The kidnapper took her into the desert outside of Phoenix, raped her, and brought her back to the city.

The police apprehended Ernest Miranda and questioned him about the crime. The police didn’t use third-degree tactics, and they advised Miranda of some of his rights as a criminal suspect, but they didn’t tell Miranda about all of his rights. Miranda confessed to the crime, and was convicted. He took his case to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court heard Miranda’s case, as well as the cases of four other convicted criminals who had similar complaints about not being warned of their rights.

In its 1966 decision, the Supreme Court said that suspects being questioned by the police were in a vulnerable position, and that if the suspect didn’t know his rights, he was at risk of having those rights violated. Therefore, the Court required that the police inform suspects in custody that they possessed the following rights (these rights had been established in earlier Supreme Court decisions): (a) the right to remain silent, with the caution that whatever the suspect said could be used against him in court; (b) the right to have a lawyer present during the interrogation; and (c) the right to have a lawyer appointed for him if he couldn’t afford one. After the Supreme Court decision in his case, Miranda got a new trial and was convicted again.

“*Miranda v. Arizona* was long remembered as the high point reached by the United States Supreme Court under Chief Justice Earl Warren,” according to Liva Baker in her book *Miranda: Crime Law and Politics*. But others argued that the *Miranda* decision was the low point of an activist Court which leaned too far in the direction of protecting criminal defendants’ rights. In 1968, presidential candidate Richard Nixon, discussing *Miranda* and another Supreme Court case about confessions, said that “[t]he *Miranda* and *Escobedo* decisions of the High Court have had the effect of seriously hamstringing the peace forces in our society and strengthening the criminal forces.”

The debate about the *Miranda* warning continued at the end of the twentieth century. Supporters of *Miranda* note that the warning protects the rights of criminal suspects and prevents psychological intimidation by the police. Supporters also contend that the warning has not deterred the police in their fight against crime, and that attempts to abolish the warning will divert attention away from long-term solutions to the crime problem, such as more resources and better training for the police, better judicial administration, and so on. Opponents of the *Miranda* warning say that the use of the warning has caused more criminals to clam up, reducing the number of confessions and hence reducing the number of crimes solved by the police. Each side in the debate brandishes statistics and rhetoric to back up its position.

In considering the effects of the *Miranda* decision on law enforcement, it should be borne in mind that the rule has its exceptions. The Court permits the police and prosecutors, under certain circumstances, to use confessions which were obtained without warning the suspect of his rights. The warning can be dispensed with in emergency circumstances—if, for example, the police ask the suspect to reveal the location of a dangerous weapon which might endanger the public. In certain cases, even when a suspect’s statement is inadmissible because he did not get the *Miranda* warnings, police can pursue leads based on the statement, and the resulting evidence can be shown in court (e.g., under some circumstances, if the defendant gives the name of a witness, and the witness turns out to be useful to the prosecution, the prosecution can use that witness’s testimony in court). Finally, suppose that the defendant takes the stand in his own behalf, and tells the jury a story which is different from his statement to the police. In some cases, the statement can be shown to the jury in order to attack the defendant’s credibility, even if the defendant made the statement without getting a *Miranda* warning.

In other words, the police have an incentive to get a confession out of a suspect without warning him of his rights, because there are indirect ways in which such a confession can be used against the accused. How often the police try to circumvent the *Miranda* rule is a controversial issue.

The Court's decision in *Miranda* contained another loophole: Congress or the state legislatures could abolish the *Miranda* warning, provided that the warning was replaced by some equally effective method of protecting the rights of criminal suspects. As part of its 1968 Omnibus Crime Control Act, Congress seemed to take up this implied invitation from the Supreme Court. The law Congress passed (which only applies to trials in federal court) declares that if the defendant has made a confession, the confession can be used as evidence "if it is voluntarily given," even if the defendant didn't get a *Miranda* warning. Contrariwise, if the police *did* give the defendant a *Miranda* warning, but the confession was involuntary, then the court must exclude the confession. This law has not been fully tested, with federal officials and courts preferring to use the *Miranda* rules. In February 1999 the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Virginia, decided that law enforcement officers in five states (Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina) no longer were obliged to inform arrestees that they had the right to remain silent. One of the panelists in the *United States v. Dickerson*, Judge Karen Williams, declared that "no longer will criminals who have voluntarily confessed their crimes be released on mere technicalities." But Larry Pozner, president of the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers worried that the ruling could "take us back to the old days of ambush and trickery by the police," as reported on the Police Officer's Network. The future of the *Miranda* warning remained in question because constitutional scholars expect the *United States v. Dickerson* case to reach the Supreme Court.

—Eric Longley

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Miss America Pageant

Since its inception in 1921, the Miss America pageant has prompted a fierce debate over gender and the qualities of ideal femininity. What began as a "bathing beauty" contest on the Atlantic City Boardwalk soon became a prime target for social reformers who attacked the pageant for its exploitation of young women. In the 1930s and 1940s, the pageant added a talent contest and began awarding academic scholarships hoping to improve its image by uniting attractiveness with intelligence and strength of character. However, it still drew criticism for its emphasis on physical appearance. In spite of the controversies, though, few critics demanded that the pageant be discontinued, and it has consistently drawn hundreds of thousands of participants and television viewers each year. With all



Phyllis George, Miss America for 1971.

its faults, the Miss America pageant remains a deeply ingrained tradition in American culture, an annual ritual providing an escape into a fantasyland of rhinestone tiaras and glittering dreams.

Although the pageant advertised itself in the 1990s as “the greatest scholarship program for girls in the world,” the founders of the pageant held far less lofty ideals. Hoping to keep tourists in town past the Labor Day weekend, Atlantic City businessmen in 1921 decided to hold a beauty contest featuring young women from several East Coast cities. The pageant, drawing thousands of spectators, was a success. Many civic leaders, though, were opposed to it. In the early years of the pageant, contestants were judged solely on their appearance in a bathing suit; a “perfect head” received five points and perfect legs ten. Even more upsetting was the discovery that some contestants were married, which disturbed reformers bent on keeping Miss America a symbol of chastity. Although the pageant declared in 1924 that it would only accept unmarried women between 18 and 24 as contestants, businessmen grew tired of complaints against the pageant and in 1928 discontinued their financial support. City officials eager to revive the pageant hired Lenora Slaughter in 1935 to “clean up” the pageant’s image. Slaughter immediately enacted rules prohibiting contestants from talking to men during the week of the contest; she also introduced a required talent competition. At last, it seemed, the pageant had become respectable among the general public.

At the same time, the image of Miss America was gradually changing. In the 1940s and 1950s, Miss America was transformed from a “bathing beauty” into an icon of wholesome young womanhood. During World War II, Miss America sold war bonds and began advertising such domestic products as shampoo, dress patterns, and vitamins for the pageant’s corporate sponsors. Moreover, whereas Miss Americas in the 1920s and 1930s typically set their sights on Hollywood careers, winners after 1945 received scholarship money to attend college. Many Miss Americas of the late 1940s and early 1950s used their prominent public position to extol the virtues of “clean living.” Barbara Jo Walker, the 1947 winner, spoke out against smoking and drinking and told reporters that she was not interested in Hollywood contracts, but only “the marriage contract.” By 1954, the year the pageant made its television debut, Miss America had become a symbol of the perfect American young woman. As the pageant’s theme song, inaugurated in 1955, declared, “There she is, Miss America; there she is, your ideal. The dreams of a million girls who are more than pretty may come true in Atlantic City, for she may turn out to be the queen of femininity!”

In the late 1960s, the concept of Miss America as a national ideal—in particular, her endorsement of commercial products and support of the military—did not sit well with many feminists, and in 1968 protesters descended on Atlantic City, carrying signs reading, “Not my ideal,” “We shall not be used,” and, “Miss America sells it.” This was only the first of many controversies over Miss America’s image that erupted during the next three decades. In 1984, pageant officials discovered that Vanessa Williams, the first black Miss America, had appeared nude in *Penthouse* magazine, sparking a national wave of debate. Williams, pressured by officials, eventually gave up her crown, but the incident lingered in the public mind as an example of the pageant’s hypocrisy: the pageant proclaimed itself a guardian of sexual purity, yet it continued to run a swimsuit competition. The heated debate over the swimsuit contest finally culminated in a 1995 “phone-in vote,” in which television viewers were urged to call in and vote on whether the contest should be retained. In the end,

tradition carried the day, and the swimsuit contest won by a margin of four to one.

Yet for all its traditional trappings, the Miss America Pageant has been a firm advocate of women’s higher education and professional achievement: among its alumnae are judges, attorneys, physicians, teachers, and several well-known actresses. The pageant has also stressed the importance of community service. Since 1989, contestants have been required to prepare a “platform” detailing a program of social work that they would enact if chosen Miss America. For many Americans, the paradox of swimsuits and social reform may be too much. But for those who set their sights on the crown, the pageant is serious business. And for the spectators who simply keep an eye on the television, the Miss America Pageant offers a chance to compare one’s vision of the “perfect woman” against the most known icon of them all, Miss America.

—Samantha Barbas

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Miss America Pageant

See also Beauty Queens

Mission: Impossible

The television show *Mission: Impossible* is one of the most widely recognized in broadcast history. The theme music, the burning fuse used to open the credits, the convoluted plots, and the self-destructing tape machine have all become widely recognized icons of popular culture, satirized and mimicked on a routine basis. Although the show never reached the top of the television ratings, it had a profound impact on both the television industry and its viewers. Catch phrases from the show, including “Good morning, Mr. Phelps” and “Your mission, should you choose to accept it,” have become an accepted part of American popular vocabulary. Despite the fact that the original *Mission: Impossible* has been off the air for more than 25 years, it remains one of the most ground-breaking and innovative series in television history.

Mission: Impossible debuted in 1966. Although it fared poorly in the ratings, critics were impressed with the complicated stories, excellent acting, and constant air of suspense. The basic plot of virtually all of the episodes, however, was the same: the Impossible Missions Force (IMF) had to fool the enemy into destroying itself.



The cast of the television show *Mission: Impossible*.

Using a variety of disguises and deceptions, the IMF would turn the enemy on itself. They would often frame one member of the opposition, or attempt to convince the enemy that the information they held was false when it was not. The idea was to create the “perfect con” so that the enemy would never even realize they had been deceived.

The group of IMF agents were intentionally anonymous. The viewer knew very little about the personal backgrounds of any of the agents, and this allowed the writers and producers to introduce new characters with little disruption in the flow of the show. Over the course of the show, several agents came and went, including the replacement of the IMF team leader after the first season.

At the beginning of most of the episodes, the group leader (played by Steven Hill in the opening season and Peter Graves until the show’s cancellation) would receive his instructions through a self-destructing tape. The leader would then plan an elaborate deception with his team of agents. The excitement of watching the show was not to see what would happen; the plan was outlined by the team at the beginning of the episode. Rather, the excitement of watching *Mission: Impossible* was to see how the elaborate plan was carried out and what pitfalls might occur during the course of the mission.

One of the most memorable parts of *Mission: Impossible* was the wonderful theme song composed by Lalo Schiffrin. When Schiffrin was asked to compose the theme, he knew nothing about the show

except its title. Despite this lack of knowledge, he created a theme that fit the show using a hard-swinging jazz band in 5/4 time. The music Schiffrin wrote remains one of the most recognized television themes of all time.

The popularity of *Mission: Impossible* has waned very little since its cancellation in 1973. The show won four Emmy awards, including best dramatic series, two Golden Globes, and two Grammy awards for Lalo Schiffrin. Over the life of the series, it would be nominated for dozens of awards and gain international respect as one of the best shows on television. It has remained in near-constant syndication since 1974, and dozens of new shows utilizing the *Mission: Impossible* formula have come and gone. In 1996, *Mission: Impossible* was finally brought to the silver screen by Tom Cruise and director Brian De Palma. The film version of *Mission: Impossible* earned more than \$400 million worldwide and generated millions more in video rentals and sales. The success of the movie only serves to re-affirm the strong affinity the public has for the members of the IMF force.

—Geoff Peterson and Julie Peterson

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Mister Ed

Mister Ed was television’s mischievous talking horse, who from 1961 to 1966 led his frustrated owner, architect Wilbur Post, through various misadventures in the weekly CBS television fantasy/situation comedy, *Mister Ed*. The role of Wilbur Post was played by Alan Young, and the voice of Mister Ed was supplied by former Western film star Allan “Rocky” Lane. The series was a smash hit with viewers, both children and adults, who tuned in to watch the antics of a palomino who not only talked but who had more horse sense than most people. Mister Ed was network television’s first non-cartoon talking animal, inspired by his film precursor, Francis the Talking Mule.

The concept of a talking horse named Mister Ed was the brainchild of writer Walter Brooks, whose short stories about the eloquent equine appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Liberty* magazine. These stories were brought to the attention of director Arthur Lubin, who had directed for Universal Pictures all but the last of seven films featuring Francis the Talking Mule. In 1957, Lubin secured an option on the Mister Ed concept with the idea of bringing the talking horse to television. The following year, Lubin obtained \$75,000 in financial backing from McCadden Productions, the production company owned by comedian George Burns, to produce a pilot. The episode was shot starring Scott McKay and Sandra White as the leads, and featuring a horse other than the one that eventually appeared in the series as Mister Ed. However, the pilot failed to attract either a network or a sponsor.

Eventually, the pilot was brought to the attention of Al Simon, president of Filmways TV Productions. Simon recognized many weaknesses in the production but believed that the pilot had the potential for a hilarious television situation comedy. The Mister Ed concept was resurrected, and the leading roles were recast with Alan Young, Connie Hines, and another horse as Mister Ed. A 15-minute presentation film was prepared, containing the funniest bits from the



Mr. Ed (left) is married by Alan Young (center) during a dream sequence on *Mister Ed*.

original pilot and an introduction of the new cast. Filmways pitched the show to the Studebaker Corporation, which was interested in aligning itself with an unusual television program. The automobile company agreed to sponsor the show in syndication, and production of *Mister Ed* was scheduled to begin in October 1960.

The second horse that had been featured as Mister Ed in the presentation film had been sold by the time the Studebaker deal came through. With only a month remaining before the start of production, trainer Lester Hilton was dispatched to find another horse to star in the series. Hilton found his star, a Golden Palomino named Bamboo Harvester, on a San Fernando Valley farm. Filmways paid \$1,500 to acquire the horse, which stood 15 hands high and weighed 1,100 pounds. Hilton brought Bamboo Harvester to his ranch to train him. Using hand signals and voice commands, Hilton trained the highly intelligent horse for stunts such as unlatching the stable door, opening a file cabinet, or dialing the telephone. Bamboo Harvester responded to commands of 20 to 25 words and took only 15 minutes to learn a scene. However, as Mister Ed, Bamboo Harvester's most amazing behavior was his ability to talk.

Since Hilton had worked with Francis the Talking Mule, the trainer used the same technique for making Mister Ed appear to speak. Hilton fashioned the horse's bridle with a nylon fishing line that fed into the horse's mouth. When the trainer tugged on the line, Bamboo Harvester tried to dislodge it by moving his lips, so Mister Ed appeared to talk. The deep, baritone voice of Mister Ed belonged to one of the most popular film cowboys of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Allan "Rocky" Lane. Lane and his horse, Black Jack, had made 38 westerns for Republic Pictures, and twice Lane was ranked among the top ten Western moneymakers. Lane took over Wild Bill Elliott's role in the Red Ryder series, playing the comic strip cowboy in seven films, then landed his own series of "Rocky" Lane films. When the "B" Western declined in the 1950s, Lane fell on hard times, finding only minor parts until he won the role of Mister Ed's voice. Embarrassed to be playing the voice of a horse, Lane preferred not to be listed in the show's credits, so Mister Ed was billed as "Himself," which contributed to the illusion that the horse really talked.

The first of 26 *Mister Ed* episodes premiered on 115 stations across the country in January 1961. The show was a hit during its first

year, and its ratings attracted the attention of CBS, which acquired the series for the fall 1961 Sunday lineup, where it debuted that October 1. Bamboo Harvester's talents and outstanding performances during *Mister Ed* were honored by PATSY Awards every year from 1962 to 1965. Given by the American Humane Association, the PATSY (Performing Animal Top Stars of the Year) is the animal equivalent of the Academy Award.

CBS canceled *Mister Ed* in midseason 1966, and the show went into immediate syndication. Bamboo Harvester retired to Lester Hilton's ranch where the horse lived out his days until his death in 1968. The mischievous Mister Ed has left his hoofprints on American popular culture. Not only did he show that animals are smart, his endearing antics influenced the culture to recognize the talents and the star power of movie and television animal actors.

—Pauline Bartel

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Fred Rogers in a scene from *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*.

Mister Rogers' Neighborhood

"Won't you be my neighbor?" Fred McFeely Rogers has asked television viewers the same question for three decades. *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* has helped create an entire genre of educational television, one that nurtures children's self-worth. Few series have come close to maintaining the continuity and moral tenor of Fred Rogers' long running PBS series, however. Lacking the commercial development of nearly all the network's other children series, Rogers has maintained a commitment to education that has wavered little over the past 30 years.

Born in Pennsylvania in 1928, Fred McFeely Rogers began work in television with variety programs such as *The Voice of Firestone* and *The Lucky Strike Hit Parade*. In November, 1953, Rogers moved back to his roots and western Pennsylvania where he began working with WQED, the nation's first community-supported public television station. Rogers began experimenting with children's programming while at WQED, including the award-winning *Children's Corner*, which contained the puppets and other details of *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*. During this period, Rogers began studying child development and became an ordained Presbyterian minister. Each of these sensibilities infuse his on-air persona.

After the 1966 release of Fred Rogers' similar program called *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood*, his renamed *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* was released nationally in 1968. That same year, Rogers was appointed Chairman of the Forum on Mass Media and Child Development of the White House Conference on Children and Youth. Rogers

had become a leading spokesman in American education and particularly how the television medium would be utilized. He steered the programming toward a non-commercial format that could be easily coordinated with classroom use. By 1971 he had created Family Communications, Inc., a company dedicated to children and providing educational support to the families and people who care for them.

Rogers has resisted the flamboyant staging of some children's programs for a conservative, unchanging appearance. Each show begins and ends in the living room of Mister Rogers' "television house." At the opening of each show, Mister Rogers invites the television viewer to be his neighbor and enters his house, hangs up his coat in the closet, slips into his cardigan sweater, and changes into his sneakers. From his living room, Rogers introduces the viewer to a new idea or object that will be the focus of the show for the day or week. After his brief introduction, Mister Rogers takes time to visit other people in his neighborhood or places where everyday things are made like a balloon or crayon factory, for example.

Aside from Mister Rogers' seemingly intimate conversation with the viewer, his "television neighbor," the most engaging action of the program includes the "Neighborhood of Make-Believe," a puppet kingdom ruled by King Friday XIII and Queen Sara Saturday and inhabited by several other puppets and humans. To help children make a distinction between real and pretend, none of the characters in the Neighborhood of Make-Believe ever appear in Mister Rogers' "real" world. Despite advances in visual technology, the conveyor between the "real" world of Mister Rogers' living room and the imaginary world of make-believe remains a mechanical trolley. Often the themes in the "Neighborhood of Make-Believe" revolve around

the management of feelings, but are consistent with the theme introduced by Mister Rogers at the beginning of the show. During each visit to the Neighborhood of Make-Believe puppets and humans use cooperative and constructive problem-solving. While the puppets try to understand and resolve their emotional troubles, the humans mediate and help console them, often in song. Some of the songs include “What Do You Do With the Mad That You Feel (When You Feel So Mad You Could Bite?)” and “There Are Many Ways (To Say I Love You).” Through his resistance to more modern technologies, supporters say, Rogers has created a timeless program that appeals to any viewer from any era.

While many comedians have parodied *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood* (most memorably Eddie Murphy on *Saturday Night Live*), educators have backed-up Rogers’ claim that consistency is crucial for young viewers. Though many educational programs in the 1980s and 1990s have used more compromised standards, Rogers has largely refused alteration. The show remains based on the premise that if children feel comfortable and welcome they will be more open to learning new things. Despite remaining out of the marketing loop, *Mister Rogers’ Neighborhood* reaches almost eight million households and child-care settings each week. There are nearly 700 episodes in the series, and Rogers continues to write and produce several weeks of new programs each season, adding freshness and immediacy to what has become the longest-running children’s program on public television. Fred Rogers has received more than 30 honorary degrees from universities, and in 1998, his commitment to children and public broadcasting was honored with a Lifetime Achievement Award at the Emmies.

—Brian Black

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Mitchell, Joni (1943—)

Generally acclaimed as the most talented female singer-songwriter of her age, Joni Mitchell’s influence on later generations has been considerable. Her work has inspired such diverse musicians as Prince, Thomas Dolby, Madonna, Suzanne Vega, and Shawn Colvin. While it is obvious that these artists and many others have tried to follow in her steps, it is equally obvious that none have matched the virtuosity of her work. Both as a recording and a performing artist, Mitchell has maintained the highest of standards throughout her career. Her talents as a songwriter are equalled only by Bob Dylan, with whom she has performed on several occasions.

Born Roberta Joan Anderson on November 7, 1943 in Fort McLeod, Alberta (Canada), Mitchell studied art in Calgary. In those years she also worked as a model and began to play in coffee bars. In 1964 she moved to Toronto, where she married folk singer Chuck



Joni Mitchell

Mitchell in 1965. One year later, the couple divorced and Joni moved on to New York to become a much respected singer and songwriter. In 1967, the year in which she recorded her first album, Mitchell’s international fame rose when Judy Collins recorded two of her early compositions on her album *Wildflowers*—“Michael from Mountains” and “Both Sides Now.” The latter song became a worldwide hit in Collins’ version.

In 1968, Mitchell released an album of her own, simply entitled *Joni Mitchell* (it is often referred to as *Song to a Seagull*). Produced by David Crosby, Mitchell’s debut set the tone for the two albums that would soon follow: *Clouds* (1969) and *Ladies of the Canyon* (1970). On these early records Mitchell sings her own songs, mainly accompanying herself on the guitar and supported by only a few musicians. The suppleness of Mitchell’s voice adds to the complexity of the feelings analyzed within her texts. Most of them are love songs, dramatic and terse, sung in a way only their author can: cool, yet emotional; lucid, yet compassionate. *Clouds* not only contains Mitchell’s own version of “Both Sides Now,” but also the much-applauded “Chelsea Morning,” which is rumored to have inspired the name of President Clinton’s only daughter. *Ladies of the Canyon* presents two other Mitchell classics: “Big Yellow Taxi”—an ecological pamphlet which became a hit in the United Kingdom and which was later covered by Dylan on his album *Dylan* in 1973—and “Woodstock,” which was also recorded by Ian Matthews and by Crosby, Stills, and Nash on *Déjà Vu* (1970). Written before the festival (which Mitchell was supposed to attend, but somehow did not make) the song is a prophetic analysis of the hippie version of the American dream.

Mitchell's next album, *Blue* (1971), featuring James Taylor, is her first real masterpiece. Both musically and lyrically, Mitchell's songs became more personal and more complex, yet without losing their simplicity and immediate attraction. The songs on the album are the result of Mitchell's having come to terms with several of her past love affairs. In 1972, she released *For the Roses*, on which the singer abandons her familiar terrain of folk music for an approach that is more melodious and pop-like. The change of sound, however slight, which this new approach involves, is continued on *Court and Spark* (1974), Mitchell's first fully electric album. On this record, featuring Robbie Robertson of The Band, Mitchell is backed by Tom Scott's L.A. Express, a group of studio musicians schooled in jazz-rock; Mitchell later recorded the live album *Miles of Aisles* (1975)—the album that contains new versions of many of the best songs on the early records—with L.A. Express.

Mitchell's second 1975 album, *The Hissing of Summer Lawns*, is a new masterpiece, even though *Rolling Stone* labeled it "Worst Album of the Year." The result of the singer's growing interest in jazz and world music (one track features the Burundi Drummers), the album shows Mitchell at her least introspective. Taken as a whole, the songs on *The Hissing of Summer Lawns* form an extensive comment on life in the 1970s, where economic relationships have taken the place of personal relationships: possession, both of money and of other human beings, is a constant theme of the album. The record's follow-up, *Hejira* (1976), reflected Mitchell's need for musical exploration and adventure. Prominently present on the album is jazz musician Jaco Pastorius, whose fretless bass also dominates the double album *Don Juan's Reckless Daughter* (1978), a record which betrays Mitchell's interest for Latin American rhythms. The album impressed jazz legend Charles Mingus, who sent Mitchell an invitation to work with him on a new project. Due to Mingus' untimely death the project was aborted, but it resulted, albeit indirectly, in *Mingus* (1979), Mitchell's tribute to the musical giant.

Mitchell entered the 1980s with *Wild Things Run Fast* (1982), a collection of the purest of pop tunes, which again make clear that every single Joni Mitchell record comes as something of a surprise. The album contains "Chinese Café," one of Mitchell's nicest songs, and a partial reworking of The Righteous Brothers' "Unchained Melody." Even though she failed to keep up with the steady pace of her earlier work, the quality of Mitchell's work remained impressive. *Dog Eat Dog* (1985) was produced by Thomas Dolby, whose technological sophistication also left a clear mark on the sound of the album's follow-up, *Chalk Mark in a Rainstorm* (1988). By the late 1980s Mitchell made it clear that she intended to take up an old passion of hers, painting. Major exhibitions in London and Edinburgh, however, did not keep her from recording *Night Ride Home* (1990), the acoustic simplicity of which involves yet another change of direction. Mitchell received a Grammy Award for best pop album for her 1994 *Turbulent Indigo*. In 1998, Mitchell embarked on a brief United States tour with Bob Dylan and Van Morrison: the concerts were unique in that they brought together three of the true giants in the history of popular music.

—Jurgen Pieters

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Mitchell, Margaret (1900-1949)

Atlanta-born author Margaret Mitchell was an unknown in 1936 when her novel *Gone with the Wind* hit bookshelves across the country. The phenomenal success of *Gone with the Wind* altered her life dramatically. Mitchell's publishers, Macmillan, were convinced that they had a hit on their hands, so convinced that they invested more than \$10,000 promoting the novel. But even they were unprepared for sales that numbered more than half a million in a scant three months and more than two million by the time the book ended its 21-month run on the bestseller list. These figures are rendered even more astounding when one recalls what the \$3 cost of *Gone with the Wind* represented to many Depression-plagued consumers.

Certainly Mitchell's chronicle of the American Civil War and its aftermath offers compelling material. Additionally, contemporary audiences may have seen themselves reflected in Mitchell's tale of devastation and struggle, and Scarlett's vow to never go hungry again resonated with audiences who knew the reality of her hunger. Neither explanation, however, serves to account for the sustained popularity of a book that continues to sell close to 300,000 copies a year more than six decades after its publication.

Critics and ordinary readers alike praised the authenticity of Mitchell's work. Even the harshest critic noted, sometimes reluctantly, the author's powerful storytelling and historical accuracy. The reaction of readers, from university professors to laborers, was more visceral; the dramatic background and the vivid characterization engaged readers' emotions as well as their attention. Neither critics nor readers, however, realized the immediacy the Civil War experience held for Margaret Mitchell: she had played on land where relics



Margaret Mitchell

from Sherman's siege could be picked up by curious children, and she had traced with her own fingers the bullet scars, souvenirs of Antietam, on her Grandfather Mitchell's head. Mitchell's South was a storied land where an oral tradition was still strong. Like Faulkner, she knew that the past is never truly past.

But Mitchell had no desire to create a sentimental tribute to the glories of the Old South. The daughter of a suffragist mother and a history-buff father, she was too much of a rebel and too aware of the realities of Southern experience to belong to the moonlight and magnolias school. She had proved herself willing to challenge aristocratic Southern sensibilities long before she began writing *Gone with the Wind*. She scandalized polite Atlanta during her debut year with her public declaration that she would seek work rather than be auctioned off in marriage. No less shocking to her genteel world was the job she did secure writing for the *Atlanta Journal Sunday Magazine*, especially since by the time Peggy Mitchell's byline was appearing, she was the wife of Berrien "Red" Upshaw.

Mitchell's *Atlanta Journal* pieces were standard fare for the magazine's largely female readers; fairs, faith, and fashion were frequent topics. But in these articles Mitchell honed her gift for capturing memorable characters and evocative details, skills she would use to powerful effect in *Gone with the Wind*. Her Sunday features also reveal an avid interest in strong-willed women, particularly those who struggled to achieve financial independence. Mitchell wrote for the *Atlanta Journal* for four years, the period of her brief marriage to Upshaw and her years of independence following their divorce. Beset by ill health and frustrated with the limits of journalism, she left the *Atlanta Journal* in 1926, shortly after her marriage to John Marsh.

Soon thereafter she began the manuscript that would become *Gone with the Wind*. Obsessed with privacy, Mitchell hid her writing even from close friends. Because of her secrecy and because her family, honoring her wishes, destroyed most of her papers after her death, little is known about the composition of the novel. We do know that the final chapter was the first written, and the heroine's name was originally Pansy Hamilton. The change to Scarlett O'Hara came only a few months before publication.

While Mitchell was waffling on her character's name, Hollywood was already pursuing film rights to the novel. Major studios competed for rights, but David O. Selznick—an independent producer—won with an offer of \$50,000, an impressive sum at the time. It soon became clear that Selznick's romanticized vision of the South was quite different from Margaret Mitchell's rawer, more diverse, and less pretentious reality. Her aristocrats, the Wilkes clan, are the blandest characters in the 1,037 page novel. The strongest, most colorful characters do not fit popular, sentimental images. Mitchell insists that Scarlett is her father's daughter, and Gerald O'Hara is an Irish immigrant with only the thinnest veneer of gentility. The rogue Rhett Butler, far from playing the Cavalier, left genteel Charleston, disgusted with its hypocrisies.

Selznick simplified Scarlett's complexity and ignored the issue of mother-daughter relationships that figures prominently in the novel. His concern was with the romance of the characters and the region, and for those who saw his 1939 film, Vivien Leigh and Clark Gable became Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler. The white-columned, plantation South of the film became the backdrop for *Gone with the Wind*, however false it may have been to Mitchell's novel. Few people even realize that the words that roll across the screen paying tribute to the "land of Cavaliers" and the last bow of the "Age of Chivalry" are a Hollywood addition which made Mitchell cringe.

Margaret Mitchell died in Atlanta on August 16, 1949, the victim of a speeding car. She was aware in the years before her death that the critical reputation of her epic work was declining, a decline that only intensified as the South itself changed radically. *Gone with the Wind* became an embarrassment to a region and a nation confronting its racist heritage. But even as critics first attacked and later ignored Mitchell's novel, *Gone with the Wind* survived. More than half a century after Margaret Mitchell wrote the novel which has become synonymous with her name, it continues to sell. In addition, Margaret Mitchell and *Gone with the Wind* sites proliferate on the world wide web, and scholars once again examine the literary value of Mitchell's opus.

Flannery O'Connor, another Georgia writer, once said, "There is something in us, as storytellers and listeners to stories . . . that demands that what falls at least be offered the chance to be restored." Mitchell wrote of a character and a place that believed in that chance. Perhaps therein lies the success of Margaret Mitchell and *Gone with the Wind*.

—Wylene Rholetter

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Mitchum, Robert (1917-1997)

With his athletic build, heavy-lidded eyes, insolent smirk, and insouciant charm, Robert Mitchum became one of the post-World War II era's most popular and enduring actors despite, or perhaps because of, his reputation as a Hollywood bad boy. Arrested for possession of marijuana in 1948, Mitchum served jail time while the press tolled a death knell for his career; instead, Mitchum emerged a hot commodity. As Richard Schickel has noted, Mitchum "helped define cool for postwar America." A leading man to Ava Gardner, Jane Russell, Deborah Kerr, and Marilyn Monroe, Mitchum was also capable of creating unforgettable characters such as the murderous preacher in *The Night of the Hunter* (1955) and the vengeful and sadistic ex-con in *Cape Fear* (1962). A durable icon, Mitchum worked well into the 1990s, a complex actor who gave his audiences many simple pleasures.

The troubled childhood of Robert Mitchum would forever inform his adult life and career. Born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Robert was the second child of a railroad worker who died when Robert was 18 months old. A few weeks after her husband's death, Robert's mother, Ann, gave birth to her third child. Unsure how she would be able to support her family, Ann and her three children



Robert Mitchum

moved back in with her mother and, by working full time, the family just scraped by. Robert's reaction to his difficult childhood without much parental supervision was to lash out, and he soon developed a reputation as a bright but defiant boy. Although a prankster and a fighter, Robert also wrote poetry. When the nine-year-old's work was published in the local paper, Robert was interviewed and photographed. He would later say, "This small spotlight on our material impoverishment inspired in me an introspection ever at odds with my desire for expression."

Despite his obvious intelligence, Robert was soon regarded as a troublemaker. When his mother married a British newspaperman, the family moved to New York. There ten-year-old Robert went to school in Hell's Kitchen, where he fought almost daily. But he was also a loner, who spent long hours reading Shakespeare, Wordsworth, and Joseph Conrad. At 14, he ran away from home and began what would become an almost legendary five years of itinerant travel. Lying about his age, Robert first worked as a sailor. When the captain found out the boy was underage, he was fired. He returned home briefly only to leave for California a few days later. Hopping trains, Mitchum traveled the country, taking odd jobs where he could find them. After making it to the West Coast, he continued to ride the rails, seeking adventure where he could find it. Shortly before his sixteenth birthday, he found more than he bargained for in Savannah, Georgia, where he was arrested for vagrancy. Forced to serve on a chain gang, Mitchum managed to escape after only a week. But his ankles were covered with infected wounds from the manacles, and it took the 16-year-old, who almost succumbed to starvation, months to reach home.

When he finally made it to a hospital, doctors wanted to amputate one of Robert's legs. But he was determined to save it, and hobbled around on crutches for months. While recuperating at home, his brother John introduced Robert to a pretty 14-year-old girl named Dorothy. The two fell in love, and even after Robert left home again, he promised Dorothy he would return for her.

For the next two years, Robert again traveled the country, going from job to job, even briefly earning a living as a boxer. He finally ended up in California, where his sister Julie was working in the theater. She encouraged her brother to audition for her company, and soon he was acting, writing, and directing. But although he did all three well, it was his writing which first caught the attention of Hollywood. With the promise of steady work writing for movies, Robert proposed to Dorothy. She agreed and the young couple permanently settled in Southern California, where Dorothy gave birth to their first child. But when Robert proved unable to support his family with his writing, he took a job as a sheet-metal worker at Lockheed, continuing to act on the side.

In 1943, a Hollywood producer of Westerns heard that Mitchum could break horses and called the actor in for an audition. In fact, Robert had only helped out with horses on his grandfather's farm. Nonetheless, he bluffed his way into the job and ended up on the set of a Hopalong Cassidy movie. But first he had to break a bucking bronco that had killed the last actor who had tried to ride it. After three tries, Mitchum tamed the horse and played his first movie role—a minor villain killed by Hopalong Cassidy. In 1943, he would go on to act in eight Hopalong Cassidy pictures, as well as nine other movies, in a variety of character roles. A year later, he was signed by RKO.

In 1944, Mitchum was tapped for a lead role in a Gary Cooper picture, *The Story of G.I. Joe*. His superb performance led to an Academy Award nomination and Robert Mitchum became Hollywood's newest leading man. Starring opposite Katherine Hepburn and Greer Garson, Mitchum quickly rose up the ranks. In 1948, however, he walked into a Hollywood sting operation and was arrested for marijuana possession. Mitchum himself told the press, "I'm ruined. I'm all washed up in pictures now, I guess." But Dorothy, RKO, and the actor's fans all stood by him, and after serving jail time, the popular actor returned to work.

After Howard Hughes bought RKO in the late 1940s, Mitchum became, along with his good friend actress Jane Russell, one of the reclusive producer's two favorite actors. Throughout the 1950s, Mitchum, who referred to himself as "the teacher's pet," consistently found work in RKO's top pictures and his reputation as an actor continued to grow. He always seemed to attract rumor and innuendo, however, and the press would dog him throughout his life, alleging infidelities, brawls, and drug charges. But Mitchum's bad boy persona only added to his audience appeal.

In 1962, he starred opposite Gregory Peck in *Cape Fear*, a film that would become his most famous. But though the actor continued to work steadily throughout the 1960s, the roles he was offered varied in quality. During the 1970s, Mitchum underwent a kind of renaissance, turning in superb performances in *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975), *The Last Tycoon* (1976), and *The Big Sleep* (1978). And by the late 1980s, he had become a living legend, making cameo appearances in *Scrooged* (1988), the remake of *Cape Fear* (1991), and *Tombstone* (1993).

As his biographer, Mike Tomkies, has written, "Robert Mitchum is probably the most complex character in the entire international film

world. He has always seemed to be engaged in perpetual battle with himself. It has produced a fascinating iconoclast.’’ The embodiment of Hollywood cool, Mitchum was a man of many faces—a sensitive poet, a discerning intellectual blessed with a photographic memory, a practical joker, a rebel unwilling to subdue his spirit, and a talented actor devoted to his profession.

—Victoria Price

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Mix, Tom (1880-1940)

Hero of the silent Western, Tom Mix and his ‘‘wonder horse,’’ Tony, revolutionized both the style and content of the genre. Where earlier Westerns had depicted an austere (and fairly accurate) West and had emphasized character and unembroidered sentiment, Mix introduced a fast-paced and light-hearted version of the West, with a cowboy hero who offered youth, showmanship, and adventurousness. Mix films emphasized the hero’s riding and stunting abilities and featured the spectacular natural backdrops of many of America’s National Parks.

Though he invented a nearly mythic past for himself—one that supposedly included service with Teddy Roosevelt’s Rough Riders and military action in the Boxer Rebellion—Mix was actually born and raised in Pennsylvania and moved west to Oklahoma during the early 1900s. He joined the Miller Brothers’ 101 Real Wild West Ranch in 1905, and eventually toured with various Wild West shows, before returning to the Miller Ranch in 1910. Mix began working in film in 1911, when he worked as an advisor and stunt double in a Selig studio documentary about the Wild West. Quickly moving into larger roles, Mix began making numerous films. He graduated to feature films in 1914, his first being *In the Days of the Thundering Herd*. In 1917, he moved to the Fox studio (for whom he made over 70 films), and by the mid-1920s, Mix was making \$17,000 per week, starring in the profitable films that enabled Fox to make their other prestigious but unprofitable films. In the late 1920s and 1930s, he appeared in films for the FBO (later RKO) and Universal studios. Though he



Tom Mix

occasionally appeared in non-Western features, his signature films were all Westerns, including *Chip of the Flying U* (1914), *Sky High* (1922), *Riders of the Purple Sage* (1925), and *The Rainbow Trail* (1931). When the talkies came to Hollywood, an aging Mix left town and joined a traveling circus. Though he did return to Hollywood to make a few films in the 1930s, his heyday had passed. His final film, *The Miracle Rider*, was a fifteen-chapter serial that appeared in 1935. Most of Mix’s silent features are unavailable today, due to a fire at the Fox studios that destroyed almost all of the prints. In 1940, Mix died in a car accident in Arizona.

Mix’s West was theatrical, adventurous, and glamorous, as was Mix himself. Wearing his signature ten-gallon hats (black or white), silk shirts, and round-top boots, Mix and his films appealed to a young audience. An expert horseman and crack shot, Mix performed almost all his (often-perilous) stunts himself. His fancy ropework and riding stunts always saved the day, with the help of his trusty horse, Tony. Mix described his screen persona this way: ‘‘I ride into a place owning my own horse, saddle, and bridle. It isn’t my quarrel, but I get into trouble doing the right thing for somebody else. When it’s all ironed out, I never get any money reward. I may be made foreman of the ranch and I get the girl, but there is never a fervid love scene.’’

Mix’s cowboy image lived on well past his death in several ways. NBC radio and later television aired *The Tom Mix Show* from 1933 into the 1950s. Portrayed by various actors, the Mix character ended his shows with such messages as ‘‘Be a straight shooter,’’ or ‘‘Crime never pays,’’ and ‘‘Fight on the side of the law and you’ll never regret it.’’ Mix also appeared in various comic book series, including

the *Tom Mix Ralston Comics* and the *Tom Mix Western* series, in the 1940s and 1950s. Finally, Mix's good-time cowboy, with his unrealistic and glamorous image, spawned the singing and dancing cowboys and the Western spectacles of 1930s film, and his own lavish lifestyle helped to pave the way for the high-living flamboyance of many 1930s and 1940s movie stars' off-screen lives.

—Deborah M. Mix

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See Athletic Model Guild

Mobil Masterpiece Theatre

See *Masterpiece Theatre*

Mod

Of the many youth subcultures that have sprung from pop music, few style cults have endured as long as mod, which involves an almost religious fealty to style as a way to transcend class distinctions. Now, after three decades, it is a perennial style with a well-defined set of mannerisms, chief among them an almost fetish-like attachment to mass-produced objects like Italian scooters and army-surplus parkas, and a devotion to certain types of music—the early Who, rhythm and blues, and ska. Over time, the original impetus for mod, a subversive sort of working class dandyism, has fallen away, and shorn of these implications—American mods are more apt to be suburban and middle class than urban and working class—it has become a quaint type of revivalism.

West Indian immigrants began to settle in London during the 1950s, an unsettling development for the traditionally xenophobic British, especially for the working class, to whose neighborhoods they intruded and whose presence promised an unwelcome economic dislocation. Their presence did not go without response. The Teds, an Edwardian version of the American greaser, were hostile to the black immigrants, figuring prominently in London's 1958 race riots, but the mods idolized black singers, black styles, and above all, the indefinable cool of the rude boys, dapper West Indian delinquents. It was "an affinity which was transposed into style" as Dick Hebdige writes, with the black man "serving symbolically as a dark passage down into an imagined underworld . . . situated beneath the familiar surface of life where another order was disclosed: a beautifully intricate system in which the values, norms and conventions of the 'straight' world were inverted."

In working class London neighborhoods in the early 1960s, these various elements were percolating. A style of dress was evolving that eschewed the churlish vulgarity of the 1950s greaser teddy

boy. Its proponents numbered among the hoards of teenage office workers the British educational system set loose on employers. The mods chose to fit into work environments, unlike the petulant hoodlum-worshipping teds, but they suffered no illusions about the strictures of class. "There is hardly a kid in all of London," writes Tom Wolfe, "who harbors any sincere hope of advancing himself in any very striking way by success at work. Englishmen at an early age begin to sense that the fix is in, and all that work does is keep you afloat at the place you were born into." In response to this manifest truth, the mods developed a covert form of rebellion. They made themselves into sartorial masterpieces, every detail in place and, often, hand-tailored. They lived for weekends and bank holidays, for seeing and being seen in the right gear, at the right places, and preferably, under the influence of the right drugs—amphetamines chiefly (which tended to exacerbate their maniacal neatness); in short, living a whole style of life that had very little to do with jobs and futures and everything to do with a temporary form of emancipation from an oppressive society.

It was another instance of teenagers creating a ritualized world to evade the grown-up one. There was a hierarchy (faces, as the trendsetters were called, and tickets, the term for the followers), a set of rituals, and a value system. Ironically, all this energy was expended in the service of a most ephemeral of styles. Mod was a stylized version of planned obsolescence with fashions changing from month to month or even week to week, which tended to consume a large chunk of the average mod's paltry salary, and often led to petty larceny and male prostitution as a means of subsidizing visits to the tailor. In a way, mod was very much like the cargo cults and other religious rituals that aped colonialism, mimicking the dominant ideology in a stylized buffoonish manner where authority, be it a colonial official or office manager, could not help but see the asinine picture being painted of them.

Such movements can only exist in a vacuum for so long, and in the spring of 1964, a series of bank holiday riots between mods and teds catapulted the unfamiliar mod into national prominence. Then came the first self-consciously mod band, the Who, who had grown up with the style, were of its milieu, and were thus able to voice the mods' inchoate beliefs in song. With the heightened profile came the magazines, the clothing stores, and the whole armature of marketing that turned the mods from idiosyncratic rebels into the originators of yet another fashion craze, and by the time mod became visible, as it were, it had already begun to break into factions; excessive proto-hippie dandyism and the skinhead, a "kind of caricature of the model worker" as Phil Cohen described them, who turned away from the implied upward mobility of early-mod style, fashioning instead a "lumpen" proletariat fashion politics out of ordinary work clothes.

Mod lay dormant for nearly ten years before being resurrected in the late 1970s, partly due to the 1978 release of *Quadrophenia*, a film chronicling the mod-rocker bank holiday riots of 1964, and partly as a consequence of punk rock, which as a side-effect led to revivals of mod, and two-tone, a rude-boy-inflected ska music. The movements in England might still retain vestiges of the class antagonisms at the root of the original subculture, but in America, divorced from the particulars of class, time, and place, mod was stripped of its rich array of signifiers, a style revival movement among many others. What attracted Americans to this style—its exoticism, impenetrability, and the rigor of its conventions—they could inhabit, but never own. But without the milieu of working-class social dynamics, the latter-day mods had about them the still, airless quality of a museum exhibit.



A few “mod” models.

The original mods, the mods from Shepherd’s Bush and Brixton, developed in response to specifics of time and place—the rigidity of the British class system, the economy, and educational opportunities. Mod was a secret dissent, but in America it was stripped of its class signifiers. American mods were more likely to be college students than blue-collar workers. It was a style cult divorced from its origination by the vast difference in cultures—no amount of Union Jack flags, Doc Marten boots, and Lambretta scooters could ameliorate the difference. Mod was a market choice, one alternative among many, meant to convey that very American trait—individualism—and not class. This is perhaps the biggest irony of mod’s international success; that it came to exist as a consequence of the consumerism it initially lampooned.

—Michael Baers

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The Mod Squad

“One black, one white, one blonde.” That was one way to describe the three members of *The Mod Squad*, executive producer



The cast of *The Mod Squad*: (from left) Clarence Williams III, Peggy Lipton, and Michael Cole.

Aaron Spelling's enormously successful late-1960s "hippie-oriented" cop drama. With a broadcast run on ABC from September 1968 to 1973, the series was part of an attempt by all of the networks to lure baby boomers back to prime-time during a period when it appeared that this lucrative demographic had abandoned the medium for cinema, rock music, and social protest. The show's premise provided an ingenious means to bridge the generation gap: take three rebellious, disaffected young social outcasts and persuade them to work as unarmed undercover detectives for the Los Angeles Police Department. The intent was that younger viewers would identify with the lead characters, while the older generation would find comfort in the law-and-order nature of the series.

While this premise seemed terribly calculated and perhaps even cynical, the show managed to work. *The Mod Squad* team, Pete Cochran (Michael Cole), a longhaired youth disowned by his Beverly Hills family, Julie Barnes (Peggy Lipton), a willowy blonde "hippie chick," and Linc Hayes (Clarence Williams III), an afroed and angry ghetto black busted during the Watts Riots, all displayed continual discomfort about their roles as cops. Their missions usually involved infiltration of some area of the youth counter-culture, from underground newspapers to campus anti-war organizations, in order to ferret out the inevitably grown-up villains who preyed on the idealistic young. This approach proved to be the show's winning formula: the bad guys were almost always short-haired establishment-types. During the first year of its run, Spelling was quoted gushing, "We're telling it like it is. Somebody has to help adults understand young

people. They've got so many hangups and nobody seems to care. Love is the answer. Those hippies are right. Those kids are so totally involved with life, they've involved me."

The Mod Squad quickly developed a reputation for handling socially relevant issues of the day while so much of prime-time fare continued to focus on the inanities of suburban witches, nuns who could fly, bumbling secret agents who talked into their shoes, and the rural adventures of the gentle folk in Hooterville and Mayberry. *The Mod Squad* proved to be the harbinger of an inevitable change in prime-time programming philosophies as the tumultuous 1960s raged on into the early 1970s. While the series did not deal with politically and socially troubling issues every week, it was noteworthy for tackling such issues at all. In a 1970 episode, for instance, the show explored the My Lai massacre in thinly fictionalized form. American public opinion was still quite raw over whether American troops in Vietnam had engaged in war crimes around that action. This episode of *The Mod Squad* provided a remarkably sensitive and complex examination of soldier psychology and racism. Another 1970 episode dealt with draft resistance, portraying a draft resister as sympathetic and principled in his pacifism.

The success of *The Mod Squad*, along with its formula of presenting the rebellious and idealistic young as heroes, led prime-time to begin a wholesale shift in its approach to programming in the early 1970s. The 1970-71 network season was ballyhooed as the "Season of Social Relevance." All around the dial, new dramas appeared using *The Mod Squad's* formula. *Storefront Lawyers* featured idealistic, rebellious young lawyers wanting to use the law to change the Establishment. *The Interns* featured idealistic, rebellious doctors-in-training who fought authority to change the system. Even *Ironside*, an established series, found itself grappling with socially relevant issues like the draft. None of the new *Mod Squad* clones, however, ended up a ratings winner. The networks would not get their social relevance approach right until they shifted away from dramas to comedies like *All in the Family* and *M*A*S*H*, both of which gave viewers a means to take in countercultural values and social protest with spoonfuls of laughter.

By 1973, with the 1960s over, *The Mod Squad* quickly became dated, obviously a product of its time. Its basic formula proved powerful, however, for a new generation of television viewers. When the upstart Fox network wanted to lure young viewers—Generation Xers this time—to its offerings, one of the network's early hits proved to be *21 Jump Street*, a youth-oriented cop show thoroughly modeled on *The Mod Squad*.

—Aniko Bodroghkozy

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Model T

The Model T was the first car aimed at, and affordable to, a mass market. It was also the first car to be a true American sensation at a



The 1908 Model T

time when America was transforming from the rural, more craft-based and agrarian economy of the nineteenth century to the urban mass market of the twentieth century. By the post-World War II era, most Americans owned a car and much of where and how they lived, shopped, and worked had been altered by the ability to travel long distances at a faster rate. Mass production, mass marketing, and mass use of automobiles contributed to this shift. From its debut in 1908, the Model T was America's most popular car.

Henry Ford, along with his team at the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, designed the Model T for durability and ease of maintenance. Ford aimed to produce an inexpensive, utilitarian car and eschewed a lot of the “trimmings” featured by those cars aimed at the luxury consumer. Even its name was simply functional, having no significance other than to indicate that the car was the twentieth iteration in Ford's succession of alphabetically designated development and retail models. The car was so standardized that, most years, it was available only in black.

Sales of the Model T were spectacular. In the early 1920s, Ford was selling over a million Model Ts each year and over half of the cars sold in the country were Fords. When the price of the Model T was cut, as it was nearly every year from 1911 to 1925, newspapers coast-to-coast reported the news. The car sold so well that the company bought no advertising between 1917 and 1923. Ford's aggressive

price cuts created an entirely new market for cars—the mass market. While cars were formerly a luxury of the rich, the workmanlike Model T, by virtue of its low price, was a new product for a new auto consumer, the middle-class everywhere.

Consumer demands of this magnitude required a new type of production. Ford worked with his team to make a number of cumulative refinements to the production process, culminating, in 1913, with the assembly line. Model T production required division of labor and massive planning coordination to link the efforts of tens of thousands of workers laboring on the assembly lines.

The Model T was a part of the greatest opening of the country since the railroads, allowing rural citizens to travel further, more often, and in the manner once only available to the moneyed leisure class. The explosion in the number of cars on the road led to increased investments in highways and farmers transferred their production from hay to consumer crops. The phenomenon of the newly affordable Model T replacing horses was part of a larger change in America, in which formerly homemade or locally available commodities as simple as soap or flour were suddenly mass-produced and branded.

The Model T had a cultural impact like no car before it, and few after. It was soon popularly referred to by its own nicknames. One was “Tin Lizzie,” because of a widespread, somewhat willful misconception that it was so cheap as to be made out of tin; another was

“flivver,” possibly a reference to its easily wrinkled and bent fenders. The car was also celebrated in songs like “Ford March & Two-Step,” performed at William Howard Taft’s Inaugural Ball of 1909 and the “Flivver Ten Million,” performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic Orchestra. Between 1915 and 1920, an entire genre of cheap books were published, made up solely of jokes about Model Ts and the combination of private pride and public chagrin their owners felt at possessing such durable, utilitarian, somewhat homely vehicles.

The over ten million low-priced Model Ts sold by Ford created the mass-market for automobiles. Though production ceased in 1927, the cultish devotion of Americans to cars was just beginning, and the model T started it all. Model T Fords have become valuable collectors’ items and the massive market, industry, and culture they spawned are inextricably woven into the fabric of American life by the end of the twentieth century.

—Steven Kotok

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Modern Dance

Modern Dance was born at the beginning of the twentieth century out of the need to recreate dance, to tear it away from the formal, stifling rigor of ballet, as well as from the image of other forms of dance as light-weight, sordid entertainment. One of the first dance artists associated with the movement was Isadora Duncan, whose insistence on dance as self-expression and high art paved the way for the more sustained schools of Mary Wigman, Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and the Denishawn dance troupe. In Germany and the United States, these founders worked on movement systems which focused on the grounding of the body, natural dance, harmony, creative expression, and feeling. Their techniques continue to shape contemporary theatrical dance.

—Petra Kuppers

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Modern Maturity

From modest beginnings, *Modern Maturity*, the magazine of the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP), grew into the largest average circulation magazine in the nation—without being available on newsstands. The *Time*-sized publication, a glossy bi-monthly, has been sent through the mail to some 23 million households that included over 33 million AARP members who received it as part of their annual dues.

The rise of *Modern Maturity* coincided with the growth of AARP, which could trace its roots to a meeting in a Washington, D.C. hotel of its three founding directors, Dr. Ethel Percy Andrus, who came up with the idea for the organization, and two of her associates, Grace Hatfield and Ernest Giddings. According to minutes of that meeting, it was decided to incorporate a nonprofit, nonpartisan membership organization in Washington, D.C., on July 1, 1958. At the time, Andrus was a 72-year-old California educator and activist who earlier had also founded the National Retired Teachers Association.

The start-up money for the organization came from a young Poughkeepsie, New York, insurance broker, Leonard Davis, whom Andrus had persuaded to come to her house in Ojai, California, while he was on a trip to Disneyland with his family. Davis and Andrus sat at her kitchen table discussing her plans for AARP while she showed him a mock-up of the proposed magazine, *Modern Maturity*. “There was contagious excitement in flipping through those pages,” noted an AARP article on the group’s history. “Around her kitchen table final copy was written for the magazine.” Andrus asked Davis for help in raising the seed money, and the go-getting Davis put up \$50,000 to start the ball rolling. He also persuaded Continental Casualty of Chicago to offer insurance for the AARP group. At the time, most insurers would not sell insurance to people over the age of 65, but Davis saw the opportunity to open doors to a vast new market.

The first issue of *Modern Maturity* was sent in late 1958 to members of Andrus’s other organization, the National Retired Teachers Association—members were asked to join AARP for \$2 a year. That sum would include benefits associated with membership as well as an annual subscription to *Modern Maturity*. The broad goals of the magazine were “to create a showcase for the achievements of our people; to build many bridges between the needs and the powers that can answer those needs; to open the door to all the various human adventures we can picture for you; and to serve as a forum for the discussion of subjects of interest to retired persons.” The first mass mailing was a marketing hit and membership in AARP grew rapidly, along with readership in *Modern Maturity*. By the time Andrus died in 1967, the circulation was well over one million readers. By the late 1990s, AARP had become a powerhouse lobbying organization in Washington, its group health insurance program had become the biggest in the nation, and its pharmacy services the second largest mail-order drug firm.

From the \$2 initial dues for membership, years later the fee rose to \$8 a year, which included a \$2.40 price for *Modern Maturity*, and 85¢ for the AARP *Bulletin* newsletter. Although the group’s name contained the phrase “Retired Persons,” membership was open to anyone 50 or over, and many who joined were not retired. From its meager beginnings, AARP—by the end of the twentieth century—had become a huge nonprofit industry with an annual budget of over

\$200 million, and boasted businesses generating a cash flow of over \$10 billion that netted some \$100 million. Advertising in AARP's publications alone produced more than \$30 million. In a 1988 story on AARP, *Money* magazine correspondents reported: "We discovered a loosely knit and paradoxical group, neither as politically threatening as it is often perceived nor as benign as it portrays itself to members . . . It is an undeniably effective lobby—and yet its membership is so fragmented and random that it lacks a specific shared interest or philosophy." Its lobbying influence on behalf of Medicare and other issues affecting the elderly, combined with a grass-roots force of millions of people behind it, made AARP one of the most potent lobbying forces in Washington.

The reader demographics of *Modern Maturity* in 1997 showed a population that was moderately well-off with a median household income of \$34,408, nearly two-thirds of its audience having attended or graduated from college, and most owning their own home. Women outnumbered men nearly two-to-one and the median age was 65.2 years.

A glance at the magazine shows why it achieved widespread acceptance, ranking with other best-selling magazines of the day. It put on a bright face in the late 1990s, a makeover from an earlier staid image. Its popular style appealed to a wide audience, not just the elderly. It covered topical subjects in well-edited articles. For example, the final issue of 1997 featured popular singer Tony Bennett on a glitzy, full-color cover. "Red Hot and Cool—Tony Bennett: Singing from the Heart," shouted the headline. In a box below the image of Bennett (dressed to kill in a tan suit and open white shirt) was a teaser focusing on a hot health topic: "Managed Care, Can We Learn to Love It?" Inside, articles featured an interview with national television newsman Sam Donaldson, a travel piece about offbeat beaches, a pictorial on notable figures who had turned 50 called "The Big Five Oh," tips for consumers, food and drink recipes, and a plethora of advertisements ranging from cold and flu medicines to automobiles and promotions for AARP services such as insurance, credit cards, and pharmacy service.

In short, *Modern Maturity* has matured into a widely read magazine and a pioneering influence on the American scene in the last part of the twentieth century because of the foresight of an activist woman, Ethel Andrus, who refused to be considered elderly, and who had the vision to capture an audience of Americans that was growing older.

—Michael Posner

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Modern Times

The final cinematic appearance of Charlie Chaplin's Little Tramp character is also the legendary filmmaker's first talkie, though he uses sound sparingly and with predictable artistry. Made at the



Charlie Chaplin in a scene from the film *Modern Times*.

height of the Depression, in 1936, the film explores the dehumanization and dislocation that accompanied the advent of the industrial age. It provided modern film with some of its most iconic images and a song, "Smile," that became an instant pop standard.

The film's theme is spelled out in the foreword that runs after the opening credits: "'Modern Times.' A story of industry, of individual enterprise—humanity crusading in the pursuit of happiness." The film then opens with an overhead shot of a flock of sheep rushing through a chute. The sheep quickly dissolve into a similar shot of industrial laborers surging out of a subway station on their way to the factory.

A long sequence set on the factory floor then ensues. The Little Tramp, Chaplin's impish everyman, is shown without his traditional baggy pants, derby hat, and cane. Instead he wears the gray coveralls of a common assembly line worker. The modern industrial laborer's predicament is symbolized by a scene in which the Tramp is sucked inside a huge machine while oiling it, passing through its myriad gears like just another part in the mechanism. Though he escapes that jam, the Tramp is soon driven mad by the dull routine of factory life. He goes berserk and is hauled off to an asylum. Thus ends the second reel.

The rest of the film continues on in episodic fashion. The Tramp is jailed after he inadvertently becomes part of a pro-union march. Released, he meets up with the Gamine (a ravishing Paulette Godard), an orphan girl who has run away from home to avoid being placed in an orphanage. The two tramps fall in love, and Chaplin's character vows to get them a home "even if I have to work for it." He fails at a

series of jobs before the police, inevitably, come looking for the runaway girl. Forced to flee, the pair return to the open road, where they join hands and pledge to “get along” somehow.

Modern Times was promoted by the studio as Chaplin’s first sound film, but that is something of a misnomer. Chaplin uses sound only to serve the film’s theme of technology and dehumanization: spoken voices are heard emanating from mechanical devices, the factory boss is heard urging the Tramp to get back to work, and so on. Chaplin’s actual voice is heard only briefly, singing a nonsense song. Special sound effects and an original musical score enhance the pantomime.

A number of the images from *Modern Times*—the Tramp caught up in the machinery, waving the red flag at the head of a labor demonstration, and the final poignant shot of the Tramp and the Gamine walking uncertainly off into the sunset—have become indelibly imprinted on the pop cultural consciousness. As the final undeniable master work of one of the twentieth century’s greatest directors, it continues to generate criticism and commentary within the world film community. Fittingly, in 1989, *Modern Times* was entered into the National Film Registry, a program created by the Library of Congress to preserve films deemed “culturally, historically, or esthetically important.”

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Modernism

Modernism is a highly complex cultural phenomenon which has generated a variety of differing opinions and an immense critical literature. The notion of the “modern” has undergone various semantic shifts and definitions, mainly due to the sensibility of each age, yet the word has always retained a particular pertinence in characterizing a feeling of novelty, of change and historical evolution. For American expatriate writer Gertrude Stein Modernism was a sort of “inevitable art,” the only “composition” appropriate to the new disposition of time and space in which people lived in the early part of the twentieth century. However it is defined, it is clear that Modernism was an extraordinary combination of often contradictory aspects: the futuristic and the nihilistic, the revolutionary and the conservative, the naturalistic and the symbolistic, the romantic and the classical. It was a celebration of a technological age, the so-called “Age of the Machine” and a condemnation of it, a faithful acceptance of any new, exciting cultural expression and the excuse for fearful and anxious reactions in face of it. The term has often included many artistic movements which originated mostly in Europe (Impressionism, Expressionism, Futurism, Cubism, Symbolism, Imagism etc.), but soon became truly international, often sharing a tendency towards abstraction and a refusal of realism. The Modernist tendency expressed itself

as anti-representationalism in painting, free verse in poetry, stream-of-consciousness narrative in the novel, just to make a few examples. Most critics agree that the peak of the Modernist period was the first quarter of the twentieth century, but some place it as early as the 1890s, as did Frank Kermode in a famous study aptly entitled *The Sense of an Ending*.

One cannot date exactly the beginning of “modern” culture in America, but surely it was decried in quite exalted terms as early as 1871, in Walt Whitman’s prophetic *Democratic Vistas*: “America demands a poetry that is bold, modern, and all-surrounding and kosmical, as she is herself. It must in no respect ignore science and the modern. It must bend its vision toward the future, more than the past.” “Science and the modern” were firmly linked in Whitman’s forward-looking vision in a union that expressed the post-Civil War optimism of American civilization. Surprisingly, Whitman’s quest for an art that would favorably compare with science and the modern had virtually no followers until the first decades of the twentieth century, when a group of artists began to create a visual and literary culture that reflected and responded to the extraordinary transformations of American society under the impact of the machine. But this new art was to be rather different from what Whitman had optimistically envisioned. What Whitman had in mind was a larger aesthetic vision of democratic civilization which would have incorporated the world of science and technology. For the modernists, on the other hand, the new world of the machine was far more complex and their response was far more ambivalent.

Clearly, the changes that occurred during the years following Whitman’s declaration of 1871 were extraordinary, even beyond any expectation: the material world was virtually rebuilt from scratch and the human subject came to be placed in an environment that was continuously changing. Candles and oil lamps had been replaced by lightbulbs powered by that invisible power, electricity; the wireless radio became ever more common in the dining-room. Specialized industrial processes had been in effect since the 1880s, but with electricity mechanization was much accelerated. In 1910, one in ten urban homes had electricity; by 1930 most did, and the consumer, especially the lady of the house, was surrounded with new machines: irons, sewing machines, vacuum cleaners, toasters, washing machines, refrigerators, in brief the household was transformed into a wholly new, exciting, mechanized environment.

Understandably, the impact of the modern times was most visible in the city. Cities like New York started growing upward, from their pre-elevator six stories to the thirty stories of the skyscraper by the end of the nineteenth century. Daniel Burnham’s triangular Flatiron Building (1903), the tallest building of its time, became a symbol of such times. Photographers like Alfred Stieglitz, Alvin Langdon Coburn, and Edward Steichen started to immortalize these tall buildings as aesthetic objects. However, the skyscrapers would soon acquire a different role: they would perform an advertising function for the commercial interests that had built them in the first place; they would become icons of the modern age and, above all, of modern industrial civilization. In New York the very names of streets like Broadway, Wall Street, or Madison Avenue reflected those structures of mass communication and persuasion, finance, capitalism, and popular culture that were defining the new modern way of life. New York was to become the modernist metropolis *par excellence*, but it should be stressed that Modernism transformed and embraced not just one city, but many.

To go back to Whitman again, one could wonder why, in a time of such revolutionary changes, his aspiration was not answered earlier by the world of art and culture. The reason might be that all the major transformations Whitman and the American people in general were witnessing (the tall buildings, the manufacturing products, etc.) were not regarded as pertaining to the world of art, at least the capital “A” Art of high culture, as defined by the academy and by its well established aesthetic criteria. In a way, Art was perceived as a defence against the ever-changing world of bridges, skyscrapers, steam engines, and railroads. Even when the machine was artistically represented, its mere functionalism had to be hidden behind some classical decorative embellishment. It was only gradually, in the machinery and architectural forms of the industrial landscape, that the new modernist vocabulary found its inspiration, and as a result science and the modern began to find their way into the culture at large.

The vocabulary of “the modern” was one of mechanical forms and elaborate mechanisms viewed under a metaphorical light. Such a vocabulary was embraced in the visual arts by European expatriates like Picabia and Duchamp and by American artists as well; not surprisingly the city and the machine became the subject matter of modernist art. The American response was characterized by the attempt to connect the new age of the machine with a native cultural tradition; it was as if in order to look at the future one had first to look backwards, especially at the century that had just come to a close. This is perhaps one of the most interesting paradoxes of modernity: that the projection into the future and the emergence of a popular modernism also coincided with a deepening traditionalism. This tendency is detectable in literature and in the visual arts as well, in artists as diverse as William Faulkner, William Carlos Williams, and F. Scott Fitzgerald, or in the adherents to the Precisionist movement, a handful of young painters and photographers that would represent one of the most interesting American contributions to international modernism.

Compared to the European, the American artists were more critical and, in many respects, more worried about the consequences of mechanical civilization: the dangers of robotization deriving from matching the man to the machine and the machine to the man found perhaps their best expression in Chaplin’s *Modern Times* (1936). However, already in his 1919 book *Our America*, Waldo Frank had voiced the concern of many Americans who feared that the dehumanizing forces of technology would lead to psychic fragmentation and spiritual deprivation. Such opinions dominated literary magazines like *The Seven Arts*, *Secession*, and *Broom*, to name just a few. However, American artists were also engaged in building native forms of cultural expression that could not disregard the contemporary reality of machine technology. For many Walt Whitman provided a singular model for the celebration of indigenous culture, in particular the metaphysical analogy that he drew between mechanical energy and divine spirit. William Carlos Williams echoed portions of the poet’s “Crossing Brooklyn Ferry” in his own exhortations to American artists to develop indigenous subjects and forms of expression. These new forms should be based on Whitman’s glorification of the dynamism, vitality, and energy of the native environment and his celebration of the machine as an American cultural symbol.

Not surprisingly, it was another poet, Hart Crane, who derived an affirmative mythology from the realities of the technological world. Crane wanted to resuscitate contemporary, but decayed, culture by aligning it with the great mythologies of the past. He

considered the entrenchment of machinery in contemporary life as a challenging responsibility for the poet. The machine could not be ignored but must be absorbed into poetry, where its destructive forces would be countered through the creation of an alternative myth. Guided by an evangelical temperament Crane infused technological culture with transcendent ecstasy. By fusing popular legends about American history—Columbus, Pocahontas, Rip Van Winkle—with contemporary reality—railroads, subways, office buildings—he aimed to construct “a mystical synthesis of ‘America’” that would achieve “a mythic transfiguration of current values.” For Crane, the bridge, especially Brooklyn Bridge, was an emblem of unification, a passage between the ideal and the transitory sensations of history.

One could well agree with Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane when they argue that for many writers the city became the very “analogue of form,” not only that Modernism was a particularly urban art but also that the artist was “caught up in the spirit of the modern city, which is itself the spirit of a modern technological society. . . . The city has become culture.” In New York the experimental spirit was particularly evident in Greenwich Village and was often conflated with a sense of liberation in morals. Henry James described the Village of those years in *Washington Square* (1881). Soon radicalism characterized not only arts and morals, but also politics, especially in the period 1910-1917, after the appearance of magazines like the *Masses*, the *Freeman*, *The Nation*, and *The New Republic*, to name a few. Radical politics was debated in the salon of Mabel Dodge by people like John Reed and Bill Haywood. From an artistic perspective the salon of Alfred Stieglitz is certainly worth mentioning. The Berlin-educated Stieglitz staged the first American exhibition of Matisse, Toulouse Lautrec, Picasso, and Picabia, among others. He organized the famous Armory Show of 1913, the exhibition that would mark a turning point in the world of art, not to mention the role that Stieglitz played in the history of photography.

To dispel any doubt about the conceptual link between “modernism” and “modernization,” it should be stressed that even in the era of high aesthetic modernism (roughly 1890 to 1930), the impact of the machine was reflected also in a whole range of cultural productions that appealed to a large number of people. As Douglas Tallack has rightly pointed out: “material changes were no mere backdrop to artistic experimentation. They produced a mass culture based on the market, the phenomenon with which all twentieth-century writers and artists had to contend.” Far from being just a “lure” for a mass audience that mindlessly consumed every product it was offered, popular culture texts of the time should be viewed for their often contradictory meanings and uses and for the social and cultural dynamics they reflected. Saloons, parks, dance halls, music, and celebrations are examples of new forms of leisure that became commodified during this period. Though a detailed analysis of such phenomena is beyond the scope of this essay, it is worth mentioning impact of the communications revolution on the creation of an ever-growing market for news and entertainment.

The fact that the communications revolution had an effect on the production as well as on the distribution and reception of culture was already evident in the late nineteenth century when American fiction, like the domestic household, made contact with the new mass-produced brand-named merchandise. As advertisements became touchstones of modernity and its fragmentations, fiction and advertising acted on one another in complex and unexpected ways. Frank

Munsey, editor and publisher of one of the first new magazines oriented to the middle class in the 1890s, argued that: “fiction . . . is responsible for enormous circulations, and without fiction the general advertiser would find the magazine proposition . . . decidedly uninteresting from a business standpoint.” The big change in magazine economics usually dates back to 1893, the year that three monthlies, *Munsey’s*, *McClure’s*, and *Cosmopolitan* dropped their prices to ten cents, shifted their enterprise from sales to advertising, and increased their circulation to hundreds of thousands. These magazines were different from the old elite magazines such as *Harper’s*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Century* (which cost thirty-five cents a copy/four dollars a year) in that they achieved a large circulation, thus reaching readers who had never subscribed to magazines. *Munsey’s*, the first of the middle-class magazines to drop its price to a dime, is exemplary in its mission of bringing fiction and ad writing ever closer, so readers would learn to appreciate the directness and succinctness of advertising writing. Again, to quote Frank Munsey’s words: “The modern advertisement is a thing of art, a poem, a sledge hammer, an argument—a whole volume compressed into a sentence. Some of the cleverest writing . . . can be found in the advertising pages of a first rate magazine.”

Munsey’s published mainly general fiction, articles, and comments specifically directed to a middle class reading public largely, but not exclusively, formed by women. Others would soon follow Munsey’s example. The *Saturday Evening Post*, which began publishing in its modern form in 1897, offered a contrast between conventional moral values and modern publishing conventions. De Witt Wallace’s *Reader’s Digest*, founded in 1922, aimed to emulate Henry Ford by applying mass production techniques to the world of print. The “tabloid” made its first appearance in 1919 in the form of the *New York Illustrated Daily News*. In the 1930s, Henry Luce became the first media tycoon thanks to the massive circulation of his magazine *Life*, which made an extensive use of the camera.

Much of the recent interest in modernism has had less directly to do with high literary manifestations, and more with the lived forms of popular culture: cinema, radio, fashion, mass advertising, automobiles, daily papers, and detective and science fiction. These forms came to symbolize not just Manhattan or Chicago, but city life in general. As Raymond Williams puts it, “out of an experience of the cities came an experience of the future.” Besides, there is the question of whether modernism has actually ended, whether there is a case for a sort of aesthetic continuity from the abundance of versions of modernism to the equal abundance of versions of postmodernism. What is certain is that although modernism was not to everybody’s taste, it was the movement which best described and shaped our modern consciousness.

—Anna Notaro

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Momaday, N. Scott (1934—)

N. Scott Momaday, winner of the 1969 Pulitzer Prize for fiction with his first novel, *House Made of Dawn*, achieved international attention as an author of Native American literature. Through his poetry, fiction, criticism, and essays, especially *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), the story of the Kiowa people whose dominance on the American plains ended with the Euro-American expansion, Momaday introduced Native American culture into the canon of American literature. Among his other well known works are “The Bear,” for which he won the Academy of American Poets prize in 1962, and his second novel, *The Ancient Child* (1989), a fictionalized autobiography about an Indian artist in search of his racial identity. As Momaday’s popularity increased during the last three decades of the twentieth century, so did interest in Native American cultural heritage, economic needs, and legal claims.

—Sharon Brown

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Monday Night Football

Monday Night Football appeared on the American pop-cultural landscape at a time when professional football was becoming the nation's preeminent televised sport. As conceived by National Football League commissioner Pete Rozelle, *Monday Night Football* was to be a weekly prime-time showcase for the fast-growing game. ABC Sports, itself an aggressive innovator in the production and marketing of televised athletics under the stewardship of Roone Arledge, was the NFL's partner in this bold endeavor. Together, the NFL and ABC created a ratings behemoth.

Monday Night Football debuted September 21, 1970, with a game matching Joe Namath's New York Jets against the Cleveland Browns. Keith Jackson provided the play-by-play that first season, with color commentary from the unlikely duo of Don Meredith and Howard Cosell. Meredith, a folksy former quarterback, was soon nicknamed "Dandy Don" by the acerbic Cosell, a one-time lawyer whose pomposity was matched only by his verbosity. The oil-and-water team became a mainstay of the Monday night telecasts. When ex-Giants great Frank Gifford replaced Jackson in 1971, the crew that would dominate the program's glory years was in place.

The Monday night broadcast was an instant ratings success, in no small part thanks to the uniqueness of the concept. By covering

only one game a week, ABC could devote sufficient resources to *Monday Night Football* to make it into a prime-time extravaganza. The production used nine cameras, instead of the four or five used for other NFL telecasts. Other technical innovations included the deployment of hand-held cameras to capture sideline action and the regular use of Goodyear's blimp to provide aerial views of the stadiums. "We approached every game as if it was the Super Bowl," commented NFL senior vice president Dennis Lewin, a one-time *Monday Night Football* staffer.

However innovative the concept and execution, *Monday Night Football* could not have succeeded without the interpersonal dynamics of its broadcast crew. Eschewing the two-man approach used on most sports telecasts, *Monday Night Football* became the first national sports program to place three men in the enclosed space of the play-by-play booth. The mostly male audience found much to hate in the bewigged, professorial Cosell, but that was just the point. He was the man Everyman loved to hate, and his constant needling of the good-natured Meredith and the mush-mouthed Gifford provided some great theater-of-the-absurd exchanges. Even blowouts and mismatches drew huge audiences, as viewers tuned in to hear what "Humble Howard" would say this week.

The show took a hit when Cosell retired from the *Monday Night Football* booth after the 1983 season. It lost much of its unique claim



Don Meredith, Howard Cosell, and Frank Gifford on *Monday Night Football*.

on the viewers' attention and reaped a harvest of bad press when the outspoken former analyst refused to go quietly. After taking every opportunity to gloat publicly over the show's precipitous ratings decline following his departure, in 1985 Cosell produced a scathing memoir, *I Never Played the Game*, in which he lambasted his former boothmates. Grammatically challenged ex-jocks O. J. Simpson and Joe Namath gamely tried to fill Cosell's analyst's chair, with predictably stupefying results.

For the 1986 season, ABC shunted Gifford to the color commentator's chair and brought in veteran play-by-play man Al Michaels to call the action. The facile Michaels quickly established himself as a strong presence in the booth, though Gifford seemed a bit uncomfortable with his new role. The following season, former NFL lineman Dan Dierdorf was added as the inevitable third wheel. The garrulous Dierdorf did not seem to mesh well with Gifford; nevertheless, ratings picked up, and ABC did not make a change in the booth (but for the brief addition of Lynn Swann in 1988) for the next eleven years.

During that time, ABC saw its franchise grow into even more of a ratings powerhouse. Young viewers were coming back to *Monday Night Football* in droves, in part due to the use of a rollicking Hank Williams, Jr. theme song. "Are you ready for some footbaaaaaallll?" the scruffy country-and-western scion wailed in the opening number, which went on to invite "all [his] rowdy friends" over for a "Monday Night Party."

Monday Night Football was thrown for a loop in 1997 when color man Gifford was caught on film by a supermarket tabloid in the arms of a buxom flight attendant who bore no resemblance to his wife, perky TV chat show hostess Kathie Lee Gifford. Although "Giff" later claimed he was set up by the paparazzi, it was an enormous public relations hit for a man whose appeal largely rested on his squeaky clean football hero image. Gifford's indiscretion was only one of many reasons he was ushered out of the broadcast booth in time for the 1998 season. The on-air chemistry between him and Dierdorf was dreadful, and Michaels too often had to play traffic cop between two blabbermouths instead of calling the action. Worst of all, viewers began tuning out this pigskin McLaughlin Group in ever increasing numbers. Ratings for the 1997 season were down seven percent from the year before.

In need of a fresh face, ABC turned to Boomer Esiason, a genial former quarterback with little broadcasting experience. To make room in the booth, the suits moved Gifford into a nebulous co-hosting role on a new twenty-minute pre-game show, *Monday Night Blast*. Start time of the games was moved up to 8:20 P.M. Eastern, to the consternation of many viewers out West. An obvious attempt to inject some energy into the wheezing *Monday Night* franchise, *Monday Night Blast* was a raucous sports bar party hosted by loud-mouthed ESPN anchor Chris Berman. The push was on to recapture the attention of younger viewers—at the risk of alienating older ones with its high-decibel puffery, but at the end of the century, as football ratings continued to decline across the board, it was unclear whether the benchmark Monday night telecast would ever regain the appeal it had in its heyday.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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The Monkees

On September 8, 1965, *Daily Variety* ran an advertisement calling for "Folk & Rock Musicians-Singers" and "4 Insane Boys, Age 17-21" for "Acting Roles in a New TV Series." The 437 young hopefuls who auditioned for producers Bob Rafelson (*Five Easy Pieces*) and Bert Schneider included Paul Williams, Harry Nilsson, and Steven Stills, but not Charles Manson, even though that urban legend persists. The goal was to find four lads who embodied the *joie de vivre* exhibited by the Beatles in their early celluloid romps, *A Hard Day's Night* (1964) and *Help!* (1965). That Liverpool quartet was already reinventing itself, but there were those who wished that the mop-tops would stay giddy and innocent forever.

That is what the creators of The Monkees (even the name was similar to The Beatles) were banking on. The television show/rock band was made up of Micky Dolenz, Davy Jones, Peter Tork, and Mike Nesmith, who were prepped, drilled, and rehearsed, in both music and improvisational techniques, until they could pass as a group. Dolenz (drums) was child actor Micky Braddock, of *Circus Boy* fame. The British-born Jones (assorted hand-held percussion instruments), an ex-jockey, played the Artful Dodger on Broadway in *Oliver!* He was also the reason another British musician named David Jones decided to take the stage name Bowie. Tork (rhythm guitarist) was a folk singer. Rounding out the manufactured band was Nesmith (lead guitar), who also had some musical chops. Nesmith, who was rarely seen without his wool hat in those days, was also heir to the Liquid Paper fortune; his mother Bette invented the venerable office aid.

In what has been called the precursor to music videos, *The Monkees* brought us the wacky adventures of these four free-wheeling musicians who lived together in a beach house in southern California. The fluffy surrealistic plots, complete with non-sequiturs, sound effects, one-liners, and slow and fast motion camera tricks, usually consisted of the boys running afoul of villains and rescuing maidens. It was probably the first show that could accurately be described as "trippy," though it was all good clean fun. A typical plot: the boys throw a party without a chaperone who will please the father of Davy's new girlfriend, so Micky dresses up as a female chaperone. All would wrap up in time for a song at the end, in a format that would soon be borrowed by another fabricated television show band, *The Partridge Family*.

With Don Kirshner as music supervisor, the producers brought in the decade's best pop tunesmiths, such as Boyce and Hart, and Neil Diamond, to pen the Monkees' songs, which included "Last Train to Clarksville" (which Dolenz claims is an antiwar song), "I'm a Believer," and "Girl." Six of their singles made it to the Top 10, and *The Monkees* won an Emmy as "the outstanding comedy series" in their first season. The albums, which sold in the millions, were cross-promoted with the television show every Monday night on NBC at 7:30 p.m. from 1966 to 1968. It was a match made in consumer heaven.

But Pygmalion was bound to rebel against its creator. The Monkees were not allowed to play instruments on the early records; they were just supposed to provide the vocals. This served to annoy



The Monkees, from left: Mike Nesmith, Peter Tork, Davy Jones, and Micky Dolenz.

the boys, and proved embarrassing when it was time to tour, which they did, to throngs of screaming fans. One leg of their tour featured a little-known guitarist named Jimi Hendrix as their opening act; Dolenz recalls, “He’d be in the middle of ‘Purple Haze’ and kids would be going ‘We want Da-vy!’” At a 1967 press conference, Nesmith, certainly the most financially secure Monkee, bitterly complained that they were being passed off as something they were not. After a final showdown with the producers, the Monkees were allowed more creative freedom. Monkee-penned songs appeared on their third album, the first without Kirschner at the helm.

The television show, suffering up against the popular *Gunsmoke*, was canceled in 1968. The Monkees made their silver screen debut that year in the unwatchable *Head*, written by Jack Nicholson and Rafelson, and featuring cameos by Nicholson, Dennis Hopper, Frank Zappa, and boxer Sonny Liston. After the band broke up, Nesmith stayed in the music business, writing the hit “Different Drum” for Linda Ronstadt’s early group Stone Poneys. He went on to be an innovative video producer, winning the first ever video Grammy for *Elephant Parts*, and the executive producer of the cult film *Repo Man*. Jones and Dolenz teamed up with Boyce and Hart in 1975, but it did not last long. Jones has made a cottage industry out of playing “Himself” or “Teen Idol” on several sitcoms, *The Real Brady Bunch*’s theater run (Marcia Brady was president of his fan club; he

appeared on an original episode of that show), and the two Brady Bunch movies. Dolenz has done some directing, and his daughter Ami is an actress.

The Monkees enjoyed a revitalization in 1986 with a highly publicized summer concert tour (mostly without Nesmith, who was still distancing himself from the group), reissues of their albums, and MTV (Music Television) running reruns of the television show. The star-maker machinery thought it was the right time for some new Monkees, and in 1987, another heavily promoted nationwide talent hunt was staged. That hunt produced Larry Saltis, Dino Kovas, Jared Chandler, and Marty Ross, the *New Monkees*. This time the boys lived in a big gothic mansion, with Manfred, a stuffy butler, and Helen, a sarcastic pair of disembodied lips, who provided constant commentary on the many television screens scattered throughout the manse. It did not work, the cross-promoted album did not sell, and the search for the New Monkees ended up having taken longer than the resulting show actually ran.

It turned out that people were still interested in the old Monkees. The four originals toured again in 1996-1997. The first and arguably the best of pop’s fabricated bands, the Monkees were a 1960s synergy of music, television, and marketing.

—Karen Lurie

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Monopoly

Invented, ironically, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, the game of Monopoly symbolizes and exploits the capitalist ethic and was an immediate success. It became the quintessential American board game and, by the late 1990s, was still the world's biggest selling copyrighted game, licensed in 43 countries and published in 26 different languages. Inspired by The Landlord's Game invented by Lizzie J. Magie, Charles B. Darrow (1889-1967) developed Monopoly using the street names from Atlantic City, New Jersey. In 1935, he sold the game for a royalty to the game manufacturers Parker Brothers. Based on the working principles of capitalism and real-estate, the objective of the game is to become the wealthiest player, "bankrupting" all others (one of whom plays the bank), through buying and selling properties, building houses, charging rents, and handling mortgages, utilities and interests. There are numerous editions of and variations on the Monopoly game, which has evolved into a worldwide phenomenon, leading in 1973 to the creation of the National and World Monopoly Championships.

—Catherine C. Galley and Briavel Holcomb

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Monroe, Bill (1911-1996)

Seldom can a particular genre of music be credited to the vision and influence of a lone individual as is the case with Bill Monroe and Bluegrass. In a career spanning over half a century, "The Father of Bluegrass" created, popularized, and trained numerous practitioners



Bill Monroe

in this distinctly American style of music. While sobriquets such as "Creator of the Blues" lavished on W. C. Handy or "King of Rock and Roll" bestowed upon Elvis Presley are gleefully denounced by musicologists, few, if any, scholars challenge Monroe's supremacy in the development of the "high and lonesome sound," a blending of Anglo-Scottish-Irish fiddle tunes, Southern gospel singing, and the stylings of African-American bluesmen. Born in the isolated community of Rosine, Kentucky, Monroe combined these elements of his local culture into a new form of music, which would attract fans world wide.

For many people in rural areas, music served a dual function of preserving a heritage and providing entertainment. Monroe was clearly a product and eventually a practitioner of this aesthetic. As the youngest child in a noticeably musical family, Monroe was reared in a world of melodies and ballads. His mother sang and played the accordion and the fiddle. His siblings developed similar skills on an assortment of stringed instruments. From his own explanation, Monroe identified his greatest influence as his mother's brother, Pendleton Vanderver. Monroe was orphaned during his adolescence, and Vanderver functioned both as guardian and teacher, instructing his nephew in the intricacies of old-time fiddle music. Years later, "Uncle Pen" would be commemorated in one of Monroe's most endearing songs. An additional influence during Monroe's formative years was Arnold Schultz, an African-American railroad worker who exposed the youth to country blues guitar.

Although Monroe initially played guitar behind Uncle Pen's fiddling at local dances during the mid-1920s, his emergence as a

professional musician coincided with his switch to the mandolin and the formation of a band with brothers Charlie (on guitar) and Birch (on fiddle) in 1927. By 1930 the trio was performing on the radio in Indiana, and by 1936 The Monroe Brothers (sans Birch) had secured a recording contract with Bluebird Records. Possessing a repertoire of sacred and secular material, the duo recorded 60 songs between 1936–1938. Although this partnership enjoyed a notable popularity with titles such as “What Would You Give in Exchange for Your Soul?,” stylistically there was little to set the Monroe’s apart from their peers. “Brother acts,” a format characterized by limited instrumentation and an emphasis on vocal harmonies, were commonplace among country music practitioners during the 1930s. By late 1938, the Monroe brothers had gone their separate ways.

In 1939 Bill Monroe assembled a new band he named The Bluegrass Boys. During the same year, he joined the staff of the Nashville-based radio show “The Grand Ole Opry,” which resulted in a greater degree of commercial exposure. During this period, Monroe’s music was clearly undergoing a transformation—moving from the old time string band and the brother duos into something new, but not fully defined. The definition arrived in 1945 when Earl Scruggs, a 20-year-old banjo player from North Carolina, joined the Monroe organization. Scruggs’ pioneering approach to his instrument provided the Bluegrass Boys with a relentless tempo and driving complexity that immediately distinguished the outfit from any of its contemporaries.

The band which emerged in 1945—Scruggs, Lester Flatt (guitar and vocals), Cedric Rainwater (bass), Chubby Wise (fiddle) and Bill Monroe (vocals and mandolin)—would be revered by aficionados into the late 1990s as the ultimate bluegrass outfit. During the next three years, this version of the Bluegrass Boys created the sound that would remain the model for generations of imitators. By the late 1940s, other artists were beginning to record cover versions of Monroe’s compositions, and bluegrass was a recognizable genre within country music. The music of Monroe and his associates was multifaceted and far more complex than a casual listen suggests. The most immediately audible characteristic was the emphasis on breathtaking musicianship. On recordings such as “Bluegrass Breakdown” and “Bluegrass Special,” the mandolin, banjo, and fiddle all functioned as lead instruments, soloing in a modernistic fashion that emphasized not only speed and dexterity, but also emotion and composure.

Titles such as “Little Cabin Home on the Hill” and “Kentucky Waltz” were nostalgic remembrances of a past simplicity of time and place. The production of such pastorals coincided with the wartime migration of many Appalachian families into the urban centers of America. For displaced mountaineers, the music of the Bluegrass Boys and subsequent artists provided a comforting link with a life they had left behind.

In 1948 Flatt and Scruggs left Monroe to form their own band, The Foggy Mountain Boys. Ironically, their popularity greatly outshone their mentor. During the next 20 years, Flatt and Scruggs fronted their own radio program, frequently guest starred on the television show *The Beverly Hillbillies*, provided music for the Hollywood film *Bonnie and Clyde*, and even dabbled in creating Bluegrass versions of rock ‘n’ roll songs. Their recordings of “The Ballad of Jed Clampett” and “Foggy Mountain Breakdown” became perhaps the most widely known standards in the Bluegrass songbook throughout the rest of the twentieth century.

Although Monroe retained a contract with Decca Records and a permanent spot on the Grand Ole Opry, during the 1950s and much of the 1960s his position as a performer was largely overshadowed by that of Flatt and Scruggs. Despite this lack of recognition, Monroe persevered. A prolific composer, he authored dozens of songs and instrumental pieces. Perhaps more importantly, Monroe kept his vision of bluegrass alive via an endless schedule of live performances. While financial constraints conspired against maintaining a permanent touring band, Bill Monroe and His Bluegrass Boys were an enduring institution. Meticulously attired in matching suits, the Monroe group navigated the highways and backroads of America graciously performing for fans.

Such determination eventually paid off. As the audiences for folk music expanded during the 1960s, Bluegrass enjoyed an increased popularity. Monroe’s role in the music’s creation was reexamined, and his persona as “The Father of Bluegrass” assumed a deeper meaning with each passing year. Despite advancing age and periodic health problems, Monroe remained a dedicated showman well into his 80s. Although often remembered as a fiercely competitive musician, his career is best summarized by his role as a teacher. Regardless if he were training the latest Bluegrass boy or jamming with amateurs after a performance, Monroe played an active role in transmitting his music to countless fans thereby insuring its permanence in American culture. Bill Monroe died in Nashville shortly before his 85th birthday.

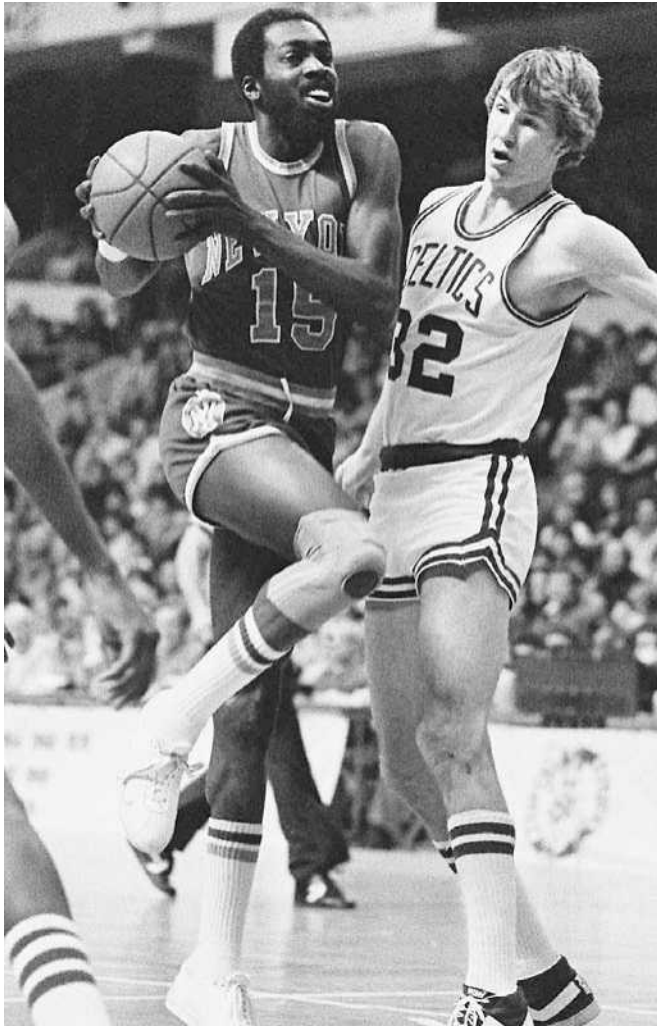
—J. Allen Barksdale

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Monroe, Earl “The Pearl” (1944—)

From the playgrounds of South Philadelphia in the early 1960s, through a 13-year career in the National Basketball Association (NBA), Earl “The Pearl” Monroe earned renown for his artistry on the court. Widely considered one of the greatest guards in basketball history, Monroe is best known for his hesitation fakes, 360-degree spins, and other entertaining individual moves. Yet Monroe’s successes were as dependent on his discipline and intense dedication to winning as they were on the crowd-pleasing displays of flashy brilliance that earned him the nicknames “The Pearl,” “Black Jesus,” and “Magic.” As part of the generation of African American ballplayers who transformed major college and professional basketball in the 1960s and 1970s, Monroe was crucial in popularizing the one-on-one style of offence which is now common at all levels of play.



Earl "The Pearl" Monroe (left) drives against Boston Celtics Jeff Judkins.

Monroe did not begin seriously playing basketball until he was 14. Although his interest in the game was prompted by a junior high school coach, Monroe's initial basketball education occurred primarily on the playgrounds. As he put it: "All my style came from the Philadelphia schoolyards." At that time, African American basketball in Philadelphia centered on the Baker League, a summer program that featured playground legends, experienced pros, college stars, and promising teenagers. Largely self-taught, Monroe learned the game by closely observing the Baker league players, imitating their moves, and inventing his own.

At Philadelphia's John Bartram High School, Monroe mostly played center, averaging 21.7 points his senior year. After a year working in a factory and attending Temple Prep School, Monroe enrolled at Winston-Salem (North Carolina) College. At the all-Black Winston-Salem, Monroe came under the tutelage of Basketball Hall of Fame coach Clarence "Big House" Gaines. Despite clashes over Monroe's freewheeling playground style, the coach became a kind of surrogate father to the young ballplayer, aiding his maturation both off and on the court. Of particular importance were Gaines' cautionary tales about flamboyant, talented African American ballplayers (especially Cleo Hill, a guard whose game resembled Monroe's)

whose professional opportunities were limited by the racism of owners, coaches, and fans. Monroe flourished at Winston-Salem. His scoring average climbed from seven points per game as a freshman to 41.5 points per game in his senior year, breaking the NCAA (National Collegiate Athletic Association) Division II record for most points in a season (1,329) and helping Winston-Salem become the first all-Black school to win the NCAA Division II championship.

On breaks from college, Monroe continued to frequent the playgrounds of Philadelphia, where his skills and style generated an almost religious devotion from his fans. In his book *Giant Steps*, future all time NBA scoring champion Kareem Abdul-Jabbar recalls two busloads of Philadelphians coming to New York to cheer on the Monroe-led 1965 Baker league champions in the legendary Rucker tournament: "... [T]hey set up a continuous wait that seemed to be coming from everywhere. 'Where's Jesus?' 'Black Jesus!'" On the first play of the game he caught their attention and delighted his fans with a stop-and-go hesitation dribble that developed into a leaping 360-degree spin, culminating in a pinpoint pass for an assist. Jabbar, at that time a nationally known prep star and seasoned veteran of New York's playgrounds, had never seen anyone play like Monroe.

In many ways, Monroe was unique. Unlike most other elite African American basketball players (of his and subsequent generations), Monroe did not rely on physical intimidation or tremendous leaping ability. He played with finesse, and he played mostly below the rim. His ability to score was dependent on his quickness and his rhythmic deceptions. His herky-jerky moves and off-balance shots appeared awkward, but were very effective. His tendency towards individual improvisation prompted more than one writer to compare Monroe to a great jazz soloist. The obvious joy Monroe displayed while individually dominating his opponents and forging his distinctive style made him a fan favorite. Many young players have emulated Monroe to the point where the qualities that once made him unique—360-degree spins, double-pump fakes, one-on-one play, stop-and-go dribbles—are now common. The style that Monroe brought from the playground has, as *Village Voice* writer Clayton Riley put it, become "institutionalized."

In 1967 Monroe was selected as the Baltimore Bullets' number one draft choice (second overall in the NBA draft). In his first season, he averaged 24.9 points per game and was named rookie of the year. The Bullets made the playoffs each of Monroe's four seasons in Baltimore, while Monroe averaged 23.7 points per game. In 1972, after a disagreement with Bullets management, he was traded to the New York Knicks.

The move to New York raised Monroe's profile. The Knicks had won the NBA championship in 1970, becoming media darlings in the process. Overall, basketball was growing in popularity. In part this new popularity can be credited to the ways in which African American players were changing the game. The civil rights movement had helped open up opportunities in the NBA for exciting players like Monroe. To some fans, and many in the media, basketball's appeal was tied up with romantic notions of African American life. Ironically, the very qualities that would have hindered Monroe a decade earlier now enhanced his appeal to many whites.

Initially, many doubted that Monroe's individualistic style would mesh well with the team-oriented Knicks. To a great degree, these doubts reflected more general misgivings about the style of play that African Americans were bringing to the game. After his first year,

Monroe learned to integrate his individual brilliance into the Knicks' framework, and helped lead the team to the NBA championship in 1973.

Summing up Monroe's contribution to basketball, in *Elevating the Game: Black Men and Basketball*, Nelson George wrote: ". . . he ushered in a jazzy, exciting, demonstrative approach, that old-school NBA observers hated." It is this approach, pioneered by Monroe and his contemporaries, which has largely been responsible for basketball's global popularity in the 1980s and 1990s.

—Thomas J. Mertz

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Monroe, Marilyn (1926-1962)

In 1962, at age 36, and after completing only 29 films, Marilyn Monroe died, leaving a legacy as one of the most recognizable movie



Marilyn Monroe

stars and powerful cultural images in American history. White-blond hair, seductively lowered eyelids, skin-tight glittery gowns clinging to her hourglass shape, and a cultivated habit of purling her shoulders just as her face broke into a demure smile constituted the inimitable Monroe presence, one exuding idealized femininity and sexual thrill. The epitome of desirability, Monroe was the sex symbol who also suggested vulnerability and a childlike desire to please. After working with her in 1949's *Love Happy*, Groucho Marx declared, "It's amazing. She's Mae West, Theda Bara and Bo Peep all rolled into one." Novelist Norman Mailer, who never met her but penned a book-length tribute titled *Marilyn*, described her as "fed on sexual candy." This mixture of carnal allure and naivete emanating from a full-figured woman with the whispery voice of a girl created the distinctive contradiction integral to Monroe's success and the force of her image. Monroe claimed she never cared about money, saying, "I just want to be wonderful."

Marilyn Monroe's death increased her popularity by nearly incalculable measure, and in her untimely end lies another key to her iconic status. Her screen personality suggested a "bad girl" in the bedroom but also a weak child-woman requiring protection from male predators. When she died from a self-administered barbiturate overdose, it seemed an unlikely and unjust finish for a star of her magnitude. Her shocking death only reinforced this vulnerable aspect of Monroe's appeal. The gossip surrounding her death and the famous men then involved with her—including President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Robert F. Kennedy—only whetted the public appetite to know more of her, to see more of her, to feel as if it understood who she really was. She shared this afterlife with other celebrities who died tragically. Actor James Dean was killed in an automobile crash in the desert in the 1960s after famously proclaiming he aimed to "die young and leave a beautiful corpse." Like Monroe's, his image continued to haunt poster shops and post card stands decades later. The mythos of a dazzling life burning at both ends until finally extinguishing itself has proven endlessly fascinating to an American culture obsessed by youth. Also like James Dean, Monroe was a natural before a photographer's lens. While movie acting frightened her and she developed the unconscionable work habits of arriving hours late to a set and requiring countless takes to deliver even minimal lines, in front of a still photographer she was magic. Her face appeared transparent to mood and yet managed to withhold something, too, making each picture of her unique.

She was born Norma Jeane Mortenson in 1926 in Los Angeles, California, to a single mother struggling with mental illness and a travelling salesman who would not claim her. Traded in and out of orphanages and foster homes, her early childhood was defined by emotional neglect and sexual abuse at the age of eight. She would later lie about her childhood, claiming she was an orphan to hide the fact of her mother's institutionalization. As her own insecurities and episodes of severe depression mounted in nearly direct proportion to her fame, the image of her mother's instability haunted her. She never met her father and pretended that he was movie star Clark Gable. Her inauspicious roots may not have signaled her future celebrity, but her early experiences being shuffled off to the movies did. As many other film stars from the studio system era in Hollywood would report, movie-going cultivated in Monroe a driving desire to join the privileged, shining faces, and outsized personalities of the silver screen. As she later put it, "I told myself a million times that I was an actress because that seemed to me something golden and beautiful."

In 1942, at age 16, Norma Jeane (now going by Norma Jean Baker) agreed to marry Jim Dougherty, a few years her senior. Marriage spared her further sexual abuse at the hands of older men and alleviated the obligation of family friends to care for her. Dougherty joined the merchant marines, departed for the war, and Marilyn found employment at the Radio Plane munitions plant. There a photographer discovered her during a shoot to promote women working for the war effort. Her then-brunette good looks so struck him that he helped her win a modeling contract. Shortly after establishing her modeling career, Norma Jean peroxided her hair, divorced Dougherty, and set her sites on a movie stardom at age 20. In 1946, the head of new talent at 20th Century-Fox rewarded her with her first contract and renamed her Marilyn. She chose Monroe after her grandmother's last name. Norma Jean's transformation from hard-working plant employee to model and then starlet Marilyn Monroe, dependent on the connections and business acumen of men to further her career, would prove representative of further struggles. Just as her celebrity connoted a contradiction between naïve and assertive sexuality, Monroe also represented a woman who, freed from domesticity by WWII, did not know how best to exploit her own raw talents and fierce ambition. Monroe was shrewd and helpless both, involving herself repeatedly with men like talent agent Johnny Hyde to score movie auditions then turning down studio-offered scripts in search of better parts. As her career evolved, she became a committed student of "The Method," a theory of acting she learned at the feet of Lee Strasburg, head of the famous Actor's Studio in New York where other acting luminaries like Marlon Brando and Montgomery Clift also honed their craft. Her longing to step out of the mold the studios forced upon her and her use of the Method to do so positioned her stardom in a time of limbo. The studio system was eroding yet its imprint on Monroe's image remained lasting. Monroe both fought for attention any way she could get it and resented the static and demeaning stereotype of her movie roles, saying, "A sex symbol becomes just a thing and I hate that—but if I'm going to be a symbol of something, I'd rather have it be sex."

After appearing in small parts in films including *Love Happy* (1949) and *All about Eve* (1950), Monroe broke through to celebrity status with starring roles in three 1953 features—*Niagara*, *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*, and *How to Marry a Millionaire*. By the end of the year, American film distributors voted Monroe the top star of 1953. She also won *Photoplay* magazine's Gold Star Award for the fastest-rising new star, and fan letters poured in at the rate of five thousand a week. While her fame ultimately transcended the 1950s, its birth was firmly rooted in conventions of that post-war period. Monroe compares to 1950s stars Lana Turner, Kim Novak, and Janet Leigh. Their round and shapely figures exemplified the 1950s sex symbol and contrasted significantly with the more streamlined and diminutive style of the 1940s star represented by Barbara Stanwyck and Claudette Colbert or the slim, statuesque figures of Gene Tierney and Lauren Bacall. Breasts shaped like missiles—also a dominating aspect of the image of Monroe's *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* co-star, Jane Russell—announced themselves in the 1950s style of dress: tight sweaters, cinched waists, poofed skirts, soft-shouldered jackets. Dubbed the "New Look" by *Life* magazine, late 1940s and 1950s women's fashions reacted against war-time clothing by accentuating women's secondary sex characteristics, thereby reinstating pre-war images of femininity. Halter-tops like the one Monroe made famous in 1955's

The Seven Year Itch helped signify the more revealing era. In a famous scene, she stands atop a subway grate while the train whooshes beneath her, blowing up her full skirt around her waist while she tries in vain to hold it down. Bending over, she flashes her cleavage as the halter-top both harnesses her chest and allows its exposure. Though the final version of the Billy Wilder-directed classic includes only a brief shot of this sequence, film footage of the shoot resurfaced after the movie's release and has been memorialized in countless billboards and shop windows throughout the world.

Marilyn Monroe's voluptuousness placed her in a league with female stars of the late 1930s like Mae West and Jean Harlow. Her exuberant style of femininity and sex appeal descend directly from the screen image of Clara Bow, who also displayed a combination of sexual aggressiveness and wide-eyed, harmless energy in her embodiment of the 1920s "flapper." In 1958, Monroe posed for a series of photos relating her to previous screen sirens, including Bow, 1910's Hollywood vamp, Theda Bara, and 1940s exotic, Marlene Dietrich. Unlike these screen images of daring sexuality, Monroe's image also depended on affability. She represented maternal availability and plentitude to a country recovering from the horrors of war, while her comic personality represented harmlessness, a mother who would not exact punishment or even hold men to any standard other than the limits of their own desire. Her role as Sugar Cane in 1959's *Some Like It Hot* is one of her most definitive. In it she plays a sexy woman so bubble-headed she doesn't notice that co-stars Jack Lemmon and Tony Curtis are men pretending to be women to escape from the mob. Monroe's ability to portray "dumb" while also projecting awareness of her affect on audiences was part of her acting style. She laughed at herself in these "dumb blonde" parts but as former roommate Shelley Winters said of her, "If she'd been dumber, she'd have been happier."

Her two marriages subsequent to Dougherty reflected her battles to define herself on her own terms. In 1954, her fame incipient, she wed American baseball legend, Joe DiMaggio, uniting two American figures of growing mythic stature. Lasting only nine months, the marriage collapsed in the face of Monroe's continued hunger for acting success and DiMaggio's possessiveness and inability to accept her Hollywood image as sex symbol to millions of other men. In 1956 she married esteemed playwright Arthur Miller in the wake of the 1955 birth of her own company, Marilyn Monroe Productions, founded to provide her the serious, dramatic parts Hollywood studios refused her. Marrying the intellectual Miller appeared to stem from her deep-seated need to be taken seriously, to be valued for more than her comic portrayals as an empty-headed vessel for male sexual fantasies. As she implored one reporter toward the end of her life, "Please don't make me a joke." The marriage to Miller failed under the weight of her enormous psychological and emotional needs, and her increased reliance on prescription drugs and alcohol to ease the pain of miscarriages, insomnia, and crippling stage-fright. Miller wrote *The Misfits*, the 1961 John Huston-directed film that led to box office disappointment but offered Monroe the last serious role of her career.

In 1948, her film contract dropped for renewal, she returned to modeling to support herself. During this time she agreed to pose nude for a photographer who had long pestered her to do so. She claimed to have made \$50 from the shoot. As would recur frequently in her professional tenure, the photographer made thousands of dollars from

the initial sale of the pictures and the company that produced the calendar made millions. Threatened with scandal after their later release in the early 1950s, Monroe confessed to posing for them. "Sure I posed. I needed the money." The public embraced her honesty, rewarding her calculated risk. The nude calendar photos, taken in 1948, appeared in the December 1953 debut issue of *Playboy* magazine. Exploitation of this type was a constant in her career. Laurence Olivier, her co-star in 1957's Marilyn Monroe Productions-backed *The Prince and The Showgirl*, said of her death: "Popular opinion and all that goes to promote it is a horribly unsteady conveyance for life, and she was exploited beyond anyone's means."

By the late 1990s, over 300 books had been published about her, and Marilyn Monroe's likeness had retained astounding staying power to sell consumer goods. Marilyn Monroe dolls, plates, ashtrays, magnets, T-shirts, ties, life-sized cut-outs, paintings, posters, martini glasses, coffee cups, postcards, lingerie, and songs proliferated in the consumer realm, including an appearance on an official U.S. government-issued stamp in the mid-1990s. In a famous 1980s modified rendition of Edward Hopper's 1941 painting, *Nighthawks*, three indistinct figures at a café counter at night are replaced, in defiance of history, by Hollywood icons Humphrey Bogart, James Dean, and Marilyn Monroe. Post-modern artist Andy Warhol also immortalized Monroe in his famous silk screen of her image duplicated to evoke a negative strip of film. Her serialized face captures the essence of Monroe as the star-turned-commodity.

—Elizabeth Haas

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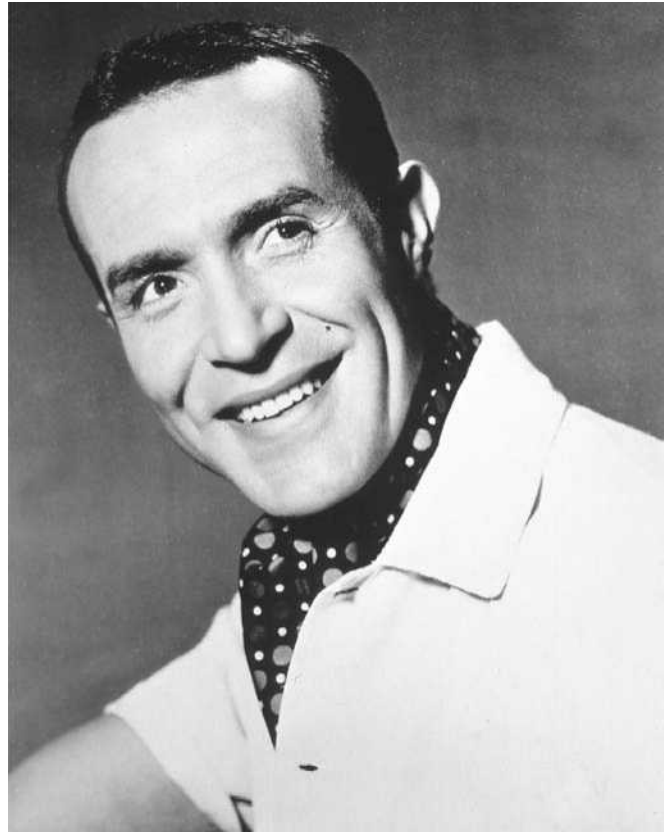
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Montalbán, Ricardo (1920—)

With his half-century career as a film and television actor, Ricardo Montalbán is one of the most well-known and popular actors of Hispanic heritage. Although he had a distinguished career as an actor in feature films, he is best known for his starring role in the



Ricardo Montalbán

Fantasy Island television series and for his years of commercials promoting Chrysler automobiles.

Montalbán was born on November 25, 1920, in Mexico City, to Spanish immigrant parents. It was after moving to Los Angeles to attend Fairfax High School that Montalbán discovered the theater and began acting in high school plays. In 1940, he moved to New York to pursue a career in acting and made his debut on Broadway in *Her Cardboard Lover*. Afterwards, he returned to Mexico and began a career in film there, making more than two dozen movies. His 1942 film *La casa de la zorra* brought him to the attention of Hollywood, which was turning out an increasing number of films with Latin American themes in support of the Good Neighbor Policy during World War II. In Hollywood, Montalbán was cast in a series of stereotypical "Latin Lover" roles at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer studios, where he signed a ten-year contract in 1946. His appearance in *Neptune's Daughter* (1949) was a breakthrough in that it was the first major film to portray a Hispanic character who romantically pursued and married an Anglo woman. Montalbán's Spanish accent and Hispanic looks, however, frequently caused him to be cast in stereotypical roles, either of the "Latin Lover" lead or that of sidekick or friend to the romantic lead (*Battleground*, 1949), or even as a "Hispanic-looking" character. This situation continued through the 1960s, when he was cast as a Native American (*Across the Wide Missouri*, 1951), as a Japanese warlord (*Sayonara*, 1957), as a French duke (*Love Is a Ball*, 1963) and an Italian lover (*Sweet Charity*, 1968). In 1969, Montalbán helped found *Nosotros*, the first organization to promote equal opportunities for Hispanic actors and actresses in

Hollywood, in part by its sponsorship of the Golden Eagle Awards to recognize outstanding performances by Hispanic actors.

Among the most important films of Montalbán's career have been: *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), *Madame X* (1966), *Escape from the Planet of the Apes* (1971), *Conquest of the Planet of the Apes* (1972), *Return to Fantasy Island* (1977), *Star Trek II: The Wrath of Khan* (1982), and *The Naked Gun: From the Files of Police Squad* (1988).

Montalbán began acting for television productions in the late 1950s, often appearing on *The Loretta Young Show*. From then on, he made numerous guest appearances on various series through the 1970s, many of them westerns or police dramas. From 1978 to 1984, he starred in his most famous role, that of Mr. Rourke on *Fantasy Island*. In the 1980s he began serving as a spokesperson for the Chrysler Cordoba, a model named for a city in Spain.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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Montana, Joe (1956—)

A third-round pick in the 1979 draft, Joe Montana became one of the best quarterbacks in National Football League history. He retired in 1995 after playing 16 seasons, during which he compiled four Super Bowl victories, the highest quarterback rating (92.3) of any non-active passer in history, 273 touchdowns, 3,409 completions, 40,551 passing yards—an astonishing career record. Described by 49ers broadcaster Wayne Walker as “cooler than the other side of the pillow,” Joe Montana was best known for his ability to perform under pressure.

Born in western Pennsylvania—the same region that produced other NFL quarterbacks such as George Blanda, Johnny Unitas, Joe Namath, Jim Kelly, and Dan Marino—Montana played baseball, basketball, and football in high school; however, despite being offered a basketball scholarship to North Carolina State, he chose Notre Dame and football. Montana left high school a Parade All-American and began his collegiate career as one of nine quarterbacks for Notre Dame. He got his first look at playing time in the third outing of his sophomore year against Northwestern when the starting quarterback left the game injured with Notre Dame trailing 7-0. Joe came off the bench to lead the team to a 31-7 victory. Two games later, against North Carolina, he drove the offense 73 yards to tie the game 14-14 in the fourth quarter, then threw the game-winning touchdown pass with a minute remaining. A week later, against Air Force, he entered the game as a relief quarterback for the last time and overcame a 30-10 deficit in the fourth quarter, leading Notre Dame to a 31-30 victory and securing his spot as the starting quarterback. By only his second year in college Joe had earned his nickname, “Captain Comeback.” In 1978, after finishing the season 8-3, Notre Dame faced Houston in the Cotton Bowl. Behind 20-12, Notre Dame



Joe Montana

was in trouble and Montana was on the bench with a severe flu. By the fourth quarter, when Joe entered the game, Notre Dame was losing 34-12. After Notre Dame scored on a blocked punt and a two-point conversion to make the score 34-20, Joe ran for a touchdown and completed another two-point conversion. With less than two minutes remaining in the game and his team still behind by 6, Joe fumbled the ball. But Houston couldn't score to put the game out of reach, and Montana gained one last chance. With no time left, he threw to Kris Haines in the end-zone, tying the game. Notre Dame won the game after scoring the extra point.

Despite his 25-4 record at Notre Dame, Montana was not highly regarded by the pro scouts. Selected in the third round of the 1979 draft, he had taken over the San Francisco 49ers' offense by the end of his second year. In 1979 the 49ers finished with a record of 2-14. In 1981 Joe led them to a 13-3 record, and they went on to defeat the New York Giants in the first round of the playoffs and the Dallas Cowboys in the NFC title game, when Dwight Clark made “The Catch”—a leaping, fingertip six-yard grab at the back of the end-zone that sent the 49ers to their first Super Bowl where they beat the Cincinnati Bengals. Another glorious year for Montana and the 49ers came in 1984 when the team finished 15-1, and Joe passed for over 3,600 yards, completing 28 touchdown passes. The same year, however, Miami Dolphins quarterback Dan Marino set two single-season records, throwing for 48 touchdowns and 5,084 yards. Montana and Marino were to meet in Super Bowl XIX. Although that game began with the 49ers and the Dolphins trading points, the 49ers scored three consecutive touchdowns in the second quarter, going on

to win 38-16. In 1988, a difficult year for the 49ers, they faced the Bengals in Super Bowl XXIII in a rematch of Super Bowl XVI. With less than four minutes left in the game, Montana drove the 49er offense 92 yards to win the 49ers' third Super Bowl championship of the 1980s. In 1989 the 49ers did it again, defeating the Denver Broncos 55-10 in Super Bowl XXIV, and Joe was named Super Bowl MVP for the third time.

After a somewhat bitter split from the 49ers, Joe Montana finished his career with the Kansas City Chiefs. His debut was a success—he led the Chiefs to a 27-3 victory—but injuries kept him out for much of the year. In 1994, against the Denver Broncos, Montana proved himself “super Joe” once again. With less than two minutes remaining, the Broncos led 28-24. Joe drove the Chiefs 75 yards and with only eight seconds to go, hit Willie Davis to give the Chiefs a 31-28 victory. Montana's performances in the post-seasons alone have virtually guaranteed his enshrinement in the Pro Football Hall of Fame. He even has a town named after him: Joe (formerly Ismay), Montana (pop. 22).

—Austin Booth

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Montana, Patsy (1914-1996)

In 1935, Patsy Montana became a pioneer for women in country music when her recording of “I Want to Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart” sold one million copies, proving to the recording industry that female country singers could achieve commercial success. Featuring her exuberant yodel, the song reveals her desire to experience a cowboy's life firsthand, “to learn to rope and to ride” as his sweetheart and sidekick. When the record was released, Montana, born Ruby Blevins, was singing with a group known as the Prairie Ramblers on *The National Barn Dance*, a country radio show on Chicago's WLS. With “I Want to Be a Cowboy's Sweetheart,” Montana established herself as a solo artist with a new non-traditional image; the independent cowgirl. Although her subsequent records were never as popular as her signature song, Montana's career as a performer and recording artist lasted for six decades.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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Monty Python's Flying Circus

That a British comedy series dealing with, among other things, the Upper-Class Twit of the Year Contest, the Ministry of Silly Walks, and a public Argument Clinic would become a cultural phenomenon in the United States during the 1970s was, as comedian Eric Idle said, the last thing in the world one would expect. Nonetheless, *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, the show Idle helped create, became a significant part of American culture in the years immediately following the Watergate scandal, creating a large cult following among young, college-educated viewers and influencing American comedy and television for decades to come.

The roots of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* can be found in the satirical comedy boom occurring in both America and Britain during the late 1950s and early 1960s. While satire in the States was the province of nightclub comics and a few improvisatory workshops, in Britain it was centered at the Oxbridge hub of higher education. The Cambridge Footlights Club and similar groups at Oxford entertained both their university communities and theatergoers around the nation with revues of topical sketches, impersonations, and song parodies. Oxbridge satire made its way to British television in 1962, with the BBC's (British Broadcasting Corporation) *That Was the Week That Was* (TW3). Featuring a number of revue veterans, including interlocutor David Frost, TW3 offered a weekly collection of topical skits, songs, and interviews presented in a bare-bones open studio that allowed viewers to see the mechanics of the show's production as it was going on. Though phenomenally popular, the show's barbed humor quickly ran afoul of both the Tory government and the BBC, which canceled the series at the end of 1963 in order to avoid political problems with upcoming elections. After a failed effort to revisit the TW3 format, Frost called on his Oxbridge connections to staff his 1966 BBC show, *The Frost Report*. John Cleese and Graham Chapman had written and performed for Footlights Club shows and tours, including one that played in New York in 1964. Eric Idle had followed Cleese and Chapman to Cambridge, where he became familiar to Frost. Terry Jones and Michael Palin, meanwhile, were working in various Oxford revues offering a more zany, absurdist humor than the topical sketches of the Footlights Club. Their work together on *The Frost Report* began a series of working relationships that culminated in 1969, when they rejoined as a group for a BBC series that would come to have a global effect on television comedy.

The first episode of *Monty Python's Flying Circus*, broadcast on October 5, 1969, featured sketches including a television show devoted to famous deaths, a parody of a BBC interview show, and a documentary on the weapon that won World War II: the funniest joke ever told. The sketches were interspersed with cut-out animation created by Minneapolis-born artist Terry Gilliam, with whom John Cleese had worked during his time in New York. The remaining 12 shows in the first *Python* series continued to develop the group's comedic style, one that was far less satiric, in terms of addressing topical issues and figures, than it was absurd, but one that was also relentlessly and at times viciously anti-authoritarian. Sketches that hilariously overturned familiar norms—a transvestite lumberjack, a pet shop owner who sells dead parrots—were joined with increasing frequency by comic attacks on the British government, the military, the Church of England, the landed aristocracy, and the legal, medical,

and business communities. No institution was more ridiculed, however, than the television industry itself, both in numerous parodies of individual programs and genres and in the group's self-reflexive dismantlings of production conventions: the intrusion of opening and often phony closing credits at inappropriate places, the sudden appearance of "BBC officials" to comment on or complain about the show, the shortening of sketches by characters who decide that they are not funny.

Despite regional scheduling difficulties, the first series of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* attracted a substantial late-night audience, strong critical praise, and a firm BBC commitment for more shows. A second series of 13 episodes ran in fall 1970, and a third series was broadcast in winter 1971-1972. Meanwhile, word of the show was beginning to spread beyond its homeland. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation picked up the first series in 1970, making it available to American viewers near the border. The troupe turned a number of sketches from the first series into an eponymous record album in 1970, followed by three more albums in 1971 through 1973. Copies of the albums, as well as collections of *Python* material in book form, began to make their way into the United States during the early 1970s. Sketches from the first two series of the show were collected in a film, *And Now, For Something Completely Different*, that was released, to less than overwhelming results, in 1972. The group itself, touring Canada to take advantage of its popularity there, even went to Los Angeles to make an appearance on *The Tonight Show with Johnny Carson* in 1973. Immediately afterward, however, John Cleese left the troupe. The remaining members went on to produce one more six-episode series for the BBC in fall 1974, which seemed to be the final voyage for *Monty Python's Flying Circus*.

The end of the show in Britain, however, was merely its beginning in the United States. The BBC, having found an American audience for its documentaries and its dramatic serialization of literary works on PBS (Public Broadcasting System) in the early 1970s, was working to develop the market further. While the often absurd, often savage humor of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* lacked the comfort and the cultural cachet of *Civilization* and the various BBC serials presented under the *Masterpiece Theatre* rubric, PBS affiliate KERA-TV in Dallas began to run the show in summer 1974. Its immediate success there led PBS affiliates across the country, as well as a few commercial stations, to pick up the show. By spring 1975, *Monty Python's Flying Circus* was on the air in more than 130 markets, attracting both sizable and fanatically devoted audiences from New York to Iowa to Sacramento. The show's success was augmented by the 1975 American release of the film *Monty Python and the Holy Grail*, a comic retelling of the Arthurian legends involving dismemberment, orgies, the military use of excrement, and a vicious killer rabbit, as well as a typical *Python* ending that ridiculed the conventions of filmmaking as thoroughly as the film did the conventions of the epic.

The American popularity of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in the mid-1970s can be attributed to several factors. Just as the Oxbridge satire movement in Britain and the nightclub satire comedy scene in America were concomitant developments, the shift from pointed topical satire to a more absurd and archetypal form of humor occurred simultaneously. During the period in which *Python* ascended in Britain, American comics such as George Carlin and Richard Pryor and comedy groups including the Firesign Theatre and the

Committee found both critical and commercial success by infusing the barbs of their predecessors with both the political anger and the broad countercultural "us vs. them" sentiments of the late 1960s. The political and countercultural elements of their work also spoke to the audience they were priming for *Python*—in the decade between 1965 and 1975, the population on American college campuses, the center of political and cultural revolt, rose by 70 percent. A group rich in educational and cultural capital, it was an audience that could get what critics called the "overgraduate humor" of *Python* sketches involving contests to summarize Proust, debates about Sartrean philosophy, and parodies of Pasolini films. It was also, more importantly, an audience that had grown up under the authority of television and that was innately familiar with the conventions comically demystified by *Python*.

The absurdity of *Python* sketches was matched at times, however, by their reception in America. A 1975 ABC broadcast of three episodes of the final six episode *Python* series, which had not been released for syndication, led to a historic legal battle culminating in a United States Court of Appeals ruling that ABC had infringed on the troupe's copyright by cutting material in order to include commercials. In a landmark settlement, the troupe regained all distribution rights from the BBC and took back the episodes purchased by ABC. It would control its own destiny—at least as far as American television was concerned. Movies, though, were a different matter. The 1979 *Python* film *Life of Brian*, a mock Biblical epic in which a poor sap called Brian Cohen is named the Christ, was condemned by numerous religious groups, picketed in many communities, and not distributed to others. The controversy failed to keep *Python* fans away—the film made \$10 million in its initial American release.

The American popularity of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* led to mobbed live performances in New York in 1976 and Los Angeles in 1980 (the latter recorded on film) at which audiences recited sketches line for line along with the comedians. Meanwhile, projects by individual members of the group found a ready market in the United States. John Cleese's *Fawlty Towers* became almost as popular as *Python* when it was imported to PBS stations in the late 1970s; Michael Palin's *Ripping Yarns* also achieved critical and popular success during its syndicated PBS run; and Eric Idle's *Meet the Rutles*, a documentary spoof on a faux-Beatles pop band, was aired on NBC. At the same time, Terry Gilliam began a prolific career as a film director with *Jabberwocky* and *Time Bandits*, both of which featured *Python* members in the cast.

The most important legacy of *Monty Python's Flying Circus* in American culture, however, was the development of late-night sketch comedy series that sought to capture the vitality, if not all of the savagery and absurdity, of the British original. Both *Saturday Night Live*, whose creator, Lorne Michaels, idolized *Python* and used it as a model for his own show, and the Canadian *SCTV*, which itself became an imported cult favorite in the late 1970s, owed their existence to the success of *Monty Python's* comic attacks on authority and television culture.

Since 1980, the original *Monty Python's Flying Circus* has remained a part of the American television landscape, with runs of the series on the MTV (Music Television) and Comedy Central cable networks, as well as continued playings on local PBS stations. The group reformed for a film, *The Meaning of Life*, in 1983, while numerous individual projects—Gilliam's films *Brazil* and *The Fisher*

King, Palin's BBC travel documentaries, Cleese's film *A Fish Called Wanda*, and his guest appearances on American situation comedies—have continued to receive critical and popular acclaim. Graham Chapman's death in 1989 seemed to end any hope for any further group projects; in 1998, however, the remaining members of the troupe announced that they planned to reunite the following year for film and live projects. Whether their new work attains the stature and influence of the original *Monty Python's Flying Circus* remains to be seen. The fact that United States audiences were still interested in what the comic purveyors of upper class twits, silly walks, and argument clinics might have to say 30 years later, however, suggests the lasting hold *Python* has had on American culture.

—Jeffrey S. Miller

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Moonies/Reverend Sun Myung Moon (1920—)

An unlikely messiah to emerge from the youth movement of the mid-twentieth century was the Korean immigrant known as the Reverend Sun Myung Moon. Not an obviously charismatic personality, he addressed his American followers in rambling two-hour sermons, filtered through an interpreter. Although shadowed by a history of matrimonial troubles and conflicts with the law on two continents, Moon preached family values and obedience to authority. His teachings attracted millions of youth (exact figures were never verified) in over 140 countries. He made the United States his base of operations in the 1970s, and collected followers largely from among the advantaged sons and daughters of mainline Christian and Jewish families. By the end of the twentieth century, the Unification Church, which Moon founded, controlled a fortune in U.S. property, and Moonies, as his followers were known, could still be seen on American streets, selling their flowers and recruiting new members.

Much of Moon's background is shrouded in secrecy and controversy. He appears to have been born in a province that would later become part of North Korea. Though his parents were Presbyterian, he became identified with a charismatic sectarian group which taught that Korea was a promised land destined for apocalyptic events. At age 16 young Moon experienced his first vision, in which his own

divine calling was revealed. Alert to his special status, he changed his first name from "Yong" to "Sun," so that his full name meant "Sun Shining Moon." As he rose to prominence, so did his problems with the North Korean government, resulting in part from his strong stand against Communism. But accusations of bigamy and draft evasion were also made. Later, in the United States, charges of tax evasion and immigration violations would continue to plague this teacher and prophet.

The doctrines of the Unification Church were outlined in *The Divine Principle*, the movement's basic scripture, credited to Moon but widely believed to have been written by one of his lieutenants. Unification theology was a blend of concepts from Christianity, Buddhism, and Taoism, echoing the eclectic Asian background of Moon himself. The stated goal of his church was the unification of humanity and its salvation in both body and soul.

In his publications and sermons Moon elevated marriage to a cosmic sacrament. Adam and Eve fell from divine favor, he taught, because of lustful self-indulgence, thus bringing forth their children in sin. Christ, he said, came as a second Adam, but although he enlightened the race spiritually, his crucifixion cut short his full mission of physical as well as spiritual redemption because he did not live to marry and beget perfect children. Thus, a Third Adam was essential to mankind, a savior who would probably be born in Korea, most likely in 1920. This new messiah would succeed precisely where Adam and Jesus had failed: he would marry a perfect woman. Together with God, the couple would form a divine trinity; through themselves and their progeny humanity would at last be fully redeemed. Though Moon, and the woman (apparently his fourth wife) always at his side, made no special claims for themselves, their followers were free to reach their own rather obvious conclusions about the fulfillment of Moon's prophecy. The most publicized feature of Moonie life was the mass marriage ceremonies the Reverend Moon conducted, first in Korea and later in the United States. In 1988 he rented Madison Square Garden in New York, where he officiated in the mass wedding of 6,500 couples. Many of the new spouses had just met at the altar, chosen for one another by church leaders. Races and nationalities were specifically blended in these mega-ceremonies.

It was not the religious teachings so much as the Moonie lifestyle that caused widespread social and parental concern. Though a disciplined life for otherwise disoriented young people had much to commend it, parents worried that Moonies were being exploited. Within the church, conduct was carefully controlled. Smoking and drinking were taboo and austere standards of sexual conduct were enforced. Members were encouraged to live communally in the church's urban centers, or on church-owned ranches. Fund-raising teams traveled about in vans, selling flowers on street corners or otherwise soliciting contributions, but even as the church itself became wealthy from these efforts, personal wealth was discouraged. There was high turnover in the church, with an estimated one-third of the newer members leaving each year. With a constant supply of postulants therefore required, additional Moonie groups were assigned to recruiting.

Recruiting techniques were refined and effective. Often to be found on college campuses, candidates for membership would be "love bombed"—showered with honor and affection. Invited to special seminars and retreats, during which they were never left alone,

they were subjected to long sessions filled with sermons on how to create a better world. Accusations of food and sleep deprivation were made by critics of the group, who compared Moonie indoctrination to Asian prison camp brainwashing. A dire political agenda was often alleged, though never proved. Young people who joined the church usually distanced themselves from their families, and it was not surprising that a number of concerned parents hired “deprogrammers” to lure their sons and daughters away from the Unification Church.

By the end of the twentieth century, many observers felt that the Unification Church had lost its momentum, even as the cult movement itself seemed to be in decline. Yet Moonie efforts toward gaining full acceptance into American life had produced some results. Leading politicians, even ex-presidents, had accepted large sums of money to address Unification sponsored gatherings; and Sir Laurence Olivier had performed in *Inchon* (1981), a movie financed by the church and a critical and box-office catastrophe which had General MacArthur affected by divine guidance in the Korean War. More significantly, Moonies had identified themselves as public advocates of marital fidelity and family values in the midst of a societal crisis, and the movement-sponsored newspaper, *The Washington Times*, had gained substantial circulation.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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Moonlighting

Moonlighting's creator/executive producer Glenn Gordon Caron once described the program as “the show that knows it’s on television.” The 1985-1989 ABC hit was stylish, sophisticated, and clearly aimed at pop culturally-hip grownups. It was also plagued with tension, both on and off the set.

Ex-model Maddie Hayes (played by ex-model Cybill Shepherd) learns that her accountant has embezzled from her, and surveying what’s left, finds she owns the unsuccessful Blue Moon detective agency in Los Angeles. She’s about to dump it when the guy who’s been running it, David Addison (a then-unknown Bruce Willis) cons her into holding onto it to save his job, and proceeds to get her involved in the cases as they get involved with each other. Flighty and sincere Agnes Dipesto (Allyce Beasley) and nerdy Herbert Viola (Curtis Armstrong) work at the agency too, and often act as counterpoints for Hayes and Addison. Maddie, the ice princess, and David, the king of the smirking smart-asses, forge a partnership that is really just a platform for their burgeoning sexual chemistry. Sure, they solve mysteries, but will they hit the sheets this week?

At the end of the 1985-86 season, David and Maddie kissed in the parking garage, but it wasn’t till the end of the next season that they had sex. That episode, called “The Big Bang,” drew an estimated 60 million viewers, beating that week’s Academy Awards broadcast. Because Shepherd was pregnant at the time, the love scenes had to be filmed standing up with the bed propped against a wall and the camera turned sideways.

People who believe that the best part of a relationship is the part before the relationship actually starts had their point proven with *Moonlighting*, partly because the storyline was mishandled. Besides consummating her relationship with David, a suddenly promiscuous Maddie had sex with Sam Crawford (Mark Harmon) and married a nerdy guy named Walter (Dennis Dugan) whom she met on a train; the marriage was soon annulled. She was also pregnant with David’s baby, which she then miscarried. Fans were not pleased with any of this.

Then there was the widely publicized behind-the-scenes tension. In 1987, Shepherd announced that she was pregnant with twins. This created problems with the show’s shooting schedule—when she was available for filming, Willis was off making movies; when he returned, she was gone for medical reasons. Willis, who set the tone for the show, was annoyed that, during Shepherd’s pregnancy, he was working a lot more than she was. Furthermore, after making 1988’s successful *Die Hard*, he wanted to make more films. For her part, Shepherd was dissatisfied with the formulaic bitchiness of her character (though she didn’t seem to mind being filmed through gauze). Only 14 episodes were made that season (only 20 episodes were made in 1985-86; the normal number is 22), few of which had she and Willis together; one episode focused entirely on Agnes and Herbert’s romance.

Then there were the cost overruns and delays. Some shows couldn’t be promoted because they were delivered a day or two before air time, or reruns were substituted at the last minute. This caused *Moonlighting* to lose about 20 percent of its audience, though its ratings were still holding. One reason for the delays was the length of the scripts. The writing was so filled with retorts, references, puns, and rhymes that the scripts were 50 percent longer than those of other hour-long series. With all of this tension, soon there was a running three-way battle between Willis, Shepherd, and Caron, who was forced off the show in the final season in 1989, taking three writers with him. By the time *Moonlighting* was over, the ratings had sunk very low. “Can you really blame the audience?” David and Maddie were asked by a silhouetted producer in the true-to-form final episode. “A case of poison ivy is more fun than watching you two lately.”

The problems were sometimes used to their advantage, and the *Moonlighting* team produced some inventive, if gimmicky shows. One episode ran short, so the stars “broke the fourth wall” and talked to the camera to fill in the gap. They sometimes made in-jokes about the episode to each other; they once referenced winning one out of the 16 Emmys for which they were nominated for one year. One episode was a re-enactment of Shakespeare’s *Taming of the Shrew* with David as Petruchio and Maddie as Kate. Another episode was shot entirely in black-and-white. In fact, *Moonlighting* owed its existence to classic black-and-white films such as the 1940 film *His Girl Friday*, starring Cary Grant and Rosalind Russell, with their fast-talking banter, as well as Hitchcock’s guy-woos-icy-blond-with-mystery-as-backdrop genre. As such, *Moonlighting* broke new ground in American television, firmly establishing its place in TV and pop culture history.

—Karen Lurie

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Moore, Demi (1962—)

Irrespective of her professional accomplishments, film actress Demi Moore rocketed herself into international controversy in 1991 when she appeared—nude, radiant, and heavy with child—on the cover of *Vanity Fair*. She thus became an iconic symbol of female liberation to those who admired the exposure and a figure of shameless immodesty to those who were offended by the gesture. Either



Demi Moore

way, her fame was assured, and she went on to produce as well as star in a series of largely successful films, some of which served to fan the flames of disapproval while making her a very rich woman.

Born Demi Guynes in Roswell, New Mexico, she went to Los Angeles at age 15 and found work in modeling and television. An ongoing role on the popular daytime soap *General Hospital*, in which she appeared from 1981 to 1983, led her into feature films; however, her first four attempts on the big screen gave her little to do and made no impression. She won her first lead in *No Small Affair* (1984), as an aspiring singer, performing in tacky clubs, who becomes the love object of teenager Jon Cryer. She came across as an attractive, girl-next-door brunette, with a pleasingly husky voice and the ability to invest in a role with matter-of-fact conviction. The film led to a role in the following year's ensemble piece about college graduates, *St. Elmo's Fire* (1985). She gave a standout performance as the glamorous, wealthy, and suicidally unhappy member of the group, and Moore became identified as a member of the youthful acting fraternity dubbed the Brat Pack. Also during the 1980s, she made an occasional foray into live theater and won a Theater World award in 1987 for her performance in *The Early Girl* off-Broadway.

Moore graduated to full adult status in 1990, co-starring with Patrick Swayze and Whoopi Goldberg in the hit romance *Ghost*, and by 1991, married to star Bruce Willis, she became not only a mother but also a producer, co-starring with her husband in her own production, *Mortal Thoughts*. The 1990s saw her perform respectably in the military courtroom drama *A Few Good Men* (1992) with Jack Nicholson and Tom Cruise and, brilliantly, as Woody Allen's Jewish sister in *Deconstructing Harry* (1997). She also gave the voice to Esmeralda in Disney's animated feature, *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* in 1996, but the decade marked the emergence of a different direction for Demi Moore.

It became clear that the actress was developing a sharp nose for profitably controversial material. She enhanced her bank balance and raised her profile—though not necessarily the esteem in which she was held—by starring in such highly successful but faintly dubious films as Adrian Lyne's *Indecent Proposal* (1993) and Barry Levinson's *Disclosure* (1994). In the former, she was the young wife who, when she and her husband (Woody Harrelson) lose their money in Las Vegas, sells her sexual favors for one night to a millionaire (Robert Redford) in exchange for \$1 million; in Levinson's film, based on Michael Crichton's bestseller, she was a driven, manipulative and scheming executive who sexually harasses her subordinate (Michael Douglas). *Striptease* (1996) lured millions of voyeuristic cinemagoers worldwide with the promise of seeing Demi as they'd never seen her before. Their expectations were disappointed, but the movie made its star a very rich woman indeed. Attempts to redeem her growing image as a sex symbol by playing the title role in *GI Jane* (1997) misfired; Ridley Scott's film was a failure and Demi took a lot of the critical flak.

Some commentators believe that Demi Moore's success has rested on her making full use of the opportunities to exploit her body for the titillation of audiences. Whether or not this has been the case, by the late 1990s she had proven her credentials as an intelligent and talented actress, and survived controversy and a notoriously stormy marriage (ended in 1998) with every indication that, nearing 40 and possessing the courage to break taboos, she could anticipate a successful continuance of her career.

—Sara Martin

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Moore, Michael (1954—)

Michael Moore burst onto the American cultural scene in the 1980s, a chubby, extroverted rabble-rouser who hitched his political message to the medium of satirical comedy in a crusade to rouse the national conscience against corporate injustice. A genuine subversive, he made his impact with his debut film, *Roger & Me* (1989), a satirical documentary feature that chronicled his attempts to interview the CEO of General Motors, Roger Smith. Moore wrote, directed and starred in the film, which became the highest-grossing American documentary of all time.

Critical opinion was high but divided. The *Washington Post* described *Roger & Me* as a "hilariously cranky bit of propaganda" and critics such as Roger Ebert gave it rave reviews, but others, including the doyenne of the *New Yorker*, Pauline Kael, attacked Moore for re-arranging the narrative events of the movie. He responded in an interview in *Film Comment* that "the movie is essentially what has happened to this town [Flint] during the 1980s. I wasn't filming in 1982 . . . so everything that happened happened. As far as I'm concerned, a period of seven or eight years . . . is pretty immediate and pretty devastating. . . . I think it's a document about a town that died in the 1980s." The critical controversy notwithstanding, the film was voted Best Documentary by the National Board of Review, the New York Film Critics, the Los Angeles Film Critics, and the National Society of Film Critics, as well as Best Film at the Toronto, Vancouver, and Chicago Film Festivals. It was included on several critics' "best of the decade" lists, but conspicuously failed even to be nominated for an Academy Award. *Roger & Me* was creatively financed by Moore and his friends through bingo games and other fund raising efforts, but also through an out of court settlement Moore made with *Mother Jones* magazine over his dismissal from the publication after a short tenure as editor in 1986-87.

Moore came to *Mother Jones* after a successful career as an alternative journalist in his hometown of Flint, Michigan (though he is actually from the suburb of Davison). Moore's comedy and politics emerged from his roots in a working-class community that enjoyed a boom from manufacturing automobiles at a dozen General Motors factories until the company abandoned the town, as chronicled in *Roger & Me*. Moore had been a staunch opponent of GM and local Flint politics since founding the *Flint Voice* at the age of 22. He partially funded the newspaper through the weekly showing of

alternative movies, and promoted it through work on the local public radio station where he hosted a show called "Radio Free Flint." He also wrote essays for National Public Radio. A rabble rouser from early on, Moore was elected to his local school board at age 18 and successfully fought to have its meetings open to the public.

Moore followed up *Roger & Me* with a sequel, *Pets or Meat: A Return to Flint* (1992) a short film shown on PBS. The second film repeated the narrated style of the first and seemed more of a continuation than a sequel. In it, Moore caught up on the lives of people from the first film, including "the Rabbit Lady," who sold rabbits as pets or meat. The film was also an update on Moore himself, containing snippets from his appearances on television talk shows such as *Donahue*. He made an unlikely movie "star"—he is heavysset with a goofy grin, a fondness for baseball caps, and a preference for untucked shirts—yet there is no doubt that the "star" of all of Moore's films is Michael Moore.

His next project was a narrative film, *Canadian Bacon* (1994), starring John Candy, Rhea Perlman, Kevin Pollack, Alan Alda, and Rip Torn. Alda plays a liberal U.S. president who decides to invade Canada in order to boost his popularity in the polls. A cross between *Dr. Strangelove* (there's a similar Doomsday device) and *Wag the Dog* (the invasion of a foreign country for shabby domestic reasons), the film never received wide release, nor were the reviews particularly enthusiastic.

Moore's next move was to take the basic *Roger & Me* idea—good guy Mike harasses evil corporate America—to television. His political comedy show, *TV Nation*, was a summer replacement on NBC in 1994. The show featured weekly, off-the-wall polls like 16% of Perot voters believe that "if dolphins are really that smart they could get out of those nets," and showcased memorable events such as a day of picnicking with "Doctor Death" Jack Kevorkian. The first episode featured the "CEO Challenge" in which he asked executives to perform menial tasks, such as getting the head of IBM to format a disk. While not all the stories had a political bent, *TV Nation* was an eclectic mix of news magazine, sketch comedy, and David Letterman-style comedy of the banal. Only on *TV Nation* would you see a guy in a Detroit Tigers baseball cap attempting to end the conflict in Bosnia by getting leaders from the warring factions to share a pizza together.

NBC passed on *TV Nation*, but Fox picked it up for eight episodes in the summer of 1995. It was more of the same, including a segment featuring Moore performing maneuvers with the Michigan Militia. He also introduced Crackers, the corporate crime-fighting chicken, alongside featured guests such as Merrill Markoe (David Letterman's former chief writer), actress and stand-up comedian Janeane Garofalo, former MTV VJ Karen Duffy, and filmmaker Rusty Cundieff, who wrote and directed a comedy movie, *Fear of a Black Hat*. Moore chronicled his experiences with the show in a book, *Adventures in TV Nation* (1998), written with wife Kathleen Glynn.

The book was not his first. He had published *Downsize This: Random Threats from an Unarmed American*, an unlikely best seller, in 1994. The book began with two photos: one of the bombed out Federal building in Oklahoma City, the other of a pile of rubble which used to be an auto factory in Flint. The point of that piece, and the book, is to expose, through satire, irony, and poke-in-the-eye comedy, corporate America's war on working-class families. With chapters such as "Would Pat Buchanan take a check from Satan?" "Why

doesn't GM sell crack?" and "Why are Union Leaders so f#!@ing stupid?" the book is part stand-up comedy in printed form, part political manifesto, and part *Spy* magazine-like pranks. The author embarked on an unconventional book promotion tour, refusing to sign books at certain chain stores and seeking out independent booksellers. After a few stops, he was joined by a film crew, which led to the making of his movie *The Big One* (1997). The film features stunts familiar to Moore's fans, including the presentation of Downsize of the Year awards to company bigwigs. It opened in selected cities as benefits for local charities, unions, and leftist political groups. Moore would answer questions, promote local causes, tell some jokes, and then inspire the audience to political action. Despite excellent reviews, *The Big One* failed to achieve commercial success; an angry film about corporate America seemed out of synch when the Dow was at an all-time record high.

As the twentieth century ended, Moore was still pitching his political message to a larger audience, attempting a weekly talk show and developing *Better Days* (1998), a sitcom about a town where everybody is unemployed. In conjunction with Britain's Channel 4, he negotiated another incarnation of *TV Nation*, which launched in early 1999 under the title *The Awful Truth*. It kicked off with a scathing attack on health insurance companies in the United States and a somewhat crude and gauche sideswipe at Kenneth Starr morality in the form of a sketch delivered like a scene from Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. Moore looked set to remain a viable force in popular culture in the twenty-first century. Virtually the country's lone left-wing satirist, he pops up regularly on talk shows such as *Politically Incorrect*. Popular culture has never seen a figure quite like Michael Moore: a comedian who one minute offers a critical analysis of legislation, and in the next a suggestion that Queen's "We Will Rock You" become the new national anthem.

—Patrick Jones

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Moore, Sam

See Sam and Dave

Moral Majority

Starting in the mid-1970s, a resurgence of political activity began to develop among conservative Christians in the United States. Alarmed by what they perceived to be the moral decline of American society, they sought to introduce a new social agenda into American politics aimed at fighting the forces of secularization. They subsequently established a number of organizations to promote this agenda,

the most prominent of which was the Moral Majority. Founded in 1979 by Jerry Falwell, an influential Baptist minister and televangelist, the Moral Majority joined with other political conservatives to promote the restoration of traditional moral values in American society. Falwell and his followers played a significant role in the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980, and in following years sought to focus national attention on the controversial topics of abortion, gay rights, pornography, the exclusion of prayer from public schools, and the Equal Rights Amendment. The Moral Majority also advocated conservative positions on a variety of more secular issues, such as a balanced budget and defense spending. In 1989 Falwell disbanded the group, claiming that it had fulfilled its original mission of introducing support for social reform into American politics. Since then, it has continued to serve as a model for political activism among religious conservatives in the United States.

The Moral Majority was established with the support of various religious and political groups wanting to counter the liberal trends that had emerged within American society during the 1960s and 1970s. By mobilizing conservative Christians, they hoped to produce a rightward shift in the balance of power in American politics. To strengthen the influence of the Moral Majority, Falwell also attempted to expand its constituency beyond its original core within the fundamentalist Protestant community. The group thus came to include a diversity of other religious groups, including Mormons, conservative Roman Catholics, and Orthodox Jews. In addition, Falwell did not establish official connections between the Moral Majority and any specific political party, on the grounds that the organization's agenda focused primarily on moral issues rather than politics. In its status as an independent organization, not tied to any party or religious denomination, the Moral Majority represented an extension of existing fundamentalist strategies in the United States, which since the 1920s had concentrated on creating new institutions rather than reforming existing ones.

The Moral Majority proved to be very successful in building its coalition of like-minded conservatives. By the 1980 election, it included upwards of 2 million members, and perhaps twice that many during its peak years in the mid-1980s. In spreading its message to potential members, the Moral Majority used two distinct strategies, again following the approaches adopted by fundamentalist Christians. First, it made extensive use of the mass media, and particularly broadcasting. Falwell himself had gained considerable experience in the media as the host of the *Old-Time Gospel Hour*, a syndicated religious program dating back to the 1950s. The rapid growth of televangelism during the 1970s and 1980s provided a natural outlet for the Moral Majority's message, and helped it to find a sizable audience. The Moral Majority also benefitted from the attention of the mainstream news media, who saw in Falwell an articulate and readily accessible spokesman for the religious right. Through the extensive news coverage that Falwell received, particularly during the national political campaigns of the early 1980s, the Moral Majority became the leading symbol of the religious right's new political influence.

The other strategy adopted by the Moral Majority in spreading its message focused on the development of an extensive grassroots network. The key elements of this network were the many local chapters of Moral Majority established across the country. These organizations sought to implement the agenda of the Moral Majority at the local level through their involvement in political races and

community issues, and they represented the primary vehicle through which the movement's followers became involved in its activities. Although their impact was not as conspicuous as that of the movement's national leaders, the local chapters had a lasting influence on religious conservatives by demonstrating the effectiveness of local political action. Local strategies thus became widely adopted by former members as they continued the work of the Moral Majority after it was disbanded in 1989.

Although Falwell asserted that the decision to disband the Moral Majority derived from its success in achieving its goals, a number of factors had contributed to a decline in the group's influence by the end of the 1980s. The Moral Majority faced extensive criticism from political liberals and moderates, who accused the group of trying to impose its own moral and religious views on America's pluralistic society. At the same time, some conservative Christians faulted the Moral Majority for its involvement in secular political issues, arguing that it should focus on its core religious message. Scandals involving televangelists Jim Baker and Jimmy Swaggart during the late 1980s also did much to discredit conservative Christian institutions; and the failure of televangelist Pat Robertson in the 1988 Republican presidential primary cast doubt on the continuing political strength of religious conservatives, at least at the national level.

Despite its relatively brief history as a formal organization, the Moral Majority had a major impact on America's political landscape and, more broadly, its popular culture. It played a key role in reintroducing religion to the realm of public debate, not just by addressing explicitly religious issues, such as school prayer, but by asserting the validity of religious belief as the foundation for public policy decisions, as in the controversy over abortion. Its stand on certain issues, however, produced a strong counterreaction among those Americans who supported feminism, reproductive choice, gay rights, and other liberal social trends, and pushed them to pursue a more active defense of their views. The Moral Majority thus helped to expand the debate between liberals and conservatives in American politics to include a broad range of social issues.

—Roger W. Stump

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Moreno, Rita (1931—)

Puerto Rican singer, dancer, and actress Rita Moreno lives in the collective memory of moviegoers as Anita, dancing up a storm and singing "I like to be in America, all right with me in America" in the

1961 screen version of *West Side Story*. She won the Best Supporting Actress Oscar for her performance, the first Hispanic actress to do so but, more significantly, the film brought this uniquely dynamic, fiery, and talented performer wide recognition in America and abroad, and led to a greater awareness of the talent that existed in the Hispanic community.

Born Rosita Dolores Alverio in Humacao, Puerto Rico, in 1931, Moreno was raised in a New York City tenement by her divorced mother, a seamstress, and despite not having much money the child was able to take dance lessons with Paco Cansino, uncle of Rita Hayworth, who soon had her performing in the children's theater at Macy's department store, and at weddings and bar mitzvahs. Initially using the name Rosita Moreno, she first worked on Broadway at age 13 in a musical called *Skydrift* and continued on from there, performing on stage and in nightclubs in Boston, Las Vegas, and New York. At 14, she went to Hollywood and had a tiny role in a movie called *A Medal for Benny* (1945). Louis B. Mayer put her under contract, but her film career lay dormant until 1950 when she made appearances in *So Young, So Bad, The Toast of New Orleans* and *Pagan Love Song*. Most of the film roles offered to the talented performer were stereotypical and sometimes demeaning and between film work she returned to the stage where she hoped for better opportunities to use her many substantial gifts. Indeed, she played several distinguished roles on stage, including a dramatic role in Arthur Miller's *A View from the Bridge*, and was the first Hispanic actress to win a Tony Award—for best supporting actress—presented for her performance in the Broadway production of the musical *The Ritz*, which ran for more than 400 performances in 1975.

With its score by Leonard Bernstein and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim, *West Side Story* (1957) broke new ground in the development of the Broadway musical—not least in being the first mainstream production to have a Hispanic theme and to showcase the talents of Hispanic actors and dancers, some of whom, notably, Chita Rivera, went on to make important contributions to stage and film. Rita Moreno had originally been offered, and had turned down, the role of Maria in the stage production, but she got her chance to shine in a role more suited to her strong personality when the film was made. Several of the films in which Moreno played prominent roles are indicative of Hollywood's stereotyped perception of Hispanics including *The Ring* (1952), a low-budget programmer about a young Mexican prizefighter attempting to win respect for his people; or *Popi* (1969), an ethnic comedy-drama set in New York's Puerto Rican ghetto. Throughout her career Moreno fought against typecasting to get roles commensurate with her talent—she was touching as the Siamese slave girl Tuptim in *The King and I* (1956), and among many other less distinguished films, she had featured roles in *Summer and Smoke* (1961), *Carnal Knowledge* (1971), the film version of her stage success *The Ritz* (1976), and Alan Alda's *The Four Seasons* (1981).

Moreno has also left her mark on television, acting in a variety of series and shows. She won her first Emmy Award for her guest appearances on *The Muppet Show* in 1977, and her second for an episode of *The Rockford Files* in 1978. Her vocalizations for the *Electric Company* television program's album for children won her a Grammy Award in 1972. Her hard work and enormous talent set a record for Rita Moreno as the first-ever female artist to hold the Tony, Emmy, Grammy and Academy Awards.

—Nicolás Kanellos



Rita Moreno, foreground, in *West Side Story*.

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Mork & Mindy

In 1978 the ABC comedy *Mork & Mindy* hit the air. The show—about a naive, human-looking alien from the planet Ork—and its star Robin Williams quickly became hits. Expressions from the show, like “Nanu Nanu” and “Shazbat,” and Mork’s striped suspenders became overnight cultural icons. The frantic pace and inspired lunacy of this first season made it a wonderful addition to television history, especially to the tradition of William’s hero Jonathan Winters and the show’s sitcom ancestor *My Favorite Martian*. In subsequent seasons *Mork & Mindy* would change and drop in the ratings, but it will forever be a milestone in television and comedy.

Mork & Mindy began as a spin-off from *Happy Days*. Mork is sent to earth from the planet Ork in an egg-shaped ship to observe and

report on earth’s customs. He meets Mindy McConnell (Pam Dawber) and returns to her house to live in her attic. Mindy plays the “straight-man” to Mork and tries to hide or avoid the complications of his sometimes strangely inhuman methods, such as sitting on his head or drinking through his finger.

The biggest trouble that faces Mindy is that Mork does not know the fundamentals of human interaction. Most importantly, he does not know what not to do or say in “society.” In sometimes subtle or not-so-subtle ways, Williams points out many cultural hang-ups that he sees around him. In traditional sitcom approach, each show has a message—obvious to Mork—and he has to report weekly findings to his superior Orson on his home planet. This conveniently allows the show to present weekly homilies on topics such as love and greed. Although the approach became a bit tiresome, it did occasionally allow for a humorous anecdote or quip.

In the episodes commentary comes in the form of broad satire, touching on the melodramatic. Mork takes all earth events and words literally, allowing for some funny interchanges. *Mork & Mindy* sometimes drifted—especially in later seasons—into commentary over comedy, a move that ultimately hurt its appeal. Williams, however, is a master of improvisation, and his ability to bounce off topics, draw from an endless supply of pop culture asides, and adopt voices and personalities at will kept audiences watching despite



The stars of *Mork & Mindy*, Pam Dawber and Robin Williams.

sometimes weak storylines. This frantic pace and “never-know-what-to-expect-next” feeling marked the first season, but sadly disappeared in subsequent seasons.

The show ran for a total of four seasons and slowly slipped in the ratings each year. Though *Mork & Mindy* was an initial success, the network made major cast changes and the record store disappeared, along with a bunch of minor characters. Second, in an effort to bolster ABC's traditionally weak Sunday lineup the show was removed from its dominant Thursday slot. *Mork & Mindy*'s worst nemesis, it seemed, was a network set on ruining the show.

The sitcom continued to drop dramatically in the ratings, losing almost half its audience over the course of a single season. *Mork & Mindy* plunged from third in the national Neilsens to twenty-sixth. They attempted to undo some of the changes and return it to its original time slot, but it was too late. During the final season, in typical sitcom fashion, the pair got married and had a baby. Depending on your perspective, the last season offers either a high or low point when Jonathan Winters took on the role of the baby, Mearth (Orkans are born older and get younger over time). This was either the supreme paring of comics or a mark of the depths to which the show

would go to survive. In any event, it was canceled at the end of the season.

The character of Mork first appeared in a February 1978 episode of *Happy Days*, where Mork tried to kidnap Richie Cunningham. The popular response to the character led to the *Mork & Mindy* series, which was produced by Garry Marshall, producer of *Happy Days*. In 1982 Mork, Mindy, Mr. McConnell, and Orson would all pop up again in one season of animated cartoons also titled *Mork & Mindy* (with the original cast providing voices).

Mork & Mindy represents many of the high and low points of 1970s television comedy. It was one of many spin-offs from successful shows that managed to outdo its parent. It was also one of the many shows that marked ABC's golden period of television comedy at this time, with a lineup of successes like *Three's Company*, *Laverne & Shirley*, and *Happy Days*. In addition, it brought national attention to a major star, Robin Williams. Finally, the show also became a major player in the popular culture of the era, introducing catch phrases, a look, and an attitude that continue into the late 1990s. In the end, however, the energy and talent of Williams and other cast members were not able to maintain the show, either from bad decision making on the part of the network or perhaps from a lack of steam.

—Frank Clark

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Morris, Mark (1956—)

The most important new choreographer to emerge since the mid-1970s, Mark Morris has created a bold synthesis of ballet, folk and modern dance. Morris has built on his early training and experience as performer of folk dancing by incorporating both modern dance and ballet movements within a framework of folk-like ensemble dancing. In 1988 Morris and his company took up residence at Brussel's Royal Opera House. In three tumultuous and controversial years, while local critics and audiences rejected Morris's aesthetically and often sexually provocative work, he produced several of his most important dance pieces, including the evening-length *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, ed Il Moderato*, based on Handel's oratorio, and the *Hard Nut*, his parody of Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker*, set in the suburban home of a dysfunctional family. Dance critic and Morris biographer, Joan Acocella, like many other critics, sees Morris as a true "classical" choreographer—and the leading successor to George Balanchine—because his dance pieces issue directly from the music.

—Jeffrey Escoffier

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Mark Morris Dance Group. *The Hard Nut* (videotape). Elektra Nonesuch Video Dance Collection, 1992.

Morissette, Alanis (1974—)

Singer Alanis Morissette was the first pop artist to tap into, articulate, and successfully commercialize the anger of young white women. It had taken surprisingly long for pop music to find its spokeswoman: Thirty years after Bob Dylan snarled out "Positively Fourth Street," nearly twenty years after punk's standard bearer Sid Vicious murdered his girlfriend Nancy Spungen, rage in mainstream music was still just for guys. The breakthrough came in the final decade of the twentieth century when Morissette—who transformed herself from a Canadian Debbie Gibson to an angst-ridden Everywoman—generated the top-selling album by a female solo artist ever. And she did it through sheer ordinariness.

Morissette was born in Ottawa, Canada, on 1 June 1974, 12 minutes after her twin brother, Wade. Her father was French-Canadian, her mother a Hungarian refugee. From an early age, Alanis wanted to perform in front of people, and by the age of ten she had landed a role on the Canadian children's show, *You Can't Do That on Television* (later shown in the United States on Nickelodeon). She pursued a singing career, releasing her first album, *Fate Stay with Me*, in 1987 and appearing on *Star Search* in 1989. Two years later she landed a hit in Canada with her album called *Alanis*. Using her first name only, her enthusiastic dancing, big hair, mismatched clothing and synthetic, bubble-gum dance music placed her solidly in the mall-pop category with Debbie Gibson and Tiffany. Morissette lived up to her role as Canadian teen idol, obligingly belting out "O Canada" at hockey games and at the 1988 World Figure Skating Championships. Her next album, *Now Is the Time* (1992) was less successful, however, and she soon realized that changes in musical fashion had



Alanis Morissette

left her behind. In order to survive as an artist, Morissette would have to reinvent herself.

Meanwhile, in the early 1990s, American punk rock had given birth to the Riot Grrl movement, a loosely defined school of women playing underground rock and roll in the name of women's empowerment. Following in the "uppity women" tradition extending from Bessie Smith through Patti Smith to Sonic Youth's Kim Gordon, Riot Grrl bands like Bikini Kill and Seven Year Bitch went further, venting outrage and confusion as they tackled feminist themes from date rape to incest to war. Though the movement stimulated a great deal of excitement and discussion among many in the fragmented punk mini-scenes, none of those bands ever found significant commercial acceptance: their music was simply too confrontational and political for the era. Female anger was purveyed somewhat more successfully by more mainstream, "critics' darling" acts like P. J. Harvey, Tori Amos, and Liz Phair; Phair's 1993 debut album, *Exile in Guyville*, with its acrimony toward past lovers and its graphic discussion of oral sex, closely parallels Morissette's breakthrough. Finally, the stage was set by Hole's 1994 smash success *Live Through This*, helped along by the massive publicity surrounding the suicide of Nirvana leader Kurt Cobain, Hole frontwoman Courtney Love's husband. Hole blended Nirvana's grunge rock with a watered-down Riot Grrl sensibility, and found wide acceptance. (Love very publicly expressed her dislike of Morissette, who supplanted her as rock's premier Angry Woman.)

Morissette moved to L.A. in the early 1990s, hooked up with co-writer/producer Glen Ballard, and set about recycling the Riot Grrls' energy while dropping their feminist politics. Released in 1995 on Madonna's Maverick label, *Jagged Little Pill* was an immediate success behind the hit single "You Oughta Know," a diatribe against a former lover and his new girlfriend (an anti-woman attack no self-respecting Riot Grrl would have tolerated). The lyrics pushed the envelope just far enough (MTV edited the line, "Are you thinking of me when you fuck her?" but allowed, "Would she go down on you in a theater?") and suddenly Morissette was a star, not only in Canada, but in the United States and around the world. Other singles followed, less cathartic but equally evocative of a 16-year-old girl dressed in black writing in her journal: "Ironic" (which hinges on a popular though incorrect use of the title word), "Head over Feet," "One Hand In My Pocket."

Unlike many of the women who preceded her, Morissette didn't limit her audience by being too ambitious, too clever, or too creative. She didn't express any interest in changing the world, only in complaining about it; and she wasn't re-defining male-female relations, she just wanted her ex to hurt like she did. Record buyers looked at Morissette and saw themselves: her voice never soared so high you couldn't sing along, she wasn't pretty enough to be threatening, she was never hard to understand. To the extent that art is about expressing the thoughts and feelings of a mass audience, *Jagged Little Pill* is as effective a piece of art as rock has produced. In 1996 Morissette won four Grammy Awards: Best Album, Best Rock Album, Best Rock Song and Best Female Rock Vocal Performance.

The album sold 16 million copies in the United States, and 28 million worldwide. While Morissette toured and then took time off, a group of similar acts emerged and followed in her wake, among them Fiona Apple and Natalie Imbruglia. The second album of Morissette's second singing career, *Supposed Former Infatuation Junkie*, was

released in late 1998, debuting at the top of the charts but falling below expectations. Unable to create further shock with her lyrics, she caused a mild stir by appearing nearly nude in the disc's first video, "Thank You." Whether history views Alanis Morissette as a canny self-exploiter (the new Madonna) or as an accidental superstar (the new Tiny Tim), her tremendous commercial success speaks for itself.

—David B. Wilson

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Morrison, Toni (1931—)

Born Chloe Anthony Wofford in 1931, Toni Morrison is one of the most important authors of contemporary American literature. In the late 1970s through the 1980s and 1990s, she, along with acclaimed authors such as Alice Walker and Ntozake Shange, helped revise the white, male-dominated literary canon. Their works placed on all of the major best-seller lists and were increasingly taught on college campuses across the nation. Known primarily for her novels—*The Bluest Eye* (1970), *Sula* (1974), *Song of Solomon* (1977), *Tar Baby* (1981), *Beloved* (1987), *Jazz* (1992), and *Paradise* (1998)—Morrison is also a prolific author in the area of nonfiction, writing literary criticism, such as the well-received *Playing in the Dark Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992); she is also the editor of the anthology, *Race-ing Justice: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Others on the Constructing of Social Reality* (1992). Though all of these works vary in terms of subject, place, and time and, in the case of the fiction, characters and story, they are all complex and compelling works that concern sexism, racism, and class in the United States.

In 1988 Morrison won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction for her fifth novel, *Beloved*, a historical novel on the enslavement of Africans and African Americans, which was adapted to a feature film in 1998. In 1993 she was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, the second American to do so and the first African American. Other honors include the National Book Critics Circle Award (1977), the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters Award (1977), and the Robert F. Kennedy Award (1988).

—Frances Gateward

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Morrison, Van (1945—)

Van Morrison is one of the most gifted singers, performers, composers, and songwriters in the history of popular music. Born August 31, 1945 in Belfast (Northern Ireland), Van Morrison (real name: George Ivan Morrison) left school at age 15 to join the rock 'n' roll band The Monarchs on a tour through the United Kingdom and Europe. From 1963 to 1966 he led Them—a successful British rhythm and blues band—whose best known song, “Gloria,” was written by Morrison. In 1967 Morrison embarked on a solo career that up until now has resulted in some 30 high-quality albums. *Astral Weeks* (1968), his second, is often cited as one of the best records ever, together with The Beatles’ *Sergeant Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band*, Bob Dylan’s *Blonde on Blonde*, and *Pet Sounds* by The Beach Boys. While the album’s sound retains a unique position within Morrison’s oeuvre, it nevertheless contains all the ingredients of his later work. Even though Morrison has never had any really great hits—apart perhaps from the early “Brown Eyed Girl”—he is known by many as the author of “Have I told you lately that I love you,” rated one of the “most performed songs” of the year in 1994.

—Jurgen Pieters

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Morse, Carlton E. (1901-1993)

Carlton E. Morse was a unique figure in the world of old-time radio—a writer, director, and producer who managed to navigate the often opposing worlds of popular success and critical accolade while creating works of enduring dramatic depth on the one hand and blood-and-thunder adventure on the other. Like Steven Spielberg in more recent times, Morse was one of those very few creators of popular entertainment whose name above the title was as instantly recognizable as any leading actor or famous character. His principal creations, *One Man’s Family* (“radio’s preeminent serial,” according to historian Gerald Nachman) and *I Love a Mystery* (“the most respected

show of its type”) spanned the entire heyday of radio drama; crossed over into the media of film, television, and comics; and helped establish genre conventions in all these forms which would continue to delight contemporary audiences throughout the rest of the century. No one familiar with Morse can see Spielberg’s cozy suburban families without recalling the Barbour in *One Man’s Family*, or watch Indiana Jones without thinking of the globetrotting adventures of Jack, Doc, and Reggie in *I Love a Mystery*.

Morse was a legend in the world of old-time radio not only due to the longstanding popularity of his creations but also because of the herculean work habits that enabled him to churn out daily episodes of *I Love a Mystery*, weekly installments of *One Man’s Family*, and to produce and direct both of his creations while also writing short stories, novels, and philosophical essays in his spare time. Morse’s diligence has invariably been attributed to his early upbringing on a farm in Oregon to which his family moved five years after his birth in Jennings, Louisiana, on June 1, 1901. His early life milking cows helped establish his lifelong habit of rising at 4 A.M. to begin work, and even after marrying and finding employment as a newspaper columnist in San Francisco, he continued to meet his writing deadlines for the rest of his life by getting up every day at the same time and, by his own accounts, “sitting in front of the typewriter, lost to the world, for as much as two and a half hours.” When his newspaper was absorbed by the Hearst syndicate in 1929, Morse began hanging around the NBC studios and, in true Horatio Alger fashion, seized his moment by offering to rewrite another scribe’s unusable scripts. Morse’s quick work earned him a job penning everything from westerns to sports dramas to the mysteries that became his early trademark and that were usually based upon his experiences covering the newspaper crime beat.

Morse’s early radio experience brought him into contact with a group of performers who would ultimately form an acting company which provided the core cast of both *One Man’s Family* and *I Love a Mystery* and the inspiration for many of the characters as well—“writing fictional characters,” he later recalled, “but also writing something of each of the actors into the part.” The calm authority of Michael Raffetto, for example, could serve equally well as the voice of eldest son Paul providing solutions to knotty ethical dilemmas in *One Man’s Family* or dishing out the two-fisted realism of Jack Packard against the ghouls and vampires of *I Love a Mystery*. Morse was shrewd enough to exploit the close relationship of all his central actors and characters to lend a unique reality to a medium beset by short rehearsal and writing times, and even allowed his *One Man’s Family* clan to age right along with the actors who portrayed them over the nearly 30-year run.

The genre trappings of each of Morse’s two principal creations often obscure the range of his unique contributions to the world of popular entertainment. *One Man’s Family* may be accurately termed a “soap opera” and *I Love a Mystery* branded an “adventure serial,” but each offers a depth and complexity belied by such labels. *One Man’s Family* debuted on May 13, 1932, and from its inception, described Gerald Nachman, “it was an experimental concept, the first radio show to depict the day-to-day lives of a fairly normal family.” As the extended Barbour family made its way through the trials of the Great Depression and World War II, Morse rarely resorted to the sensational plot devices associated with “the soaps” and instead told small, sometimes uneventful, stories that nonetheless touched on

profound issues of love and marriage, birth and death. While *One Man's Family* represented Morse's contribution to the tradition of American domestic drama, his *I Love a Mystery* embodied the opposite form—a riproaring, take-no-prisoners adventure yarn celebrating the American faith in (male) individual freedom and regeneration through violence. Rarely has a single writer-creator produced classic works of enduring popularity in both these quintessentially American forms.

One Man's Family and *I Love a Mystery* were Morse's most important contributions to the world of popular culture, and while he also wrote and directed several other programs during his long career, most were merely lesser imitations of his two masterworks—e.g., *His Honor, the Barber*, exploiting Barry Fitzgerald's homespun wisdom to dispense the same sort of advice son Paul was dishing out daily in *One Man's Family*; and *Adventures by Morse*, placing Captain Friday and his loyal sidekick Skip Turner in *I Love a Mystery* perils. Writing and directing so many programs at the same time often prevented Morse from knowing himself exactly how his stories would resolve themselves, a situation which Morse turned to his advantage to highlight the day-to-day doings of his domestic clans and to keep things unpredictable on his adventure offerings. Such characteristics were unique to radio's golden age, however, and when that era came to an end in the early 1950s, so did the period of Morse's significance as a preeminent figure on the cultural stage. Images could add nothing to *One Man's Family's* world of gentle talk, and no special effect ever invented was capable of conveying the outlandish horror and spectacle of *I Love a Mystery*. While recordings of his two leading creations remained highly prized commodities, Morse lived virtually in isolation for the remainder of his life in a rambling rustic mansion near Redwood City in Northern California. He died in 1993, surrounded by the hundreds of bound volumes of radio scripts which had once excited the American public to dream daily of both living room hugs and vampire shrieks.

—Kevin Lause

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Morton, Jelly Roll (1890-1941)

Born Ferdinand Joseph, Jelly Roll Morton is best known for his songs "Jelly Roll Blues" (1905), "King Porter Stomp" (1906), and

"Kansas City Stomp" (1919). A composer and pianist, he first found success touring with his band, the Red Hot Peppers, and then later as a recording artist. Raised in the ragtime and dixieland musical tradition of New Orleans, Morton went beyond the formal structure of these forms and developed many of the central characteristics of later jazz music. In 1938, folklorist Alan Lomax recorded an interview with and songs by Morton as part of the Library of Congress' Folklore Archives in which Morton elaborates on the development of jazz music from its birth in New Orleans.

—Charles J. Shindo

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Mosley, Walter (1952—)

Since the publication of *Devil in a Blue Dress* in 1990, African American novelist Walter Mosley's books have been known as "The Easy Rawlins Mysteries." Mosley changed the face of American detective fiction and became one of America's best mystery writers by introducing Easy (Ezekiel) Rawlins, a black detective operating in a white conservative world. Thus, as Roger Berger has noted, by using black characters and black settings or locations, Mosley rewrites "the traditional white detective story—such as those of Raymond Chandler—through the oppositional use of black subject matter." By using black characters and exploring black concerns such as race and sexuality, Walter Mosley joins Rudolph Fisher and Chester Himes, as the three most prominent black writers of detective fiction. In 1995, Mosley became a more familiar name in American popular culture when Columbia TriStar filmed *Devil in a Blue Dress*, starring Denzel Washington.

Devil in a Blue Dress is the story of Ezekiel Rawlins, a black war veteran who has lost his job in a defense plant in 1948 Los Angeles. While drinking in a bar, his friend Joppy introduces him to Mr. DeWitt Albright, who wants Easy to find somebody for him. Though Easy hates the thought of going to Albright for further detail, he knows that he has to find money to pay his mortgage, and presents himself at Albright's house. There, he learns that his assignment is to find Daphne Monet, a woman who enjoys "the company of Negroes" and likes "jazz and pigs' feet and dark meat." This would be enough indication that Daphne Monet is probably black, if it were not for her photograph that shows "the head and shoulders of a pretty young white woman." Significantly, the sequence at Albright's home introduces the reader to how Easy deals with racism and how he behaves with white people. When confronted by Albright's guard, he starts to stutter and squint and even feigns forgetting the name of the person he is looking for. Easy then informs the reader that it is a way of conduct he developed in Texas when he was growing up, which consisted of emptying his head of everything every time he was caught off guard by "a white man of authority." Though this

mechanism—"The less you know, the less trouble you find"—has become Easy's motto, it has also brought him a hatred of self, and of people in general, both white and black, whom he holds responsible for his feelings: whites for accepting his seemingly dumb behavior as a fact of life, blacks for reminding him that he has to play dumb in front of whites.

Ironically, Easy fails to live up to his motto; the more he learns about his assignment and the people connected with it, the more deeply involved in the story he becomes. When several people start showing up dead, the police suspect that Easy knows who did it, and he is given a deadline to find the killer. More surprises appear when Easy finally finds Daphne Monet and learns that she is Creole and that DeWitt Albright is looking for her so that he can blackmail Mr. Todd Carter, who was supposed to marry Monet, thus ruining Carter's political career. It is worth noting Easy's manipulative talents, especially in persuading the police to believe his story about the murders and their perpetrators.

Thus, while maintaining certain traditional aspects of detective fiction, Walter Mosley explores the issues of race and interracial relations that have remained outside the province of his white counterparts. Mouse, for example, Easy's longtime friend from Texas, explains everything in terms of race; when Easy is on the shoreline north of Santa Monica waiting for DeWitt, a young lady from Des Moines begins talking to him until the boys she is with see this and warn him about talking to their women. Easy himself relates how the American army reflects the segregation of the South, having confined him to a typewriter for three years despite his having been trained as "a foot soldier, a fighter." For Easy, "the worst kind of racism" is the one that occurs when a white person like Todd Carter fails to see a black person in "human terms." Carter invites Easy to tell him anything *as if* they were best friends, implying his awareness of their "difference." But most of all, Easy believes that "justice for Negroes" can never be achieved without money, "the closest to God," to "grease" the system.

By the late 1990s a highly respected best-selling novelist on both sides of the Atlantic, Walter Mosley had explored his themes, in various plot guises, in five more Easy Rawlins mysteries: *A Red Death* (1991), *White Butterfly* (1992), *Black Betty* (1994), *A Little Yellow Dog* (1996), and *Gone Fishin'* (1997). In *A Red Death*, for example, Easy is in the house business when a racist IRS agent suddenly nails him for tax evasion. As a way out, an FBI agent asks him to infiltrate the First African Baptist Church, which is suspected of communist activities, in exchange for a better deal to pay off his IRS debt. In 1998, Walter Mosley introduced Socrates Fortlow, a new leading man for his new mystery novel, *Always Outnumbered, Always Outgunned*. Socrates, like his ancient Greek philosopher namesake, tries to find answers to "philosophical questions of morality" in a world warped by crime, racism, and poverty. In 1995, Walter Mosley displayed his versatility by publishing a non-detective novel called *RL's Dream*.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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Moss, Kate (1974—)

Breastless, hipless, and perennially skinny, Brit Kate Moss brought in the "waif" look and changed the shape of modeling in the 1990s. In contrast to more buxom models such as Cindy Crawford, she was a scrawny fourteen-year-old when an agent discovered her in a New York airport; her ability to retain that figure well into her twenties would catapult her to fame and a reported \$1.2 million contract with American designer Calvin Klein. Though Moss modeled extensively in England, it wasn't until 1992, when Klein selected her to represent his youth-oriented CK line, that her career took off; a series of semi-nude photographs appeared everywhere from magazine pages to bus shelters (where passersby occasionally scrawled "Feed Me" across her belly). Despite her controversial slenderness, Moss became one of the top six faces in the world, and for many people her glamorous lifestyle of all-night parties with actor boy-friends defined what it meant to be a supermodel.

—Susann Cokal

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Mother's Day

A day of celebration and commemoration, Mother's Day has occupied a place on America's calendar since the early twentieth century. The woman responsible for its inception was Anna Jarvis (1864-1948), who wanted to memorialize her own mother and as a result saw the value in honoring all American mothers.

Having grown up in West Virginia, Jarvis moved to Philadelphia in 1891, where she began an extended correspondence with her mother back in her home town. Mrs. Jarvis moved to Philadelphia in 1903, where she died two years later. Her daughter Anna not only wanted to keep the memory of her mother alive, but also wanted to immortalize what she saw as the qualities of all mothers—piety, domesticity, maternal purity, loyalty, and love.

Perhaps inspired by other well-established days of remembrance such as Children's Day and Memorial Day, Jarvis set out to make Mother's Day a "holy day" to be celebrated in local churches on the second Sunday in May. The first public memorial service for her own mother took place in 1907, and one year later official Mother's Day services were held in churches all across the United States. Mother's Day became a celebrated day of observance for a number of reasons. First, because it honored the traditional role of women in the family home, it reassured those who were uneasy about the "new womanhood" that emerged as a result of World War I, and thus became increasingly popular. Second, and more important, it was deemed a



Alicia Mann looks over the card she plans on giving to her mother on Mother's Day, 1964.

viable commercial holiday for various business concerns, who therefore widely publicized it as an important event.

Never married and never a mother herself, Anna Jarvis thought Mother's Day should be celebrated as simply and solemnly as possible. The symbol of her sentiments was a white carnation, to be worn as an emblem in honor of one's mother. To her consternation, however, the floral industry seized upon her idea and used the carnation as a basis for their own promotions. Thanks to Victorian sentimentality, flowers had long been associated with femininity and domesticity; the American floral trade merely capitalized on this fashion. As early as 1910, the FTD (Florists' Telegraph Delivery Service) had begun to encourage sons and daughters to send flowers to faraway mothers, and in 1917 the industry began its national promotion of Mother's Day. By 1918, their famous "Say It with Flowers" campaign had been launched. During the 1920s, confectioners, jewelers, and stationers, among others, boosted sales by successfully promoting their own goods as appropriate gifts for Mother's Day, indicating just how popular the holiday had become.

To Anna Jarvis, however, this increase in popularity was accompanied by—or caused by—what she saw as rampant commercialism. Her personal "holy day," whose identity and observance she had wanted to manage herself, had become a commerce-driven "holiday." In the hands of the professional florists, her simple white carnation badge had also become more complicated: white carnations, the florists advocated, should symbolize the memory of mothers no longer living, while red ones should be used for those still alive. Later,

these simple floral badges blossomed into full-blown bouquets of more expensive and showy flowers. Furthermore, due to the FTD's aggressive advertising campaign, face-to-face visits and personal correspondence between mothers and children—which Jarvis saw as paramount—were being replaced with impersonal, commercially delivered messages.

In 1920 it was clear that business interests had won the fight over Mother's Day. While previously they had always acknowledged Jarvis as the holiday's founder, and described her as a woman of pluck and sound moral values, by the late 1910s her increasing outspokenness about what she saw as the erosion of Mother's Day rituals forced trade associations to distance themselves from her. By 1920, their relationship was severed and Jarvis' version of the origins and proper ceremony of Mother's Day were completely disavowed.

While Anna Jarvis's efforts to pay tribute to the memory of mothers may have continued to happen on a local level in churches uninfluenced by commercial interests, the floral industry and other trade groups helped turn it into a national holiday that everyone celebrated in very similar ways, part of what historian Leigh Eric Schmidt has called the "commercial management of the calendar." The success of Mother's Day also spawned other similarly contrived holidays, most notably Father's Day (the third Sunday in June), which had been advocated in churches since 1910 by Sonora Smart Dodd, but did not become a national observance until 1972. The holiday, with all its commercial connotations, spread abroad to the United Kingdom and countries such as South Africa and Australia, but each has its own date for the celebration. Other less popular offshoots that appeared were Sweetest Day, Bosses' Day, Grandparents' Day, and Professional Secretaries' Day, among others. By the end of the twentieth century, Mother's Day, however, was so deeply embedded in the American psyche and social fabric as to have become almost a \$9 billion industry.

—Wendy Woloson

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Mötley Crüe

Mötley Crüe, the Los Angeles-based heavy metal quartet whose quadruple-platinum album, *Dr. Feelgood*, hit Billboard's No. 1 spot



Vince Neil of Mötley Crüe.

in 1991 and paved the road to Billboard's Top 40 and MTV's top video charts for other big-haired, glam-rock bands of the mid-1980s. As well known for their offstage behavior as for their onstage pyrotechnics, Mötley Crüe sold over 20 million albums in their heyday, which lasted for more than a decade.

The foursome came together in early 1981. Drummer Tommy Lee (Thomas Lee Bass) and bassist Nikki Sixx (Frank Carlton Serafino Ferrano) were in a band called Christmas when they answered a classified ad placed by guitarist Mick Mars (Bob Deal), who was looking for some "lude" and crude band mates. In April, the three recruited front man Vince Neil (Vince Neil Wharton), who was then singing for a local band called Rock Candy. Seven months later, Mötley Crüe (as Mars christened the band) recorded their first LP, *Too Fast for Love*, for \$7,000. The Crüe's pentagram-and-hellfire-saturated sophomore effort, *Shout at the Devil*, was released in 1983; one track, "Bastard," made it onto Tipper Gore's Parents' Music Resource Center's "Dirty Dozen" list of obscene songs, thereby sealing Mötley Crüe's reputation as The Band That Our Mothers Warned Us About.

In 1985, *Theater of Pain* was released to great fanfare. Shortly thereafter, Neil spent a surprisingly lenient 20-day sentence in a Los Angeles prison for vehicular manslaughter, after his drunk driving led to the death of Hanoi Rock's drummer, Nicholas "Razzle" Dingley. Meanwhile, Nikki Sixx battled a heroin addiction, but the Crüe's popularity never waned. That same year, their cover of Brownsville Station's "Smokin' in the Boys' Room" climbed up Billboard's Top 40, and their single "Home Sweet Home" became MTV's most

requested music video of all time that November. Lee married *Dynasty* star Heather Locklear in 1986, and introduced his 360-degree revolving drum kit the following year on the "Girls, Girls, Girls" world tour. Only months after the Crüe's greatest hits album, *Decade of Decadence*, was released in 1991, Neil was fired from the band for allegedly prioritizing his car racing hobby over his music career. John Corabi, former vocalist of the *Scream*, replaced Neil, but the band's renown never again reached that of its earlier days.

The media attention the Crüe received after 1992 centered almost exclusively on Tommy Lee's personal life: an intimate home video of Lee and his second wife, *Baywatch* star Pamela Anderson, was mass-produced and sold over the Internet; and the couple's three-year marriage ended in 1998 with Lee serving a four month sentence in a Los Angeles prison for spousal abuse.

Mötley Crüe was a larger-than-life band both on and off-stage, and they were the first rock 'n' rollers to erase the line between heavy metal music and commercial success. Large-market radio stations stopped shying away from the rock that may have alienated some listeners when they saw that these listeners, in fact, were anything but alienated. But, by the early 1990s, Mötley Crüe's heavy-handed, over-stylized music gave way to Seattle grunge bands such as Nirvana and Pearl Jam, while MTV's all-metal video program, *Headbanger's Ball*, had faded into oblivion, and the grunge/alternative-rock *120 Minutes* had all but been put on a permanent loop.

—Daryna M. McKeand

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Motley, Willard (1912-1965)

The publication of Willard Motley's first novel *Knock on Any Door* in 1947 established the African American writer and former Works Progress Administration worker among the leading American naturalist novelists, together with Richard Wright, James T. Farrell, and Nelson Algren. The book, which chronicles the progressive corruption of Italian American teenager Nick Romano by Chicago slum life, was in its third printing five days after its publication and remained on the *New York Times* best-seller list for nearly one year. The novel was condensed and published in such popular magazines as *Look*, *Omnibook*, and *New York Post and Home Week-End Magazine*. A movie version was directed in 1948 by Nicholas Ray, starring Humphrey Bogart and introducing John Derek as Nick Romano. Motley wrote a sequel to *Knock on Any Door*, along with three other novels, but he was never able to repeat the commercial success of his first book.

—Luca Prono

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Motown

Motown is a record company, a musical style, and a corporate conglomerate with several subsidiary labels. The company was founded in Detroit in 1959 by Berry Gordy, Jr. A black entrepreneur and songwriter, Gordy built a successful black-owned, independent company that became a formidable phenomenon in the music business. Motown racked up an enviable number of releases that posted on both pop and rhythm and blues (R&B) charts. At the company's height, an overwhelming 75 percent of Motown's releases charted, where the industry average was about 10 percent. By Gordy's estimation, 70 percent of the buyers of a million-seller Motown record were non-black. Between 1960 and 1969, Motown issued a total of 535 singles, 357 of which became hits. Motown issued 56 number one pop and R&B songs in a decade. The most important Motown asset was not the solid gold records or the millions earned in revenue, but its talented and diverse artists, songwriters, producers, and musicians.

Motown derived its name from the a popular slang contraction of motortown. Detroit, called the motortown for its automobile production, also spawned a number of fine musicians, among them rock and roll stars Hank Ballard and the Midnighters, distinguished jazz artists such as Milt Jackson and Yusef Lateef, bluesman John Lee Hooker, soul singers Little Willie John and Jackie Wilson, gospel diva Aretha Franklin, and many others who became Motown artists. But prior to Motown, Detroit had no major recording company.

One of eight children, Berry Gordy, Jr., was born in Detroit on November 28, 1929. His father, Berry "Pops" Gordy, Sr., and mother, Bertha Gordy, owned several businesses. A high school dropout, Gordy, Jr. became an average boxer who fought in the bantamweight class. He abandoned boxing and, after serving in the army, decided to pursue a musical career. In 1953, an infatuation with jazz prompted Gordy and singer Marv Johnson to open the 3-D Record Mart, a retail store dedicated to jazz. The store folded in 1955, and Gordy went to work for Lincoln-Mercury. But while installing upholstery in cars, he began humming tunes and writing lyrics.

Gordy developed an instinct for recognizing what made a hit song, and he became a master tunesmith. When he heard that Jackie Wilson's manager was looking for new material, he proceeded to write four hits for Wilson. His first song, "Reet Petite," hit the charts in 1957, and several other hits followed. Gordy married Raynoma Liles in 1958. Their union was short lived, though Liles continued to work for the company after the divorce. Her musical and technical skills were critical in helping Gordy to refine his songwriting craft, and she also convinced him to produce his own records, thus taking control over all aspects of production. Gordy's work for the auto manufacturers, learning assembly-line production values, would profit him later in the recording studio.

In 1958, Gordy formed a song publishing company called Jobete Music. He also formed Berry Gordy, Jr. Enterprises and purchased the buildings that would house Hitsville, U.S.A., and the Motown Record Corporation. In 1959, Gordy created Motown using an \$800 loan from "Ber-Berry," a family fund earmarked for real estate purchases. In addition to the Motown and Tamla labels, he developed other prominent subsidiary labels, including Gordy in 1962, Soul in 1964, Mowest in 1972, and Hitsville in 1976. Motown established several labels to get around the fact that radio stations limited the amount of airplay given the same label.

Gordy developed several self-serving policies which assured that Motown would have the upper hand in the manager-artist relationship. Artists were only allowed to review Motown's books twice a year. No industry regulatory groups were allowed to review the books, which is why none of Motown's hits of the 1960s was ever certified gold. If an artist signed as a performer and a writer, any costs incurred in preparing his or her records could be charged against the artist's songwriting royalties. In addition, Motown also served as the artists' booking agent. Overall, Gordy exercised total control over his talent. In addition to his songwriting abilities, Gordy was a natural leader who knew how to inspire artists. He initially fostered healthy competition among his artists, and, after a meeting and the singing of the company song, "Hitsville, U.S.A."—"Oh, we have a very swinging company working hard from day to day"—they would be charged up and ready to set the world on fire.

While the Motown musical sound was evolving, artists were also groomed to exhibit a distinctive Motown "style." Gordy, with the help of writer and producer Mickey Stevenson, set up an artist development program and recruited teachers to educate artists on showmanship and performance. Maurice King, who had worked with Billie Holiday, became the chief rehearsal musical director. Gil Askey, who had worked with Billy Eckstine, was the orchestral conductor for Diana Ross and the Supremes and assisted with stage concepts. Cholly Atkins of the famous dancing duo Coles and Atkins became the chief choreographer. Maxine Powell, who had managed a finishing and modeling school, was in charge of dress and grooming. Mandatory classes were held for the artists.

Motown attracted a large, diverse pool of artists, from the pop balladeer Lionel Richie to the funky Rick James. Singer-songwriter William "Smokey" Robinson, leader of the Miracles and a vice president of Motown, was a principal player on the team. Robinson had not refined his songwriting skills before meeting Gordy. Gordy taught Robinson how to write successful songs, and Robinson urged Gordy to go national distributing the company's releases. In 1959, the company issued singles by the Miracles, Marv Johnson, and Barrett Strong. The Miracles' "Bad Girl," originally released on Chess records, was re-recorded at Motown and became the Motown label's first single. "Shop Around," a Miracles recording on Tamla, became the company's first hit, topping the R&B chart and posting at number two on the pop chart. The Miracles were big record sellers and, between 1960 and 1972, they had 21 Top Ten R&B hits including the memorable "Shop Around" in 1961, "Tracks of My Tears" in 1965, and "The Tears of a Clown" in 1970. Robinson continued to produce commercial hits for numerous Motown artists including Mary Wells, the Temptations, and Marvin Gaye.

In January, 1959, singer Marv Johnson recorded "Come to Me" and "Whisper" on the Tamla label, signalling the genesis of the Motown empire. In 1960, singer Barrett Strong recorded "Money" (co-written by Gordy); although it was Tamla's sixth release, the record was leased to Anna records (a label Gordy's sister Anna started



Motown recording artists The Four Tops.

in 1958) and rose to number two on the R&B charts. Mary Wells became Motown's first superstar. A teenage vocalist, Wells signed with Motown in 1960 and her self-penned single "Bye Bye Baby" climbed to number eight on the *Billboard* R&B chart. Gordy then placed Wells's creative development into the hands of Smokey Robinson. Author and critic Lee Hildebrand maintains that Gordy's greatest gift was his ability to match performers with songwriter-producers. The Wells/Robinson synergy was the first such momentous pairing, with Robinson writing and producing the majority of Wells's hits between 1960 and 1964.

In 1960, the Primes, a vocal quintet, later named the Elgins (not to be confused with the Motown group of the same name) and then rechristened the Temptations, signed with Motown. This legendary group became the most successful vocal group in rhythm and blues history as evidenced by their prolific hit-making abilities and by the popularity of the NBC-TV special *The Temptations* that aired in 1998. The Temptations scored 43 Top Ten R&B singles between 1965 and 1989. Also in 1960, the Marvelettes, a female vocal quintet from the Detroit suburb of Inkster, Michigan, recorded "Please Mr. Postman" and became the first group to score a number one hit for the young

record company. Gordy invented the phrase “The Sound of Young America” as a marketing hook for Motown music. In 1961, the Primes’ “sister” group, the Primettes, comprising Diana Ross, Mary Wilson, Florence Ballard, and Barbara Martin, signed with Motown. Martin left the group and upon Ballard’s suggestion, the group’s name was changed to the Supremes. After several unsuccessful releases, the Supremes paired with the songwriting team of Eddie Holland, Lamont Dozier, and Brian Holland and scored a number one R&B hit with “Where Did Our Love Go,” following with eleven number one hits. Ballard was fired from the group after six years, and Ross left the trio in 1969 to pursue a successful solo career, giving Motown its largest hit single with “Endless Love,” a 1981 duet with Lionel Richie. Ross left the company in 1981 but returned eight years later. The Supremes went through several personnel changes and disbanded in the late 1970s.

The Motown Revue was one of Motown’s successful marketing strategies. Several of Motown’s artists would tour under the company’s name for thirty to forty days with a band. The revue was a cost-saving measure and at the same time excellent promotion for the company. In 1962, the first Motown Revue trekked through the South in cars and buses. The 1963 revue featured Stevie Wonder at the Regal Theater in Chicago. Motown recorded Wonder singing “Fingertips (Part. 2),” which became the first live recording to reach number one on the R&B and pop charts. Born Steveland Morris, Wonder has remained with the company since his signing to the Tamla label in 1961. Blind since birth, Wonder is a multi-talented artist, a fine vocalist, multi-instrumentalist, songwriter, and producer who has had 18 number one R&B hits and has won 16 Grammy awards. Wonder and Marvin Gaye were artists who eventually gained complete artistic control, shunning Motown’s assembly line production style in favor of music that mirrored their personal philosophy.

Marvin Gaye married Anna Gordy and also signed with Motown, first recording “Let Your Conscience Be Your Guide” in 1961. He provided backup vocals and served as a drummer for other company artists. His fourth single for Tamla, “Stubborn Kind of Fellow,” was a commercial success. Many memorable songs followed, including “I Heard It Through the Grapevine” (which peaked at number one on both the R&B and pop charts). While his duos with Mary Wells and Kim Weston were moderately received, it was his pairing with Tammi Terrell that really jelled. “Your Precious Love” and “Ain’t No Mountain High Enough,” among other songs, scored in the R&B Top Ten. The 1971 album *What’s Going On*, a profound and visionary cycle of songs, lushly orchestrated, and exploring socio-political and environmental themes, struck to the heart of human existence. It remains Gaye’s masterpiece. Gaye altered the face of Motown with this artist-produced album, unprecedented at the company at that time. Gaye had many other hits including, “Let’s Get It On” and “Got to Give It Up (Part 1),” before leaving Motown in 1982.

The Four Tops signed with Motown in 1963, although the group first started in 1954. They enjoyed a string of hits produced by Holland-Dozier-Holland, including “I Can’t Help Myself,” and “Reach Out, I’ll Be There,” both of which topped the R&B and pop charts. The Jackson Five signed with Motown in 1969 after Gordy learned of them through Gladys Knight and Bobby Taylor; their initial single, “I Want You Back,” rose to the top of the R&B and pop charts, assuring the Jacksons international stardom. Over the next five years, a total of ten of their singles cut for Motown posted in the Top Ten R&B and two of these, “Never Can Say Goodbye” in 1971 and “Dancing Machine” in 1974, reached number one on the R&B chart.

Motown made solo recordings of Michael, Jackie, and Jermaine. The group left Motown and signed with Epic in 1976.

Gladys Knight and the Pips signed with Motown in 1966 and enjoyed twelve Top Ten R&B hits on Motown’s ancillary Soul label. Other artists that recorded for Motown were the Commodores, whose Motown single “Machine Gun” charted and was followed by a string of hits. Singer-songwriter Lionel Richie bolted from the group in 1982 and became a successful solo act. Singer-songwriter Rick James signed with Motown in 1978, scoring a number of hits on the Gordy label including “Mary Jane” and “Super Freak (Part I).” Other Motown artists include Jr. Walker and the All Stars, Martha and the Vandellas, Brenda Holloway, Edwin Starr and the Contours, and many others.

The Motown sound was never one style but a number of styles that were created by the producer/writer teams. Motown had a coterie of exceptional writers and producers, beginning with Gordy himself and including Smokey Robinson, Norman Whitfield, Ashford and Simpson, and Stevie Wonder, among others. The Motown sound evolved over a period of years, beginning with the strong sonic identity imparted by the songwriting team of Holland, Dozier, and Holland. “Their three-minute soul symphonies managed to take the gospel-rooted sounds of black America to unprecedented levels of universal acceptance and yet retain enough ghetto grit to still appeal to the music’s core audience,” notes author and critic Lee Hildebrand. The Motown sound was also influenced by the Atlantic songwriting team of Jerry Leiber and Mike Stoller, who created orchestral string arrangements for the Drifters.

In 1964 Gordy established offices in New York and in Los Angeles staffed by executives whose chief responsibility was to scout for TV and film possibilities. In addition, Motown’s artists frequently appeared on various talk and variety shows. *T.C.B.—Taking Care of Business*, which aired in 1968, was Motown Productions’ first television endeavor and featured the Supremes, primarily spotlighting Diana Ross, and the Temptations. Motown’s attempt to establish itself as a force in the film and television industry saw more failures than triumphs. Several television specials followed, featuring prominent Motown artists, including the Jackson Five, the Supremes, and the Temptations. *Motown 25—Yesterday, Today, and Forever*, the NBC anniversary special that aired in 1983, not only garnered top ratings but was the most watched variety special in the history of the medium. The Motown-produced film *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), starring Diana Ross in a fictionalized account of jazz singer Billie Holiday’s life, won several awards but received mixed reviews. Several other films followed with mixed reviews, including *Bingo Long and the Traveling All-Stars and Motor Kings* in 1976, *Scott Joplin* in 1977, *Almost Summer* and *Thank God It’s Friday* in 1978. The biggest failure was the 1978 all-black remake of *The Wizard of Oz*, called *The Wiz*. Some Motown artists also scored films, including Smokey Robinson’s soundtrack for *Big Time* and Marvin Gaye’s score of *Trouble Man*.

In 1973, Motown’s Detroit offices closed and the company relocated to Hollywood. All divisions of Motown were restructured under the auspices of Motown Industries. Berry Gordy, Jr., became chairman of the board, with Ewart Abner II taking over as president. *Black Enterprise* in 1973 listed Motown as the biggest black-owned company in America, grossing \$40 million. Motown’s reputation as “one big, happy family” was part myth and part fact. Gordy was not only a CEO but a father figure to many of the young artists, and his roster of talented artists were touted as the Motown family. By the mid-1960s, a third of the Motown payroll went to actual members of

the Gordy family. Yet this family slowly became dysfunctional and its artists were treated as orphans. With the exception of Diana Ross and Smokey Robinson, the artists, whose talents and performances made Motown and Gordy rich and famous, were the least appreciated and most mistreated element of Motown Records. Artists' royalty statements were substandard, and when they fought for their own interests, they were considered insubordinate. As Motown's talent became its enemy, the company was flooded with lawsuits and bitter feelings. Rumors that Motown was controlled by underworld figures began to surface, as more whites came to work for the company. These were never substantiated but led to widespread gossip. There also were a number of Motown artist tragedies: Florence Ballard's termination from the Supremes and eventual death of cardiac arrest; Temptation Paul Williams's suicide; Motown's studio drummer Benny Benjamin's stroke; and the casting aside of bassist James Jamerson, Sr. In 1988, Gordy sold Motown to MCA for a reported \$61 million.

The company's legend rests on its impressive list of classic hit songs and on the enormous influence that Motown artists, producers, songwriters, and musicians have had on contemporary music. This legend is preserved at the Motown Historical Museum, founded in 1985 in Detroit. The museum's CEO, Berry's sister Esther Gordy, who once headed up the company's International Talent Management division, is dedicated to the preservation of the Motown spirit. The museum provides a retrospective view of the evolution of both the Motown company and the Motown sound, including Studio A where so many artists recorded hit songs. Motown's legacy is a monument to the principles of capitalism. Gordy stuck to his credo and succeeded in making a better product than his competition, even though it was often at the expense of his artists, songwriters, and producers.

—Willie Collins

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Mount Rushmore

America, "the land of the free and the brave," has many national monuments. Possibly none, though, so unabashedly celebrates American expansionism as the piece of sculpture 23 miles southwest of Rapid City, South Dakota. Completed in stages during the 1920s and 1930s, the Mount Rushmore National Memorial, which is visited by

40 million tourists annually, celebrates the spirit of America through huge carvings of the faces of four presidents: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt. While the memorial was intended simply as a tribute to these great leaders, changes in the cultural climate have begun to alter its interpretation. Particularly through the influence of Native American groups, some Americans have begun to question just what kind of symbol this is for their nation. Such is the price for any landscape that attempts to serve as sacred for a number of different constituents.

As a sculpture, Gutzon Borglum's Mount Rushmore is one of the world's largest. It is certainly one of the world's most impressive works of man: it erupts out of the Black Hills and surrounding mountains roll off endlessly into the horizon; the granite faces tower 5,500 feet above sea level, seeming to peer out over the nation which they helped to foster. Prior to the project, Borglum had begun ill-fated work on the Stone Mountain Confederate Memorial in Georgia. Without finishing that project, Borglum moved on to South Dakota where his work attracted national attention. President Calvin Coolidge was so impressed with the project that he arranged federal funding to support it. At the project's dedication in 1927, Coolidge stated that he believed the project was "decidedly American in its conception, magnitude, and meaning. It is altogether worthy of our country."

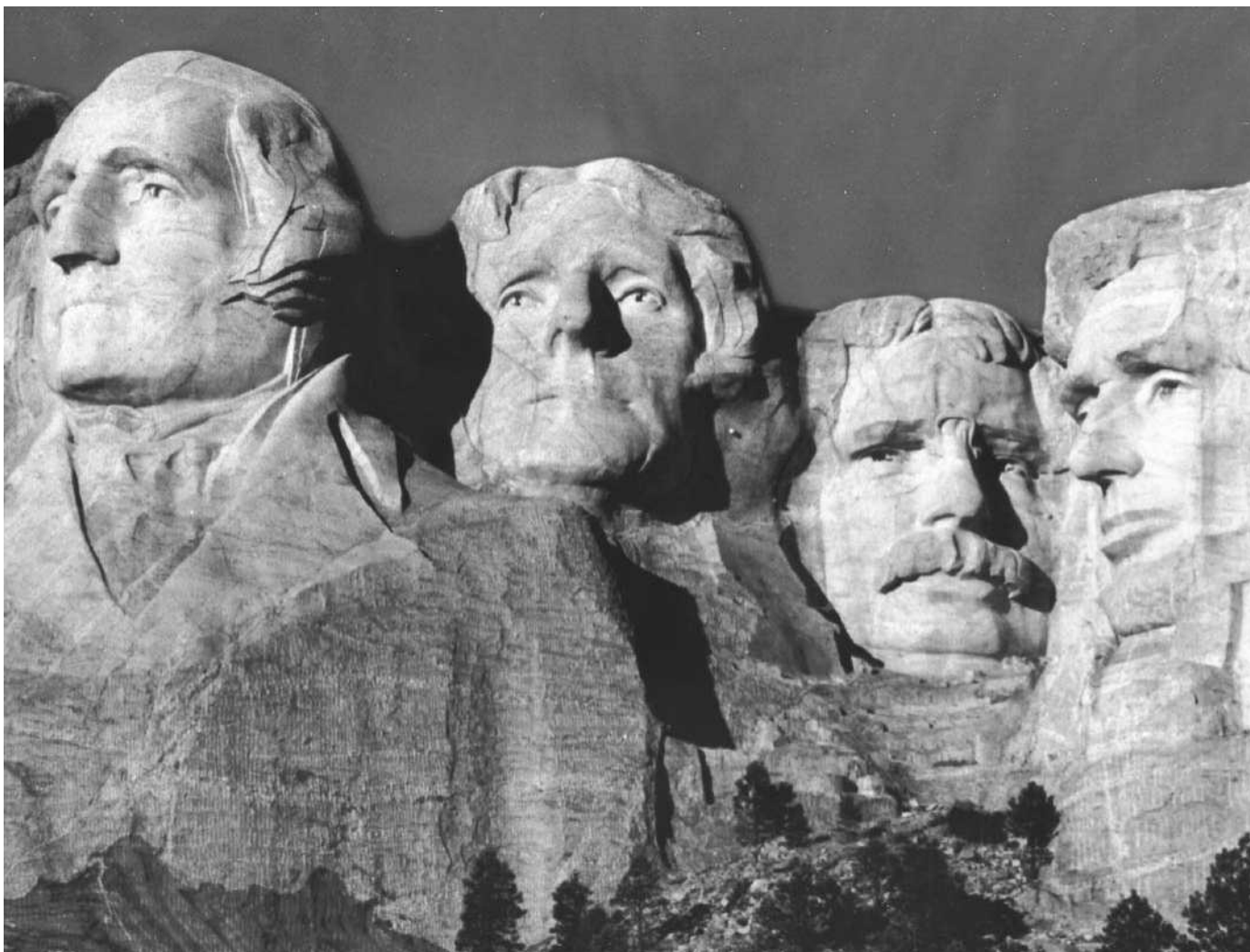
The project proceeded briskly, though this is a relative term when reducing the face of a mountain to sculpture. After three years of blasting, chiseling, and drilling, George Washington's head emerged. Franklin D. Roosevelt was present at the dedication of the Thomas Jefferson figure in 1936. Abraham Lincoln's head was dedicated in 1937 and Theodore Roosevelt's in 1939. Gutzon Borglum died during the final years of his shrine's construction. The project was never truly completed; in fact, the artist intended another giant carving—a memorial to the Sioux Indians—to be located in the Pine Ridge country of Nebraska. Instead, his heirs have taken up the project on a nearby mountain in South Dakota. The creation of the Crazy Horse sculpture continues to unfold, but already attracts thousands of visitors.

Mount Rushmore has proved a lasting image for the nation since 1939. The exact meaning, however, appears to be different for each viewer. Sacred landscapes are defined by ongoing contestation, or debate, over meaning. The situation is particularly acute in the Black Hills where Sioux and American settlers have been in armed or legal battle for 150 years. To some visitors, as with Coolidge, the towering sculpture in the Black Hills signifies the power and fortitude of the American nation as it followed "Manifest Destiny" westward and then became a global power unlike any other civilization. As Sioux and other Native Americans watch millions of tourists arrive at Mount Rushmore each year, they cannot help but view the creation and celebration as sacrilege. As one Sioux bitterly observed, "This is what conquering means. They could have just carved this mountain into a huge cavalry boot standing on a dead Indian."

—Brian Black

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Mountain Biking

In the late 1960s near San Francisco, Gary Fisher and Charles Kelly began riding their bicycles on trails that no ordinary Schwinn could handle. With Joe Breeze, these two riders set up a group called “Clunkers” and began making their own bikes, specifically designed for off-road, rough-terrain riding. Organizing more and more races throughout the 1970s, the “Clunkers” watched the popularity of mountain biking sweep the nation, including a well-known group called “Fat Tires” in San Diego. Fisher would perfect his bike manufacturing to an art, and by the late 1990s, his hand-crafted bikes sold for thousands of dollars. Other bike shops and manufacturers followed suit, and mountain bikes had become the most common variation of the bicycle by the end of the twentieth century. The popularity of mountain bikes can be attributed to the abundant

opportunities for off-road riding in most areas and the ease and comfort of riding mountain bikes when compared to skinny-tired road bikes. Whether in cities or rural areas, riders have found compelling reasons to adopt a mountain bike.

Biking, which was perfected by inventions in the 1860s and 1870s, has always sought to appeal to Americans through the indulgence of luxury. Rarely purchased as a necessity, bicycles have mostly been acquired as luxury items. The first great wave of bicycle popularity in 1870s saw the high-wheel bicycle enjoyed by young men traveling about town. When companies such as Mead, Sears, Montgomery Ward, and Schwinn developed bicycles for Americans after World War I, bicycling became most associated with a younger generation. The younger generation almost exclusively rode on pavement or sidewalks in neighborhoods or suburban developments. During the late 1970s, riders perfected new modes of riding and varied designs in order to accommodate the new uses.

Some of these new riders sought to explode the limitations of traditional riding and design. Mountain or dirt biking would take place off of trails and roads, free of pavement. To a generation of young Americans breaking the bounds of many traditional activities, mountain biking offered a more intense experience, potentially full of

danger and excitement. The design variations inserted fat, knobby tires, suspension, and new, straight handle-bars with a complicated gearing that allowed riders much more flexibility (usually offering 20 speeds). The bike needed to be able to adjust for use in the deep woods or on roadsides, reflecting the younger generations desire for versatility.

The entire aura of mountain biking contrasts diametrically with the very reserved, “swoop-barred ten speeds” of the 1970s. The change seems to have broadened the appeal of bicycling. During the 1980s and 1990s, mountain biking has involved more Americans at a variety of ages than any other period in biking. The far-end has also become more extreme than during any other period, as riders seek out experiences that push the limits of safety. Mountain biking, for instance, is a major component of ESPN’s popular *Extreme Games*, an annual series of events that allow participants to tempt fate and pursue games such as a mountain bike races that offer the possibility of serious injury—a necessary “edge” to make activities interesting to many 1990s young Americans.

—Brian Black

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The Mouseketeers

The “Mouseketeers” were an assortment of variously gifted, mostly non-professional California kids selected by Walt Disney as the core around which the *Mickey Mouse Club*, Disney’s second network television venture (after *Disneyland*), was produced. The pervasively popular show quickly became one of the major crazes of the mid-1950s, and the “Merry Mouseketeers,” sporting black beanies topped with round mouse ears, became enduring icons of a newly affluent, post-war America. The original show, begun in 1955, was syndicated from 1962 to 1965, again in 1972, and in an abridged format on the Disney Channel in 1983. Two up-dated (and very politically correct) versions appeared in 1977 and 1989, but it was the Cold War *Mickey Mouse Club* and its Mouseketeers that achieved true cultural immortality during its relatively brief but massively assimilated run in the 1950s. The show’s popularity was unprecedented in its time, and its nostalgic appeal and cultural impact continued to exert a fascination that was still evident 40 years later.

Disney’s *Mickey Mouse Club* premiered on ABC on October 3, 1955, and ran until September 25, 1959 (though the original seasons of newly produced, non-rerun shows concluded on March 28, 1958). The show was actually a recycling of the popular live Mouse Clubs that had flourished in movie theaters between 1929 and 1933. The TV manifestation proved equally successful with 1950s youngsters, although adults and critics were heard to voice some essentially unheeded reservations. *MMC* was aired Monday through Friday between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m. and was divided into four ritualistic segments. After a daily animated lead-in from the Mouse himself, the first quarter presented newsreels on global subjects of interest to children, a series of safety/health films or a similarly instructive feature moderated by Jiminy Cricket (Disney’s personable insect character from the 1939 film *Pinocchio*).

Segment two showcased the Mouseketeers in a different setting each day. Monday was “Fun with Music,” and Tuesday brought on various “Guest Stars,” mostly culled from the fringes of the entertainment world, who ranged from Cliff Edwards and Judy Canova to Donna Atwood of the *Ice Capades*. Wednesday aspired to provide some element of surprise with “Anything Can Happen Day,” and Thursday was “Circus Day,” while Friday’s “Talent Roundup”—the *Mouse Club* version of amateur hour—saw the Mouseketeers rounding up and bringing in new talent who, after their 15 minutes of TV fame, appeared either breathlessly elated or visibly embarrassed at being made “Honorary Mouseketeers” and forced to don the show’s signature mouse ears.

The 5:30-6:00 slot contained the show’s most viable segments, the well-produced serials and first television airings of the Disney animated shorts. The serial segment was made up of miscellaneous multi-episode features. Some were documentaries (such as “What I Want To Be” and “Animal Autobiographies”), but what most viewers remembered from this part of the show were the dramatic serials. These included “Spin and Marty” (which inspired several sequels), “Clint and Mac,” and “Annette,” the latter a 20-episode adolescent melodrama about a sweetly naive farm girl (the immediately popular Annette Funicello), who struggles to gain acceptance among more sophisticated urban teens. “Spin and Marty,” a saga about a boys’ ranch, the Triple-R, featured Tim Considine and David Stollery in the title roles, together with Harry Carey, Jr., veteran of many a John Ford Westerns, as a cowboy camp counselor. Disney teen star Tommy Kirk also got his start in the serials, co-starring with Considine in two re-makes of the *Hardy Boys* detective stories. The show’s climactic segment, “Meeseka, Mooseka, Mouseketeer, Mousekartoon Time now is here,” was probably the most eagerly awaited by fans of Disney’s animated characters. This daily spot, drawn from Disney’s large library of cartoons from 1928 to the early 1950s, provided the first historic and rather surprising glimpses of the original rubber-hose Mickey Mouse and the early Donald Duck that contemporary youngsters, accustomed to the venerable characters’ more modern manifestations, never experienced.

The Mouseketeers themselves (all identified by first name only) were divided into two groups: the “Red Team” of the top ten most showcased performers and the larger although second-string “Blue Team.” Of the select “Reds” Annette Funicello achieved the most *Club*-era adulation and post-Mouse success. Funicello enjoyed a brief recording and screen career (starring in the popular American International Pictures *Beach Party* films) before retiring into domestic life. In 1987 she returned, with AIP co-star Frankie Avalon, in the film *Back to the Beach*, a sharp satire that made frequent references to their mutual pop culture histories. Of the boys, Bobby (Bobby Burgess) became a dancing fixture on the *Lawrence Welk Show*. The adult regulars on *MMC* were Jimmie Dodd, who moderated and wrote many of the songs, and Roy Williams, a Disney artist who spoke on the show only through his caricatures and quick-sketch drawings.

While the basic content of the quarter-hour episodes varied from day to day, the ritual aspects of the *Mickey Mouse Club* were still only slightly less formal and repetitious than a Lutheran church service. The first two segments kicked off with musical sequences (“Today is Tuesday, you know what that means. . .”) which went on at length and were repeated week after week. Between these “stock footage” lead-ins and the frequent commercial breaks (which intruded even upon the short cartoons), each day’s new material, and thus, the show’s production budget, was kept to a minimum. And while it did have its instructional aspects *Mickey Mouse Club* was not educational

in the sense of later shows such as *Sesame Street*. *MMC* rather concerned itself with providing clean-cut, positive, and somewhat idealized role models (albeit mostly for white, middle-class children), while energetically promoting morality, socialization, and the sugar-coated indoctrination of children into a burgeoning consumer society. It followed that the show, along with the prime-time *Disneyland*, was also among the first to fully exploit the merchandising potential of television and while parents and critics occasionally carped about its hard-sell tactics, this had little impact on the program's popularity.

By its second season *MMC* had captured an audience of over 12 million children and seven million adults, a record for television up to that time. Along with Davy Crockett coonskin caps, mouse ears became one of Disney's best-selling merchandising ploys of the era, and the show inspired a plethora of other spin-offs, and even its own magazine offering stories and photos on the Mouseketeers and other Disney subjects while further plugging merchandising items from the show. References to *MMC* and its ostensibly more innocent era have continued to pop up in disparate cultural venues, ranging from the novels of John Updike to the film of *The Rocky Horror Picture Show* (1975), and by 1998, at least three books devoted to the show had been published, providing various answers to the burning question: "Whatever happened to the Mouseketeers?"

—Ross Care

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Movie Palaces

Epitomizing the greatness of Hollywood and the glorious excess of the Roaring Twenties, movie palaces were opulent movie theaters with plush carpeting, gilded ceilings, glass staircases, Wurlitzer organs, stylized decor, uniformed ushers, and as many as 6,000 seats. Movie palaces of yesteryear remain a nostalgic reminder of Hollywood's and America's greatest days.

It was not always thus. When Hollywood was young, and films silent, moviegoing was considered entertainment for the lower classes. Exhibition of early cinema reflected the stark class division of movie audiences. The earliest venues for projected movies were converted store fronts. In 1904 Harry Davis and John Harris, store owners and two of the hundreds of local entrepreneurs who shaped movie history, charged five cents for admission to the movies they showed in their converted store in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. Combining the price of the ticket with the Greek word for theater, they called their theater the Nickelodeon.

It took another ten years for exhibitors to upgrade their theaters to attract the upper and middle classes. In 1914 exhibitors Moe and Mitchell Mark surmised that an upscale exhibition venue would attract an upscale audience. Further, they gambled that this new

audience would pay more for the spectacle. On April 11, 1914, the Mark brothers opened the Strand Theater on Broadway in New York City. While not a full-fledged movie palace, the Strand set new standards in movie theater design and ticket prices. With its crystal chandeliers, plush carpet, gold-leafed ceiling, the art hanging in its lobby, and its uniformed ushers, the Strand commanded 25 cents for admission to its gracious chambers. Built on the eve of World War I, the Strand led the way in increasingly ornate and larger picture houses.

World War I set the backdrop for the "arrival" of movies and for Hollywood's consolidation as the most powerful center of film production in the world. With the rest of the world at war, America experienced the beginnings of unsurpassed industrial and economic growth. The world's other filmmaking countries re-allocated their resources to pay for munitions and other wartime needs. Hollywood pumped its films onto screens around the world. For its increasingly opulent films, Hollywood needed suitable venues at home, theaters that would showcase its stars, complement its excess, and provide its patrons with a complete experience of affluence and leisure.

Many people contributed to the boom in movie theater construction, but one man can be credited with setting the standard of what today we know as the most extravagant castles of the seventh art. Samuel Lionel Rothapfel, "Roxy," began his movie exhibition career with a small family theater in Forest City, Pennsylvania. Turning an old theater into Rothapfel's Family Theatre, Roxy discovered his calling. Soon he was called upon by theater owners across the Northeast to renovate their spaces. But Roxy was not just "redoing" these spaces, he reinvented the experience of "going to a movie." Roxy moved the orchestra out of a pit and onto the stage, and put his ushers in impeccable uniforms. Insisting that the music accompanying a film had to relate to the film's story, he scored the music for his theaters himself. Between 1913 and 1920, Roxy turned four of New York City's theaters into movie palaces. Today, their names—the Strand, the Realto, the Capitol, and the Rivoli—still resonate with the glory of Roxy's vision.

Roxy's movie palaces, like all the others, offered a complete program of entertainment, including Vaudeville acts, live music, animal tricks, and finally a newsreel and film. Very American in their eclectic decor and larger-than-life entertainment, the movie palaces did not always present the movie as the main attraction. Often the setting or the Vaudeville acts were the draw. Roxy's imprint of excess and his formula for complete entertainment were copied, though never rivaled, across the nation. Two of the smaller gems, the Castro Theater (1922, San Francisco) and the Music Box Theatre (1929, Chicago), still operate today, restored to their original state complete with Wurlitzer and organist.

Roxy fulfilled his dream of building his own theater in 1925. By all accounts, there are no adequate words to describe the Roxy, or its mélange of architectural styles. The Roxy defined the movie palace: its rococo-style rotunda, trimmed in gold filigree and supported by 12 marble columns, opened into a theater seating 6,214 people. The five-story structure included six box offices, a hospital, a musical library with more than 50,000 scores, washroom facilities to accommodate 10,000, dressing rooms for stars, a radio broadcast facility, and Roxy's private health club and box. It cost an astounding \$300,000 to renovate. When it opened on March 3, 1927, in New York City, the Roxy instantly became the biggest star of all movie palaces.

In 1930, John D. Rockefeller and the Radio Corporation of America looked to Roxy to direct their new theater. Resigning his position at his own theater, Roxy went uptown to build the enduring Radio City Music Hall. He toured Europe, looking for inspiration in



The Rivoli Theatre in New York.

its most famous theaters and opera houses. The greatest inspiration came on his transatlantic cruise home, when he saw the fiery sun set on the horizon. The stage and coves in Radio City Music Hall look like a sun setting over red velvet. Designed by Donald Deskey, this art deco masterpiece features a 60-by-150-foot Grand Foyer decorated with mirrors, marble, gold leaf, bronze trim, and a mural. It cost seven million dollars to build and seated 6,200. Radio City Music Hall opened on December 27, 1932. Roxy invited Hollywood stars and political celebrities, and he scheduled 19 Vaudeville acts. Even as he built his dream castle, however, Roxy had lost faith in the movies, believing that Vaudeville and radio would replace them. This miscalculation cost Roxy his directorship and broke his spirit. He died January 13, 1936, perhaps of a broken heart. Ironically, since its 1979 renovation, Radio City Music Hall has functioned as Roxy himself had imagined—almost exclusively showcasing live entertainment, including the world-famous Rockettes.

While Roxy reinvented the movie experience and built the most extravagant of movie palaces, on the West Coast another man was building ornate palaces all around the seat of movie royalty, Hollywood. Sid Grauman (1879-1950) owned and operated Hollywood's most glamorous picture palaces—among them the Million Dollar (1922); the Egyptian, designed after the great tomb of King Tut; and the Metropolitan (1923). Grauman drew attention to his theaters by

placing huge searchlights on the sidewalk. The apex of his career, and arguably the most famous of all movie palaces, was the Chinese Theatre, opened on May 18, 1927, in ceremonies emceed by D. W. Griffith. Built in the style of a Chinese pagoda, Grauman's masterpiece was capped by a 60-foot ceiling sculpture of silver dragons. For all its grandeur, however, the Chinese is best known for its sidewalk where for more than 70 years Hollywood's brightest stars have signed their names and left their footprints in the cement. One legend has it that the U.S.'s ultimate walk of fame was accidentally conceived when Norma Talmadge stepped in wet concrete during a tour of the construction site. Grauman asked her to sign her name next to her footprint, and the tradition began.

As the movie palace grew into the standard version of a theater, two architectural trends emerged. One, the atmospheric theater, was pioneered by Austrian-born John Eberson. In an atmospheric theater, a Brenograph projected moving images onto a concrete ceiling, creating, for instance, the illusion of a starry night with lights embedded in the cement and moving clouds projected across the ceiling. Eberson used this technology to bring nature inside. Also known for exoticism, Eberson built the Avalon in Chicago, a Persian temple complete with hand-made tile and luxuriously draped tents. Scotsman Thomas W. Lamb led another architectural trend, the "hard-top," a variation of an opera house or Vaudeville theater.

Working frequently for Marcus Loew, Lamb at first designed ornate but traditional palaces which featured symmetric, classical styles. As the twenties grew increasingly flamboyant, so did Lamb's palaces, inspired by Hindu, Persian, Chinese, and Spanish art.

The 1930s and the Great Depression brought a slow death to the movie palace. The failure of Roxy's Radio City Music Hall may not have been completely due to his mistaken vision. Americans had less money to go to the movies, especially to the more expensive venues. Most of the major studios declared bankruptcy and stopped building theaters. Only Warner Brothers, Columbia, and United Artists, the three smallest studios, survived the Depression with theaters. The post-World War II period saw the renaissance of the surviving movie palaces and reconstruction of Hollywood studios. The heyday of Hollywood and her movie palace-temples was, however, over. By the end of the 1940s, all the studios had agreed to divest their theater holdings as part of a settlement in the Supreme Court case *U.S. v. Paramount, et al.* Television and the suburbs helped cut the movie audience in half, from an average of 85 million a week in the 1940s to half that in the 1950s.

Most of the movie palaces that survived were converted for other use, from community centers to bowling alleys, and in the residential building boom of the nineties, many are being torn down to make way for condominiums and multiplexes. In some communities, however, civic groups have formed to save the palaces, and there is a small movement to restore these quintessential American treasures.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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Movie Stars

America is a country with no aristocracy, no landed gentry, and ostensibly no barriers to rising in society. Of course, the paradox of American culture is that the above is true while at the same time being utterly false. If social differences are more fluid than in, say, Great Britain, they are still undeniably real. Yet even the most egalitarian of societies needs its heroes, as it needs the pageant of history to provide context, and in the twentieth century movies, and the movie stars who inhabit them, fulfilled that vital function, substituting for the heroes and villains once found in books. Onscreen and in anecdotal form (Hollywood history is told most often via the anecdote) movie stars comprise a class that is as close to Olympian as any collection of individuals has ever been.

“Once there were no film stars,” writes film historian Ronald L. Davis. “In the early days of silent pictures studio heads didn’t advertise the names of actors, were resistant to the idea of creating stars, realizing that fame would bring pressure for higher salaries. For the first year or two of her film career, Mary Pickford was known simply as ‘The Girl with the Golden Curls.’” It was the Edison Bund (Thomas Edison’s early film production studio) that suppressed Mary Pickford’s and Lillian Gish’s identities, even after the public clamored for their names, and due to their intransigence, they soon lost control of the industry itself. With the advent of the second generation of filmmakers in the 1910s, this situation changed rapidly. The men who created Hollywood, and with it, the institution of the film star, were, for the most part, immigrants; and more often than not, entrepreneurs. Many of them came to film from some part of the fashion industry, where the ability to anticipate public tastes was indispensable. Adolph Zukor, the first film producer to judge the market potential of play-length films, was also among the first to use an international star—in this case the legendary actress Sandra Bernhardt—as a selling point, building the publicity campaign around his 1916 film, *Queen Elizabeth*, upon Bernhardt’s much-vaunted reputation.

By the 1918 release of D. W. Griffith’s epic, *Birth of a Nation* (prominently featuring Lillian Gish) the movie star had become the linchpin of film marketing. The new film moguls saw the advantage in mimicking Broadway theater, where the presence of certain name actors could insure the success of a play, but they also perceived that film was a medium of broad, simple gestures. It wasn’t enough to merely present an actor and hope for the best. Actors had to be easily recognizable and their characters consistent from one film to the next, lest the audience (at the time film audiences were decidedly plebeian) become confused. Studio executives tailored an actor’s image around a few easily recognizable features, and having once established their identity, repeatedly cast them in similar roles. Hence, Theda Bara always played an exotic seductress, Rudolph Valentino, the Arab prince, and John Gilbert, a Latin lover. It was a frustrating situation for any serious actor, but lucrative for the studios.

To go with their screen personas, the studios furnished their actors with new names and, often, new biographies as well. The original film “vamp,” Theodesia Goodman, a tailor’s daughter, was transformed by Fox Studios in the early 1920s from a nice Jewish girl from Ohio into the illegitimate daughter of a French artist and an Arabian princess named Theda Bara. It was widely reported that her name was an anagram for “Arab Death.”

Many stars, John Gilbert for one, resented their being typecast. But most film stars of the time were not trained actors, and were content not to look a gift horse too closely in the mouth. Many relished their newfound notoriety. Tom Mix, the star of cowboy serials, lived up to his cowboy image onscreen and off, furnishing his mansion with a wealth of garish Western memorabilia and driving around town in an Lambretta automobile while wearing his trademark white sombrero. Rudolph Valentino, however, used his considerable wealth to hide from a prying public, buying the property around Falcon Lair, his Benedict Canyon estate, in order to ward off importuning fans. And from all accounts, Valentino saw acting as a means to an end, taking little pleasure from his acting, simply accepted the checks and steeling himself for another stint of hard work.

If many silent stars were ambivalent about their careers, they were more devoted to the lifestyle acting afforded them. They lived by the credo propounded by Gloria Swanson, who, shortly after buying razor-blade millionaire King C. Gillette’s Beverly Hills

mansion, announced, “I have decided that while I am a star, I will be every inch and every moment a star.” The new elite built veritable monuments to their celebrity, palaces befitting their status as pseudo-royalty. Very few exercised the modesty of Clark Gable, whose modest ranch house sat amidst a working ranch, but followed instead the lead of Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks, whose converted hunting lodge, Pickfair, with its bowling alley, screening room, acres of landscaping, swimming pool, and ponds for canoeing became the measuring yard of accomplishment for the nouveaux riche. John Barrymore turned the modest mission-Spanish dwelling he bought for \$50,000 into a seven-acre ode to bad taste, with sixteen separate buildings, a Japanese garden, aviary, and a tower built above his bedroom to which he could retire via trap door when the demands of public life grew too heavy for him to take.

The movie star’s extravagance was grist for the mill of the slew of magazines and newspaper columns devoted to this new breed of royalty. In the 1920s, no fewer than twenty-six fan magazines, publications like *Motion Pictures*, *Picture Play*, *The New Movie*, *Screenland*, and *Photoplay*, appeared to fulfill this vital function. The nation hungered for news about their stars, but not just news. All the minutiae of their daily lives—what they wore, their hobbies, who they entertained for dinner, their secret hopes and aspirations—were all assiduously reported, and a star who was hostile to the press played a dangerous game with their career. Often the stars took pains to appear ordinary or underscore the sacrifices of show business. Confided Norma Shearer to *Modern Screen*: “I love to go to my friends’ houses for an evening. I love to have them come to my house. . . . I don’t care for huge parties. I seldom go to them and never, never give them.” “Fame imposed on Milton Sills the curse of nerves. . . . He forced himself through picture after picture. Finally came a nervous breakdown,” went another story.

If a star did not in fact have their own personal publicist, studio publicity departments made sure to keep their stars cooperative, eagerly arranging interviews and publicity appearances, orchestrating the star’s off-screen life as carefully as their filmed performances, including at times who they were seen with in public, and who they married. A star’s good name was money in the bank, and after suffering through the many scandals that rocked Hollywood in the 1920s, many a studio publicist went to profound lengths to shield a valuable star from the potentially disastrous effects of their private missteps.

The reigning—and rival—queens of Hollywood gossip were Louella Parsons, whose column was syndicated in the powerful Hearst newspaper empire, and Hedda Hopper, another columnist. At the peak of their careers in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the two had a combined readership of 75 million readers, and each wielded their power ruthlessly, nursing grudges for years on end, sometimes going to great lengths to scuttle a career. This was the case in Hopper’s vendetta against Charlie Chaplin. Upon his engagement to 18-year-old Oona O’Neill in 1943, Hopper was instrumental in bringing a paternity suit against Chaplin on behalf of another youngster allegedly made pregnant by the comic. Blood tests revealed the child was not his, but by then the damage was done. When Parsons learned that the role model for *Citizen Kane* (1941) was her boss, she launched a concerted effort to stop the film’s release and drive Orson Welles from Hollywood, which is what eventually happened. While the pair could indeed do great damage to a nascent career, when it came to established stars, their influence was limited. Greta Garbo, Katherine Hepburn, and Laurence Olivier all felt the lash of the gossips’ poison pen with little consequence to their popularity.

Star status was a tricky thing to maintain. Some stars, including Chaplin and Pickford, had the business savvy and the talent to endure, but the exception proved the rule. When a familiar profile fell out a favor, the public could be as cold as they had been adoring. “So what?” ran the summation of a piece by columnist Faith Service. “A newer star appears and to you, Fickle Public, our heroine becomes—the Forgotten Face.” Most actors were so thrilled with the amounts of money they made that they spent lavishly, only to find themselves inexplicably out of favor with the public or the studios or both. The tragedy of stardom (luridly documented in Kenneth Anger’s *Hollywood Babylon* series) was that success so blinded young, marginally talented performers that despite the object lessons of their fellows, they rarely thought that their star, having ascended, would plummet. This became part of the allure of star-watching, the *schadenfreude* of seeing the mighty fall. And a fall from grace was a deceptively simple thing. It might be due to the caprices of a restless public, or a too-public display of arrogance, but once you were out, as so many found, the road back into public favor was more often a cul-de-sac. “Looking back on Hollywood,” wrote Joan Fontaine, “I realized that one outstanding quality it possesses is . . . fear. Fear stalks the sound stages, the publicity departments, the executive offices. Since careers often begin by chance, by the hunch of a producer or casting director, a casual meeting with an agent or publicist, they can evaporate just as quixotically.”

Until 1944, actors, regardless of salary, were basically the chattel of whatever studio held their contract, existing at the whims of the studio heads who dictated what parts they would play, and how they would appear to the viewing public. But in that fateful year, Olivia de Havilland, who as a result of a contract dispute had not appeared in a movie for three years, won her lawsuit against Warner Brothers. This suit, combined with the anti-trust ruling that had forced the major studios to divest themselves of their theaters, opened the industry to independent producers. The locus of power began to shift away from the studios and into the hands of the stars themselves, who with their agents and managers were not only accountable for their image, but in packaging and producing films. “Stars discovered that working for the majors meant they couldn’t hold on to most of their earnings,” publicist Arthur Mayer said in an interview. “Each star thereupon sought to establish his own company . . . if you own a company, you can arrange your taxes quite differently. . . . So the stars went out for themselves.” Many stars started production companies; Rosalind Russell and her husband, director Frederick Brisson, formed Independent Artists, producing *The Velvet Touch* in 1947. Burt Lancaster and his agent, Harold Hecht, produced their first film, *The Crimson Pirate*, in 1952, and went on to produce a string of well-received films such as *Marty* and *The Bachelor Party*.

The perception of the movie star didn’t change overnight, but in increments. By the 1950s, the cult of the movie star became the cult of the actor. A pretty face could still excite, but more and more it was an actor’s skills that brought him or her fame. And because they were no longer studio employees, the stars were no longer beholden to publicity departments to smile and nod and give interviews to reporters. Montgomery Clift, Marlon Brando, Paul Newman, and James Dean disdained the careful choreography of studio publicists, guarding their privacy and independence. Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor were still sex symbols, but they no longer were forced to hide their personal strife. No longer were the stars demi-gods or goddesses residing in unearthly splendor. Now they were perceived as frail, human, sharing the attributes of lesser mortals. A marijuana possession conviction failed to tarnish Robert Mitchum’s allure, nor

did the marital strife of Marilyn Monroe detract from her star appeal. Maybe it was the general prosperity of the times. Movies were no longer a novelty—as in the 1920s—or an escape—as in the 1930s and 1940s. Movies were simply entertainment, and the stars simply entertainers.

By the late 1960s, Hollywood was at a low ebb. The public might be temporarily aroused by a Steve McQueen or Robert Redford, but with James Dean and Montgomery Clift dead, there was little to attract the baby-boom generation. Stars like Rock Hudson and Doris Day seemed out of step, not with it, no longer pertinent. The new generation of stars, often second generation Hollywoodites, were not merely actors but rebels. And not in a symbolic sense as James Dean had been, but revolutionaries. In varying degrees, Peter Fonda, Dennis Hopper, Warren Beatty, and Jane Fonda were all part of brewing anti-war, counterculture rebellion, and they took aim at society both on and offscreen; Warren Beatty in particular caused a stir with his portrayal of Clyde Barrow in *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), not so much for his character's violence as for his impotence.

If many 1960s-era movie stars didn't exactly take vows of poverty, they did evince less concern with material things than their predecessors. The British actress Julie Christie was notorious for both her radical politics and her lack of concern with money: Warren Beatty once had to retrieve a substantial royalty check from a Beverly Hills sidewalk after it had fallen unnoticed from Christie's purse. Jane Fonda drew the scorn of middle America for visiting North Vietnam. The French film director Jean Luc Goddard later made a documentary on her trip consisting of a single image: that of Fonda sitting atop a North Vietnamese tank.

And Hollywood was no longer lily white, as it had been, at least in appearance, for so many years. The new Hollywood stars no longer took pains to hide their ethnic origins. Nor were they classically handsome, although for the most part women actors were held to a different standard. Dustin Hoffman, Al Pacino, Robert DeNiro, and Harvey Keitel bore little resemblance to the stars of yesteryear, and for the first time, black men, like Sydney Poitier and Bill Cosby, would achieve mainstream success as more than character actors. Their grittiness was part and parcel of their appeal, and for a time, the rules of the game changed sufficiently to allow casting against type for both men and women.

Hollywood is at heart a conservative industry. It is also, in its eighth decade of existence, an industry built on nepotism. Like Jane and Peter Fonda, Warren Beatty, and Shirley MacLaine, the film stars of the 1990s are often the product of one or two generation of selective breeding and what Joan Didion calls "the last extant stable society." In this last extant stable society the role of the movie star is a well-known commodity, and its pitfalls well-known pitfalls. If today such things as same-sex relationships, black leading men and women, feminists, and miscegenation are accepted, the game itself has changed very little. The same could be said of the public's relationship to movie stars, one of adoration and enduring fascination. In retrospect, the late 1960s and early 1970s appears as a short aberration in an otherwise uninterrupted, continuous stream of manufactured gods and goddesses, sex symbol selling an idealized version of the masculine and feminine. In today's age of diminished expectations, movie stars still hold out the promise that a pot of gold does exist at the end of the rainbow, and this pot is on display to the public who live out a dream of wealth and physical charms vicariously.

Screenwriter Budd Schulberg once observed that "Hollywood, after all, was only a picture of America run through the projector at

triple speed. . . . Hollywood [has] always been excessive, speeded-up, larger-than-life reflection of the American Way." It is the lot of film stars to play out these excessive, larger-than-life visions of America, and in so doing, embody America. Like the demi-gods of old, they are half-breed creatures, equal parts mortal and immortal, for in their films, something of their time and their essence is captured. And like the Greek pantheon (it is no accident that an exclusive Hollywood development is known as "Mount Olympus"), movie stars are indeed something like gods to Americans. On screen and off they can be tragic, comic, or virtuous, and modern Americans need these figures to provide context in their own lives. We need to learn of Elizabeth Taylor's ongoing travails in the *National Enquirer*, or read about how very down-to-earth Brad Pitt is in *Premiere*. We want to learn about Jack Nicholson attacking a passing car with a golf club. Extenuating circumstances rise up and block a clear picture of the trajectory—downward or upward—of everyday life. But in the life of a movie star, everything is as vivid as technicolor.

—Michael Baers

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Mr. Dooley

"Mr. Dooley" was a product of the 1890s, a time when a memorable fictional character was likely to come not only from the pages of a novel or a play but also from a column in the newspaper. Chicago-born newspaper writer Finley Peter Dunne (1867-1936) created "Mr. Martin J. Dooley" as his satirical mouthpiece. Dooley was a saloon-keeper whose pronouncements on current events, both local and international, couched in a vivid, albeit questionable "Irish" dialect, were as humorous as they were pointed. Not until the country discovered a genuine "cracker-barrel philosopher" in cowboy Will Rogers was there a more popular commentator on war and peace, politics, and the passing parade.

By devising "Mr. Dooley" to express his thoughts and opinions, Dunne also managed to give voice to the disenfranchised blue-collar population of Irish immigrants who were beginning to form an important part of Chicago life at the turn of the twentieth century. Although his own father, a carpenter, was an immigrant from Ireland, Finley Peter Dunne himself did not live a working-class existence. As Paul Green has pointed out in his introduction to one of Dunne's books, "(Dunne was) more interested in writing about his people than



Finley Peter Dunne, creator of Mr Dooley.

living with them.” He was born in Chicago in 1867, and grew up comfortably middle class. In 1884, the *Chicago Telegram* hired Dunne as an office boy and reporter. With this job, the young man began a 15-year stretch of journalism which would see him employed at half a dozen windy city newspapers. It was not until 1892 that Dunne started experimenting with Irish dialect because, as he later explained, “It occurred to me that while it might be dangerous to call an alderman a thief in English no one could sue if a comic Irishman denounced the statesman as a thief.” Nevertheless, it was not until a year later, after failing to create much of a stir with two other Irish characters, that Dunne hit upon the brainstorm of Martin J. Dooley, middle-aged bartender and commentator on matters both local and national. A self-described saloon-keeper and Doctor of Philosophy, Mr. Dooley proved instantly popular with Dunne’s readers, and the writer supplied them with his best Dooley columns over the next seven years.

The down-to-earth Mr. Dooley looked with a clear eye at social conditions in his Bridgeport neighborhood, and he saw what was going on all around him in Chicago as a microcosm of larger world events. Dunne’s columns would range from poking fun at politics—as when Dooley ran for mayor with the campaign slogan “Rayform

the Rayformers”—to letting Dooley bear witness to vignettes illustrating the harsh life of the marginalized immigrants who frequented his establishment. The columns proved so successful that over the years they were frequently collected in book form. Although Dunne’s unauthentic dialect usage was criticized in Ireland, where his books were never popular, the important thing about his columns was the satirical message. Dunne eventually wrote over 300 columns, but those generally considered the best were the ones he wrote while he was still close to his ethnic roots in Chicago. The first Dooley book, published in 1898, was *Mr. Dooley: In Peace and in War*. Its success was immediate and so pronounced that it enabled Dunne to relocate to Manhattan, where he was able to reach a wider readership and attain greater national attention, but Mr. Dooley seemed to lose something of the spirit which had first sparked his success.

Nevertheless, Dunne enjoyed continued popularity, not only with Mr. Dooley but with other articles, columns, and books, until his death in New York in 1936. Dunne continued to affect popular culture posthumously, albeit indirectly, by having sired successful screenwriter Philip Dunne, whose distinguished credits include the Oscar winning *How Green Was My Valley* (1941). “The past,” Dunne once wrote, “always looks better than it was because it isn’t here.” Although very

much a product of his era, Dunne's writings stand the test of time, in part because, for better or worse, the topics that are worth poking fun at rarely change or disappear. To cite just one example, Dunne once defined a fanatic as "A man that does what he thinks the Lord would do if He knew the facts of the case."

—Preston Neal Jones

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Mr. Smith Goes to Washington

Nominated for 11 Academy Awards in a year that included *Gone with the Wind*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and *Stagecoach*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939) is one of Frank Capra's most critically acclaimed films, and is considered by many to be his most memorable and enduring work. *Mr. Smith* tells the story of a naive young man who is appointed United States Senator. The governor, who is himself controlled by a corrupt media magnet, selects Smith to fill a vacant Senate seat in the belief that this wide-eyed, ultra-patriotic boy scout leader will be so overwhelmed by the Capitol's sights and monuments that he will neither notice nor understand the complex reality of backroom deals which define our government. However, Smith's lack of knowledge and experience are more than offset by his keen sense of moral integrity. In traditional Capra fashion, the hero is a common man who, although intellectually overmatched, prevails by virtue of his unshakable understanding of right and wrong. Capra presents in Smith a man who is unable to be bought, cajoled, or threatened, and suggests that these are the qualities that represent the greatest threat to political corruption. In what may now be seen as his most patriotic moment, Capra offers a powerful illustration of American mythology through his presentation of Jefferson Smith, a seemingly powerless man with the ability to take on the entire United States Congress.

While *Mr. Smith* is essentially a simple moral tale, its formal presentation and the social moment in which it was produced make it far more complex. Capra, an Italian immigrant who cherished his adopted country, was an intelligent man who favored simplistic tales. A champion of American populist values, Capra often worked with more left-wing intellectual writers. In this case, he chose Sydney Buchman, who was later named as a "communist sympathizer" during the HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) hearings, to write the screenplay for *Mr. Smith*. The combination of Capra's ultra-patriotism and Buchman's liberal political and social beliefs generated a complicated set of messages, or meanings, within *Mr. Smith*. The film was further complicated by Capra's use of

montage, previously developed by Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, whom Capra admired. During two key moments in the film—the opening explanation of the vacant Senate seat, and Jefferson Smith's filibuster—Capra uses montage to create intellectual and emotional tension.

With a potential world war on the horizon, Capra created in *Mr. Smith* a not-so-subtle response to the activities in Europe by focusing on the mythic qualities of American democracy. While later critics of Capra's work have referred to the film as simplistic fluff, or "Capracorn," the film had unquestionable impact when it was released. *Mr. Smith* was treated to one of the grandest openings of its time, as the film premiered in the Daughters of the American Revolution Hall on October 16, 1939. The screening was hosted by the Press Club in Washington, D.C., and was attended by Supreme Court Justices, cabinet officers, senators, congressmen, generals, and the city's social aristocracy. By the time the film had ended, the controversy surrounding it had begun, as individuals from the press and the government railed against what they saw as a dangerous anti-American motion picture. During a politically unstable time, the idea of America's most popular film director showcasing corruption, drunkenness, and downright incompetence in our government and press was considered misguided, if not subversive. Had the film been a comedy or more clearly a farce, the intelligentsia may have been more forgiving, but for this project Capra strove to faithfully recreate the look and feel of the Senate. In fact, he had an exact replica of the Senate Chamber built—down to the inkwells—for this picture, and included over 186 speaking parts in an effort to portray the kinetic atmosphere both on the Senate floor and in the surrounding galleries.

Following the film's premiere, politicians and newswriters around the country, and indeed around the world, argued against the film's release and threatened retribution against Columbia Studios and the rest of Hollywood. According to Capra's autobiography, *The Name above the Title*, the publisher of *Harrison's Reports* sought to promote legislation "that would permit theater owners to refuse to play films that were 'not in the best interests of the country'—meaning, of course, *Mr. Smith*." And according to Joseph McBride in *The Catastrophe of Success*, the *Washington Star* reported that *Mr. Smith* depicts "the democratic system and our vaunted free press in exactly the colors Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin are fond of painting them." Senators publicly spoke about the ridiculous representation of the United States Congress, and Ambassador Joseph P. Kennedy reportedly sent Columbia a telegram asking them to suppress the European release of the film. Kennedy felt that *Mr. Smith* ridiculed democracy; that it would be a crushing blow to our allies in Europe; that it would damage American prestige abroad; and that it would be construed as propaganda for the German cause.

Rather than caving in to industry threats and pleas from respected politicians, Capra and Harry S. Cohn, the president of Columbia Pictures, held their ground. Far from anti-American propaganda, *Mr. Smith* is an ode to American patriotism. While Germany, with an Axis partner in Capra's native Italy, moved through Europe, Capra strove to represent on film all the democratic qualities and possibilities for which it was worth fighting. Capra's Jefferson Smith does not go to Washington looking for a fight, but in the end he risks his career, his reputation, and his physical well-being to help those who are being bullied and taken advantage of by the fascistic political boss Jim Taylor. Like so many of Capra's heroes, Jefferson Smith momentarily turns his back and considers running home to his isolated rural community. But when confronted with the words and ideals of Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, the hope of a child, and the



James Stewart and Jean Arthur in a scene from the film *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*.

support of his savvy assistant (Jean Arthur), Smith finds the inner strength necessary for fighting a “war” to protect his constituents.

The moral, or the message, of *Mr. Smith* may have been missed by some in the press and the government, but it did not elude the viewing public. Like all Capra films of this period, *Mr. Smith* was critically and commercially successful. Capra’s greatest vindication, however, would not come until several years later when, on November 4, 1942, the *Hollywood Reporter* noted that *Mr. Smith* had been selected in theaters as the final English-language film to be screened prior to the Nazi ban on American films in occupied France. Indeed, one theater chose to play *Mr. Smith* continuously during the final 30 days before the ban. During World War II, Capra demonstrated his own patriotism by enlisting in the service and producing the classic documentary series *Why We Fight*. In 1939, Capra used film to express his patriotism, to extol the virtues of his adopted country, and to suggest American commitment to the principles of freedom and democracy.

—James Friedman

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Mr. Wizard

For nearly 50 years, Mr. Wizard taught science on television the way most science teachers wished they could. Mr. Wizard was the creation of Don Herbert (1917—), a radio writer and performer who wanted to make science interesting to children. Herbert’s first live television program, *Watch Mr. Wizard*, aired in 1951, and featured Herbert using household items to teach the wonders of science. Over

the next 14 years, Herbert performed over 4,500 science demonstrations and became an American institution. According to Stuart Fischer, the author of *Kids' TV: The First Twenty-Five Years*, "this show proved to be one of television's most successful educational programs." It won numerous honors, including two Emmy Award nominations.

Though *Watch Mr. Wizard* left the air in 1965, Mr. Wizard lived on. Herbert returned to the airwaves in 1973 with a series of 30-second science lessons called *Mr. Wizard Close-Ups*. In 1979, Herbert and his wife, Norma, helped create touring science assemblies that visited schools across the United States. And beginning in 1983—amidst the boom in nostalgia for 1950s and 1960s culture—*Mr. Wizard's World*—an update of the original program—began to appear on the Nickelodeon cable network. The Nickelodeon programs were used widely in American schools to help hook yet another generation of children on science. In addition to his television work, Herbert has written several *Mr. Wizard* books, including *Mr. Wizard's Science Secrets* (Popular Mechanics Press, 1952) and *Mr. Wizard's Supermarket Science* (Random House, 1980).

—Frank Salamone

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Ms.

The premiere edition of *Ms.* magazine appeared on newsstands in July 1972, containing feminist political analysis, articles about women's issues, and critiques of male-dominated society. The first national "glossy" publication to emerge from the 1970s wave of feminism was greeted with guarded enthusiasm by members of the multi-faceted movement it attempted to represent, and with outright hostility by the establishment media of the day. "I'll give it six months," sneered the late Harry Reasoner, co-anchor of the *ABC Nightly News*, "before they run out of things to say." Reasoner went on to complain, "There isn't an article in *Ms.* that wouldn't look perfectly normal in one of the standard women's magazines, and has probably already been there, only better written."

Criticisms of the pundits aside, however, American women must have been hungry for what a popular feminist journal had to offer. The preview edition, which had been released on December 20, 1971, sold out its 300,000 copies in eight days and generated 26,000 subscription orders and 20,000 letters to the editor. Unlike traditional women's magazines, which tended to focus on homemaking, fashion, and "pleasing your man," the first issue of *Ms.* featured articles such as "Lesbian Love and Sexuality" by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon and "Women and Madness" by Phyllis Chesler. Gloria Steinem analyzed women's role in the electorate with "Women Voters Can't Be Trusted," and Margaret Sloan-Hunter deconstructed beauty parlors in "The Saturday Morning Nap-Conversion." One of the most

influential articles in the premiere edition was Jane O'Reilly's "The Housewife's Moment of Truth," describing the sudden moment of awareness when a woman realizes she is being dismissed or oppressed by attitudes and actions she once accepted as a matter of course. O'Reilly calls this sudden realization a "click! of awareness." This "click!" became a catch phrase in readers' letters as they wrote in to share their own experiences and sudden insights.

Undergoing several changes in ownership and format and a constant struggle to reconcile its feminist politics with the reality of the publishing world, *Ms.* has found enough "things to say" to keep the journal afloat for close to three decades. Though still the subject of criticism from both inside and outside the movement, *Ms.* remains the major national magazine of feminism.

Named for the title that feminists suggested should replace Mrs. and Miss, *Ms.* was founded by a group of journalists who were active in the women's liberation movement. *New York* magazine's Gloria Steinem and *McCall's* Patricia Carbine conceived the idea of popularizing women's liberation by publishing a glossy feminist journal that would sell on newsstands alongside the recipe, fashion, and dating women's magazines. They assembled a distinguished and enthusiastic staff. Some, like Rita Waterman and Margaret Hicks from *McCall's* and Bea Feitler from *Vanity Fair* and *Rolling Stone*, were experienced in the world of magazine publishing. Others, like Susan Levine, Margaret Sloan-Hunter, and Letty Cottin Pogrebin were writers, lecturers, and activists who brought their movement experience and zealous energy to the journal.

In an effort to work in a way that was consistent with feminist politics, the staff attempted to organize itself without traditional corporate hierarchies, and even salaries were allocated by taking into account the individual needs of a staff person as well as experience and value to the magazine. These efforts to equalize power and money reflected a common trend in progressive organizations to of the 1960s and 1970s, though they were often only successful in masking power differences.

In seeking financing for *Ms.*, Steinem and Carbine were insistent that control of the magazine remain in the hands of the women who created it. They did manage to get support from Warner Communications, which was willing to invest a million dollars in the fledgling journal without demanding a controlling interest, but financing would continue to be an issue for a magazine whose premise questioned the very basis of American patriarchal society and corporate structure.

From 1972 until 1989, *Ms.* continued to publish as an advertiser-supported monthly journal. From the beginning both editorial staff and readers had questioned the contradictions implicit in challenging the status quo while courting as advertisers those whose interest is served by maintaining the status quo. Advertisers insisted on content that complemented and did not criticize their products. Revlon Cosmetics pulled advertisements from an issue of *Ms.* that featured Russian women on the cover—bare of makeup. In 1986, African-American writer Alice Walker quit her editorial job with *Ms.*, citing her disappointment in the dearth of people of color in the magazine, especially on the cover, a lack that was, at least partially, mandated by advertisers. Lack of coverage of lesbians, radical feminism, and labor and environmental issues could also be traced back to advertisers' demands. In one of the journal's bleaker moments, over 100 readers sent an advertisement for a Lady Bic razor from the pages of *Ms.* itself to the magazine's "No Comment" page, where egregious examples of sexism in the media are highlighted.

As the magazine bowed to pressure from advertisers, it lost credibility with many of its readers, and began to lose as much as

\$150,000 a month as circulation dropped from 550,000 to under a 100,000. Staggering under its problems, *Ms.* stopped publishing for about six months. During that time the staff, still under the influential guidance of Gloria Steinem, reorganized and re-invented the journal. In the summer of 1990, *Ms.* began publishing again as a bi-monthly with longtime feminist writer-activist Robin Morgan as editor. The new *Ms.* had a higher newsstand price (\$4.50), a higher subscription rate (\$40 per year), and no advertising. The glossy pages were gone, and the “popular magazine” look was replaced by a more “intellectual journal” format. The new magazine offered expanded international coverage and more in-depth analysis. No longer forced to bow to advertising pressure, the first issue of the new *Ms.* contained both criticism of advertisers’ attempts to control media content and pointed apologies for advertisements the journal regretting running in the past.

The advertisement-free format was a success, winning back many of the serious feminist readers that had abandoned the journal during the years of compromising with advertisers, and *Ms.* has continued its moves towards independence. Though woman-owned for its first 15 years, the journal has since been owned by several different publishers, and it has always chafed at being forced to remain under mostly male ownership. In the late 1990s, Steinem again led the journal toward a new definition by seeking female investors with the aim of placing control of *Ms.* totally in the hands of women once again.

Born almost at the beginning of the women’s liberation movement, *Ms.* has always been a very public representation of that movement. As such, it has always drawn both kudos and reproach from both supporters and critics of feminism. Non-feminist detractors have often stereotyped the journal with the same epithets used on feminists themselves, calling it shrill, petty, and humorless. Feminists have also always been quick to take *Ms.* to task when the magazine has fallen short of their expectations. Conservative feminists have questioned the journal’s liberal bias, while radicals have consistently complained that *Ms.* does not go far enough. One of the most unique features in *Ms.* has always been the letters section. The journal receives around 200 letters a month, some laudatory, some critical, and many simply telling the reader’s story, whether describing activist work or recounting a click! of recognition of some new facet of women’s experience. It is this very personal interaction among its readers that sets *Ms.* apart from other journals, just as the principle “the personal is political” gave the feminist movement its unique perspective.

There is no name more commonly associated with *Ms.* magazine than Gloria Steinem’s. An early proponent of women’s liberation, Steinem was born in 1934 in Ohio. She learned early about the difficulties that faced a woman alone when her parents divorced when she was ten. Steinem was raised by her mother, a journalist who struggled with depression and societal attitudes about single mothers. Steinem began to earn her flamboyant reputation as a feminist writer and personality in 1964, when she wrote “I was a Playboy Bunny,” about her experiences working in a Playboy Club. She followed in 1964 with more serious political analysis in “After Black Power, Women’s Liberation.” After helping to found *Ms.* she edited the journal until 1987, then rejoined the staff as consulting editor in 1990. In April 1999, the first issue of the woman-financed *Ms.* was published, with a letter from Steinem reviewing the magazine’s history. She ends ebulliently, “I can’t wait to see what happens now.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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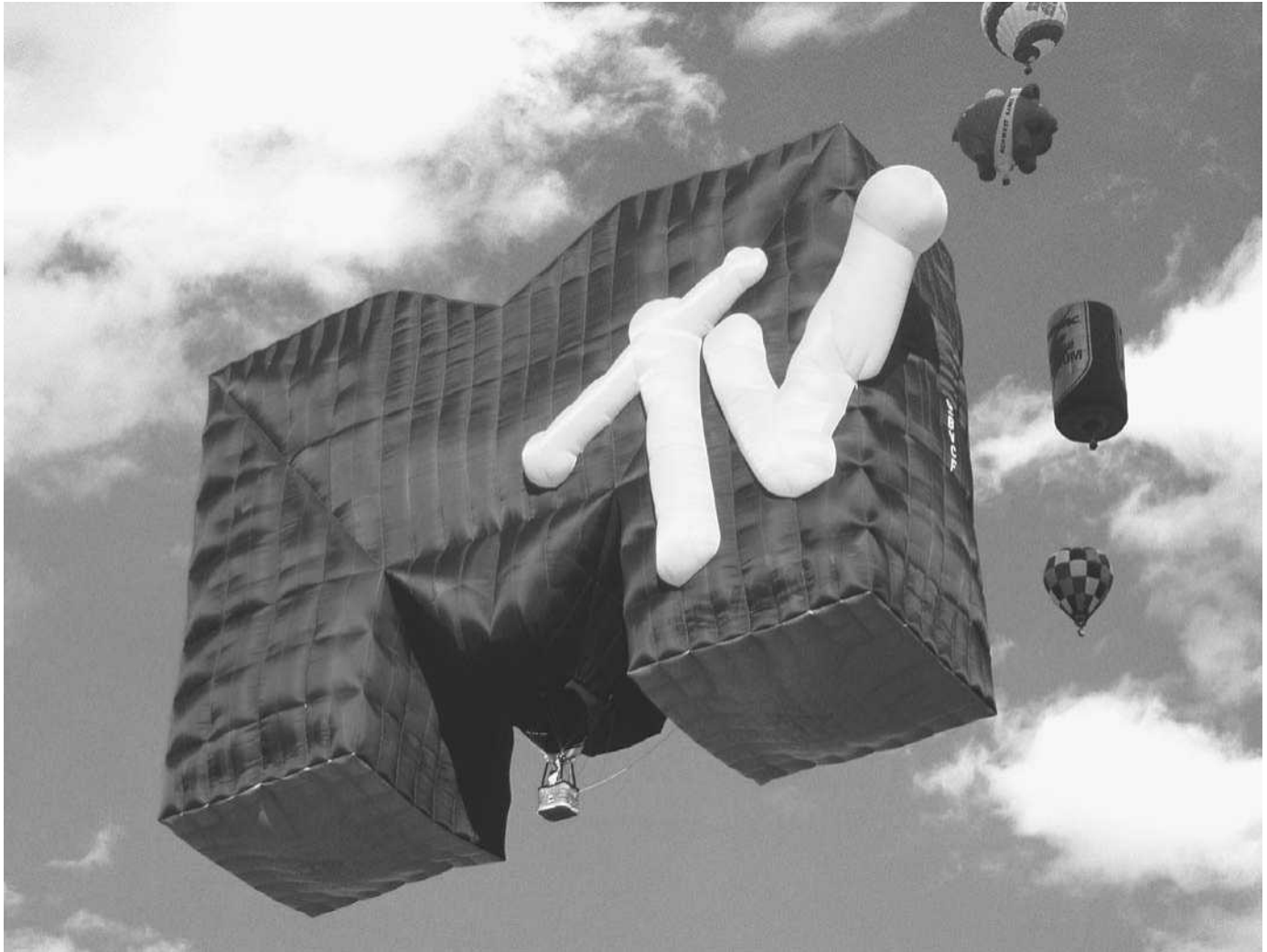
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MTV

MTV (Music Television) is truly one of the most important pop culture phenomena of the late twentieth century. As a medium, it united the two most important popular culture developments of the post-World War II era: rock ‘n’ roll and television. Within two decades of its birth in 1981, it defined an international youth culture centered around the rebellious spirit of rock music and the ceaseless consumption of goods. To the many millions of youthful viewers scattered across the globe, MTV is the preeminent medium of global youth culture, offering an intoxicating mix of music, postmodern imagery, consumer goods, and original programming. To its owner, the cable television giant Viacom, MTV is a highly profitable cable channel that offers advertisers unparalleled access to a youthful audience. But to its many critics, MTV is a corrupter of youth, a purveyor of mindless consumerism, and a degrader of all that is authentic about music; one critic suggested in the *National Review* that MTV renders America’s youth “deaf to all higher culture, and blind to all hope or beauty.”

Though its reach in the 1990s was global, MTV had humble beginnings. The channel was born at midnight on August 1, 1981, a NASA rocket launch countdown preparing viewers for the sudden appearance of a blank screen, a succession of moon shots, and the image of Neil Armstrong planting an MTV flag in the lunar dust. A male baritone voice dramatically proclaimed, “Ladies and Gentlemen, rock and roll,” and the Buggles’ “Video Killed the Radio Star” became the first in a string of music videos to appear in the homes of 800,000 Warner Amex Satellite Entertainment Company (WASEC) subscribers. The idea of the video itself was not new: African American performers Count Basie, Louie Armstrong, and Bessie Smith appeared in video clips with their songs in the late 1940s; Dick Clark’s *American Bandstand* dance show offered “live” (lip-synched) musical performances to a national television audience beginning in 1957; the Beatles released their song “Strawberry Fields” on video in 1967; and other 1970s television shows—*Soul Train*, *In Concert*, *Midnight Special*, and *Rock Concert*—offered live or recorded musical performances. But MTV gambled that the viewing audience in 1981 was ready for a 24-hours-a-day music channel. It was a gamble that soon paid off.

The brain behind MTV was Robert Pittman, a former radio disc jockey who had become an executive at WASEC. Pittman hoped that MTV—along with the premium channels Nickelodeon and the Movie Channel—would give his company an edge in gaining subscribers in the highly competitive cable market. The company’s \$20 million dollar investment soon proved worthwhile. MTV’s audience grew from just over 2 million at the end of four months to 22 million by 1984, and advertising revenues kept pace. Though the channel had



An MTV hot air balloon.

pulled in just \$7 million in advertising revenues within 18 months, by 1984 it was earning \$1 million a week. In many ways, MTV had an ideal cable product: its content cost the channel nothing, for recording companies provided the videos free of charge in order to promote their bands, and advertisers, eager to reach MTV's demographic of consumers between the ages of 12 and 34, offered everything from food to clothes to other youth-oriented products. Through the early 1980s, MTV viewers were fed a steady diet of videos and ads, videos, and ads; in *Rocking Around the Clock*, E. Ann Kaplan described the format as "ersatz commercials punctuated by 'real' ones."

The first videos to air on MTV appeared rudimentary and awkward beside current efforts. The total video rotation during the channel's initial months was a scant 125 videos. The common denominator for the videos was their slipshod production, nonexistent special effects, minimal costs, crude narratives, and home-movie type of appearance. A favorite in the first months was Chris DeBurgh's modern revisiting of a Greek myth called "Don't Pay the Ferryman," a moody narrative about a boat trip across the river Styx with the Grim Reaper as companion. But quality improved fairly rapidly, thanks in no small part to the performer who would come to be called the "King of Pop." Michael Jackson's 1982 release *Thriller* featured three

videos—"Thriller," "Billie Jean," and "Beat It"—that revolutionized the art form and galvanized public attention. The video for "Thriller," for example, which began with a long introduction by horror-film guru Vincent Price, was filmed in a graveyard, and cost an estimated \$1.1 million. Hyped for weeks before its release, then debuting in select theaters before it came to MTV, this was the first of many videos to generate a "buzz."

MTV's innovative format and seamless blend of content and advertising drew much attention from academics eager to document the emergence of a postmodern frame of mind. David Tetzlaff observed in the *Journal of Communication Inquiry* that "MTV denies the existence of all but the moment, and that moment exists only on the screen"; in *Monopoly Television*, Jack Banks wrote that MTV "repudiates linear conceptions of history, rejecting conventional distinctions between past, present, and future, instead placing itself in a timeless present." The result was an experience that decentered viewers, encouraging them to identify more with the products and images on screen than with more historically significant communities of meaning such as families, political parties, or social class. Even after MTV changed to a more traditional format in the mid-1980s, even after so many advertisements and television programs began to

mimic MTV's visual style, the perception remained and the critics agreed: MTV led the postmodernist cultural vanguard.

MTV's rapid emergence as both a profitable cable channel and a cultural force soon drew critics. Some black artists accused MTV of racism for what they felt was a real underrepresentation of non-white musicians, though MTV defended itself with the claim that it merely mirrored trends in album-oriented rock; in any case Michael Jackson's mid-1980s dominance as king of the video tempered such claims. President Ronald Reagan's Surgeon General, C. Everett Koop, charged that the heady brew of video clips—which he characterized as racy montages of violence, scantily clad women, and surrealistic images—could be dangerous to normal or healthy emotional relationships between the sexes. And media mogul Ted Turner accused MTV of producing a nation of "Hitler Youth" (though his hyperbole may have been influenced by the failure of his competing music channel, Cable Music Channel, in 1984). These would not be the first times that MTV would be accused of undermining the morals of America's youth. But it was difficult to tell if such concerns were a legitimate response to real increases in the amount of sex and violence on the screen, or an ongoing anxiety felt by members of older generations about the music that makes their children dance. MTV might be truly dangerous, or old folks might just be scared of rock 'n' roll.

MTV experienced growing pains during the mid-1980s. On the one hand all was going well, for MTV and other video channels had proved such a lucrative way to market music that fully 75 percent of singles released were now backed by a video. Moreover, MTV was acquired in 1987 by the emerging cable giant Viacom, a company that was able to get MTV into more American homes than ever before. Yet for all these successes, MTV's Neilson ratings were declining from their *Thriller*-induced highs of 1.5 down to a .7 rating, the channel's coverage of the Live Aid music festival was harshly criticized, and the British art rockers like Duran Duran, the Eurythmics, and Boy George who helped MTV establish an identity were going out of style. Ad revenues declined 10 percent during the first half of 1987, prompting *Time* magazine to wonder if MTV was "an idea whose time has already gone?" The concern was premature, however, for the one thing MTV has never done is fail to meet the ever-changing demands and interests of its youthful audience.

In its second phase, MTV devised the radical strategy of downplaying music videos and inventing their own programs. In this way, MTV hoped to become a more traditional television channel, thus breaking with its most postmodern elements. New shows introduced included *Club MTV* (dance), *The Week in Rock* (news related to the world of rock and roll), and *Remote Control* (a parody of the traditional game show with contestants strapped into La-Z-Boy recliners, fed pork rinds and cheese puffs, and asked moronic questions). Most innovative was the program *Yo! MTV Raps*, a compilation of rap videos by black artists. Although MTV executives were hesitant about this show's potential popularity, viewer response was tremendous and the show quickly became one of the most popular summer programs. By the mid-1990s, rap and hip-hop would become MTV mainstays. MTV realized another breakthrough in the early 1990s with its *Unplugged* shows, which showcased top rock bands playing acoustic instruments before a small audience. With this show MTV achieved 1990s media nirvana: synergy. The *Unplugged* shows generated singles for radio play, videos that could be plugged elsewhere in the channel's lineup, and albums that could be sold in record stores. By allowing the spirit of rock and roll to seep into news and comedy, and by showcasing the innovative music that was

coming out of the predominantly black rap and hip-hop community, MTV gave viewers a reason to stick around.

MTV continued its experiments with content into the 1990s, offering such shows as *The Real World* and *Beavis and Butthead*. In *The Real World*, a group of college age strangers were thrown together in a beautiful house and a camera filmed every moment of their attempts to learn to live together. Editors culled the mass of footage down to hourly episodes which combined the authenticity of real emotion with the narrative hooks of daytime soap operas. The show was an instant hit, and the experiment was repeated again and again. More controversial was *Beavis and Butthead*, a cartoon about two completely amoral teenage slackers. These antisocial characters set fire to houses, used frogs for batting practice, obsessed about women and farts, and were, all in all, mind-numbingly stupid. The show, which was an instant success, became a lightning rod for public fears about the amorality of youth and, not coincidentally, launched its creator, Mike Judge, to fame. (Judge would soon leave MTV to produce the cartoon series *King of the Hill* for Fox TV.) MTV's mid-1990s dating show, *Singled Out*, also proved a launching pad for ex-Playboy Playmate and show co-host Jenny McCarthy. McCarthy's combination of California surf babe beauty and bad girl antics—gross jokes and goofy faces—soon landed her an NBC sitcom.

While MTV's programming echoed with the channel's trademark irreverent and youthful attitude, its popularity and its cross-over into movies and mainstream television meant that MTV's attitude was now embraced more readily by the larger culture (which had itself been influenced by MTV). By 1990 MTV was available in more than 50 million American homes as part of many providers' basic cable packages. Its growing influence and the channel's desire to awaken a political consciousness in its youthful audience led MTV to campaign against the Gulf War in 1991 and to promote voter registration through such devices as "Rock the Vote" commercials starring rock stars and sponsoring registration drives at college campuses and rock concerts. MTV's most visible entry into the political arena was its 1992 interview with Democratic Presidential candidate Bill Clinton. For nearly 90 minutes Clinton fielded questions from a hand-picked audience of earnest young people. Clinton discussed his first rock-and-roll experience—"going nuts over Elvis Presley"—and promised to come back to MTV as president (a promise he later kept).

At the same time that MTV was becoming a pillar of American pop culture it was also spreading across the globe. MTV debuted in Europe in 1987, offering as its first European video the Dire Straits tune "Money for Nothing," with its hypnotic chant, "I want my MTV." MTV Europe began with more than 1.6 million subscribers in 14 different countries, and soon became especially popular in Eastern European countries hungry for the baubles of Western capitalist culture that MTV proved so adept at displaying. MTV Brazil was launched in 1990 and MTV Latino followed in 1993; both channels quickly became popular with Spanish-speaking audiences accustomed to far fewer choices in their cable programming. On MTV Latino in 1995, viewers from Mexico to the tip of Chile watched the birth of a new language—"Spanglish"—as veejays used expressions like "Chequenos" (pronounced CHE-kay-nos), which meant "check us out." Jorge Asis, a former Minister of Culture, commented about the cultural impact of MTV: "The world changed in a very short time. . . . Suddenly, one world fell, and it was absolutely seduced by

the world that imposed itself, that won. . . . In a world without utopias, the market becomes a new utopia.’’ Not surprisingly, MTV executives took a more optimistic view of their global distribution. MTV’s Sara Levinson claimed that ‘‘Music is the global language. We want to be the global rock ‘n’ roll village where we can talk to the youth worldwide.’’

By the mid-1990s MTV had largely succeeded at reaching that goal, and it promoted its vision of youth culture to 270 million households in more than 125 countries scattered across five continents. The MTV vision was thoroughly rooted in consumerism, for the common language of viewers across the world was music and goods: Michael Jackson and McDonald’s, Nirvana and Nike, Beck and Coke. To some critics, MTV’s global reach seemed like an Orwellian Big Brother nightmare, with rock-and-roll attitude providing the cover for multinational corporations to push their products to a world of consumers. But the actual picture was more complex, with some 90 percent of MTV’s programming produced locally to coincide with differing regional tastes. MTV viewers the world over loved rock and roll, but it was clear that they loved different rock and roll at different times: in 1996, the hottest tracks on MTV Latino were by Madonna, Queen, and the Rolling Stones; on MTV Brazil the favorite was Silverchair; while on MTV Europe Michael Jackson and Tina Turner dominated play lists. For their part, MTV’s corporate officers enjoyed the music of money rolling in, as the channel brought in two dollars for every dollar it spent in 1996. Part authentic expression of youth culture, part corporate marketing machine, the phenomena that is MTV captured all the contradictions and all the energy that fueled pop culture in the 1990s.

—Arthur Robinson

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Muckraking

In 1906, his irritation with the popular press growing, President Theodore Roosevelt coined a new term for the journalists who had helped make, but were beginning to plague, his administration. As he laid the cornerstone for the new House of Representatives office building, he excoriated these ‘‘muckrakers’’ who refused to respect and enjoy America’s turn-of-the-century prosperity, but rather ‘‘continued to rake . . . the filth on the floor.’’ The term stuck, the word entered the language, and the period in American history loosely dated from 1903 to 1912, became known as ‘‘the muckraking era.’’

Muckraking, the investigative journalistic style pioneered by *McClure’s* magazine and imitated by scores of American periodicals, had its roots in late-nineteenth-century scandal mongering and yellow journalism. However, it differed from its precursors in two important regards: twentieth-century muckrakers aimed their rhetorical cannons strictly at the institutions of power in contemporary society, unlike the yellow journalists of the previous century who took sensationalist material from wherever they could find it. Furthermore, muckraking differed from yellow journalism in scope. While journalists regularly exposed local scandals in daily newspapers long before 1903, few such exposes treated national themes for a national audience until the early 1900s. In the single decade of the muckraking era, however, nearly 2000 muckraking articles ran in American periodicals, and magazines that specialized in muckraking sold an average of three million copies per month.

Historian David Chalmers argues that the muckraking era was born in the January 1903 issue of *McClure’s*. In that single issue of the monthly magazine, Ida Tarbell weighed in on the economic might of the Standard Oil Trust, Ray Stannard Baker exposed corruption in the ranks of organized labor, and Lincoln Steffens unveiled ‘‘The Shame of Minneapolis’’—the second chapter in *The Shame of the Cities*, his series on municipal graft. In his editorial introduction to the issue, publisher S. S. McClure tied those three articles together and issued a manifesto for the muckraking era: ‘‘Capitalists, workingmen, politicians, citizens—all breaking the law, or letting it be broken. Who is left to uphold it? . . . There is no one left: none but all of us.’’

In ‘‘The Muckrake Man,’’ an essay that appeared in the September 1908 issue of *The Independent*, Upton Sinclair, author of one of muckraking’s few novelistic endeavors, *The Jungle*, expounded on McClure’s theme and attempted to further define muckraking. Sinclair claimed that he knew, ‘‘more or less intimately, nearly every man who is at present raking muck in America’’ and he set out ‘‘to speak from the standpoint of the group.’’ Writing, then, for the movement as a whole, Sinclair explained that muckraking’s social role was like that of ‘‘the particular nerve cell in the burned child which cries out to the child, ‘Do not put your finger in the fire again!’ He [Sinclair’s Muckrake Man] represents the effort of the race to profit by experience, and to do otherwise than repeat indefinitely the blunders which have proved fatal in the past.’’

It is difficult, of course, to assess the extent to which muckraking succeeded in its stated social mission. The instances in which it directly contributed to the break-up of a monopolistic trust or the reform of a corrupt municipal government are depressingly few, although Richard Hofstadter suggests that Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s New Deal sprang indirectly from the muckrakers’ political critiques. Several contemporary commentators maintain that muckraking did little besides expand capital’s influence in American

society by bringing advertisements for mass-produced goods to a new market of rising middle-class readers.

Still, muckraking exerted a seminal influence on American popular culture. Indeed, although the muckraking era is said to have come to an end in 1912 in the wake of the expansion of American news wire services and the rise of professional journalism, its techniques, if not always its moral spirit, continued to reign in the investigative press. Its anecdotal and personal style is echoed in current magazine journalism and, by the end of the twentieth century, the fruits of the muckraker's nose for scandal continued to animate the front pages of American newspapers.

—Thurston Domina

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Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a catchall term that refers generally to a set of related cultural movements and trends which emphasize the diversity of U.S. culture and society. Its various projects seek to recognize, encourage, and affirm the participation of ethnic minorities in all aspects of American life. They tend to celebrate the contributions made by diverse groups and to consider those contributions as vital to the economic, social, and cultural fabric of the United States. In higher education, multiculturalism began to assume definitive shape during the 1980s, as universities revised their programs, textbooks, and curricula to reflect a more inclusive view of American culture. This change in focus toward women, minorities, and non-Western texts and perspectives would generate heated debate among academics and spark the so-called "culture wars" of the 1980s and 1990s. On one side of the debate, critics argued that multiculturalism promoted factionalism and undermined the foundations of Western culture; proponents claimed that it advocated tolerance and equality. In any case, multiculturalism's impact would extend well beyond academe. It would shape fashion trends, advertising campaigns, television programming, even corporate slogans, and continue to influence late-twentieth century popular tastes in everything from music to food, home decor to literature.

Multiculturalism can be said to resonate from the cultural eruptions of the 1960s, when civil rights, Native American, "new ethnicity," and women's liberation movements in the United States shattered images of a coherent national identity. The force and urgency of these protests challenged the authority and credibility of "the establishment," and shook the public's confidence in the social and political structures that validated it. Students marched in protest against America's involvement or intervention not only in Vietnam,

but also in neighboring Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition to questioning social conformity, economic inequality, and political legitimacy, voices rose in defiance against long-held cultural assumptions and myths. As thousands of demonstrators across the nation expressed their defiance of U.S. policies and systems, Americans struggled to redefine their roles, values, and allegiances. Many strove to foster some sense of communal belonging, forging a place for themselves within a more pliant cultural framework. Others questioned the desirability of aspiring to a unified national identity in an increasingly transnational world. The ensuing crisis of identity—on both the national and personal level—paved the way toward a number of institutional and social changes. In the aftermath of Vietnam and Watergate, America's collective self-image would change inexorably, slowly transforming itself to reflect shifting demographic and social realities.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Americans began catching glimpses of this emerging self-image on their television screens—as sitcoms and TV dramas integrated their casts. Popular programs such as *Good Times*, *Chico and the Man*, *The Jeffersons*, *Sanford and Son*, and *CHiPS* featured blacks, Latinos, and other minorities as starring cast members. During the 1974-75 season, two of these shows, *Sanford and Son* and *Chico and the Man*, earned second and third place ratings, respectively. Alex Haley's bestselling book, *Roots*, achieved tremendous success when it aired as a made-for-TV movie in 1977. The six-part mini-series, which chronicled several generations of the author's family from their African origins through slavery, fueled a popular trend to discover and adopt formerly repressed "ethnic" identities. Seeking one's "roots" became fashionable, as did changing one's wardrobe, name, or hairstyle to reflect one's ancestry. In some cases, these external transformations reflected a genuine attempt to build ethnic pride; in others it was simply a new fad, a hollow display of ethnic style without political substance. The melting pot ideology that had endorsed an assimilation ethic, gradually gave way to new metaphors (such as the "salad" or "stirfry"), which promoted the retention of discrete cultural traits. This celebration of "difference" (identified with "postmodernist" theory and art) found its niche in the popular imaginary, adding dashes of color to a post-1960s American canvas.

For the first time in America's young history, being visibly "different" (belonging to a racial or ethnic subculture group) held commercial appeal. Hollywood responded to this appeal with several films (and sequels) with black leads. Movies such as *Superfly* (1972), *Shaft* (1971), and *The Mack* (1973) exploited images of black (mostly male) defiance of white authority and power. The 1970s saw the emergence of these mass images of blacks as pimps, drug dealers, or shady police officers. Elements of black street culture exploited and popularized in these early films would reappear a decade later. A variation of these "Blaxploitation" film images would drive the white music industry's marketing campaign for "gangsta" rap in the late 1980s and 1990s. Throughout much of that decade, hip-hop music outsold rock among white teens, and the clothing that accompanied it—baggy pants and oversized Polo shirts—infiltrated middle America. Other historically oppressed groups would also gain audiences. The commercial appeal of "difference" led to the release of a slew of movies such as *Dances with Wolves* (1990), *Thunderheart* (1992), and *The Last of the Mohicans* (1992) remake in the 90s. These films reformulated the standard "cowboy and Indian" genre, presumably legitimizing Native American cultures and histories. Native American perspectives, virtually invisible in history books and films up until the later twentieth century, gained status and recognition,

Hollywood style. Mainstream audiences across America lined up to see Native Americans depicted, not as savages bent on murdering innocent white women and children, but as a people staunchly defending their way of life. Too often, however, even in these films, the protagonist was either a white person or a Native American portrayed by a white actor.

These twists in Hollywood image-making gradually reconstituted the public's collective memory of historical events and personages. In most cases, these films recycled conventional plots, simply adapting the point-of-view or integrating the cast. Even so, they did help refashion the sensibilities of a generation of Americans. In part, they helped to prepare general audiences for a multiculturalist re-examination of U.S. history—including a re-interpretation of such grand historical narratives as Manifest Destiny, the Great Frontier Myth, and egalitarian democracy. During much of this period, documentary filmmakers were taking critical looks at Hollywood's version of multicultural awareness: *Images of Indians* (1979) and *The Media Show: North American Indians* (1991) examined Hollywood film stereotypes of Native Americans; *From Here, from This Side* (1988) envisioned cultural domination from the Mexican point of view; *Slaying the Dragon* (1987) explored the imaging of the "docile Asian female" type; and *Color Adjustment* (1991) chronicled the history of black representation on TV. But these critiques did not for the most part impinge on the popular mindset—as the heightened visibility of minorities fueled both complacency ("they are making progress") and discomfort ("they are taking over").

The re-imaging of America did foster new images of blacks, Latinos, Asians, and other ethnic group members as middle-class consumers. Recognizing the potential buying power represented by the largest minority groups in the country—African American, Latino, and Asian—advertisers began targeting these long-ignored segments of the U.S. population. Major retailers such as Sears introduced "ethnic" clothing lines—with "ethnic" broadly defined as the use of bright colors and patterns. Cosmetic companies began catering to darker skin tones, using Latina and African-American models to promote their products. New interest in regional cultures influenced architecture and interior design, so that Hopi Indian art, Mexican pottery, and Southwest crafts might be seen vying for prominence in any suburban home. In the emerging global economy, multiculturalism translated into multinationalism—as American corporations targeted foreign markets. Businesses responded to an increasingly polyglot, multicultural environment by offering employee training programs aimed at teaching foreign languages and customs or heightening awareness of diversity issues. Similarly, European companies climbed on the multicultural bandwagon, some using indigenous people as models or spokespersons. The Italian multinational, Benetton, ran one of the most successful ad campaigns in history by capitalizing on the diversity theme. The slogan, "United Colors of Benetton," featured along with the faces of Latino, African, and Asian "types," established the company's multiculturalist image and helped market their high-end clothes worldwide.

While the "crossover" success of television shows, movies, music, and ads featuring minorities suggested that popular audiences were increasingly receptive to social change, critics continued to point out the contrast that existed between mass-mediated images of successful minorities and their social realities. The heightened visibility of blacks and other minorities on TV and in films signaled progress to some, but to others it fell short of the mark. They argued that education must reflect its constituency and serve as the catalyst for a profound change in national consciousness. This called for a

revamping of an educational system that traditionally excluded or undervalued the contributions of blacks and other minorities within a pluralist U.S. society. Classroom teachers, after all, were not dealing with images—but with an increasingly heterogeneous student population. By 1990, minority youngsters accounted for about 32 percent of total enrollment in U.S. public schools. According to census projections, this figure would continue to rise. Multiculturalists argued that course materials and content scarcely registered this demographic reality.

Subsequent curriculum changes sought to provide a broader knowledge base, extending beyond what has been referred to as a "Eurocentric" approach to education. Such an approach tended to assume the centrality of European thought, history, and culture, relegating all others to a peripheral or even subordinate role. Standard core courses in schools and universities traditionally stressed the achievements and merits of "Western" civilization, often reducing the rest of the world to irrelevance. Multiculturalists insisted that exposure to a variety of ethnic perspectives and traditions was both intellectually enriching and socially responsible.

As its influence spread throughout U.S. colleges and universities, multiculturalism generated considerable controversy. In history and English departments, particularly, multiculturalism led to the reevaluation of standard texts that had formed the basis of Western culture. In some cases, this reevaluation revealed gaps, contradictions, and inconsistencies that raised questions about significant events or offered competing versions of history. As more and more voices claimed their right to be heard, "official" accounts were increasingly challenged or revised. Newly minted textbooks and anthologies referenced Native American folktales, testimonials, and cosmologies; diaries and journals by Spanish explorers in the "New World"; slave narratives and spirituals; women's histories and political essays. While examining these varied texts and contexts, students might explore the relative worth of ideas and artifacts, sometimes dismantling their own cultural assumptions in the process. They might consider the links between social grouping and status or power, question existing hierarchies, or explore their conceptual and economic frameworks. Critics would claim that multicultural readings gave rise to identity politics, a politics based on notions of identity defined by race, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, or religion. They accused multiculturalists of "politicizing" education, of turning the classroom into a political soapbox for professors with their own agendas or gripes. Advocates of the new pedagogy countered with claims of their own: they argued that education had *always* been political, as its institutional goals and methods traditionally served a dominant ideology. They questioned why selectively excluding women and minorities from the canon was not deemed "political" but intentionally including them was. Both cases, advocates reasoned, reflected underlying power struggles and tensions.

These issues stirred vigorous debate among academics, often dividing departments into pro- and anti-multiculturalism camps. During the 1980s and 1990s, advocates of multiculturalism waged war on the literary canon, introducing new works into their courses and discarding others deemed outdated or irrelevant. As some administrators and faculty moved to institute a multicultural curriculum, others voiced opposition, often criticizing not only the revised content but also the methods by which it was implemented. By the late 1980s, many university English departments had begun redefining themselves and their function in relation to the broader cultural landscape. In the process, challenging questions presented themselves. What disciplinary boundaries, if any, should delineate the critical study of

literary texts? Should English departments broaden their focus to include major works written by non-English speaking authors in their core curriculum? Should they integrate poetry and fiction by women, U.S. minorities, and minoritarian cultures into existing courses or develop special program areas such as women's or ethnic studies? Most literature by non-Europeans traditionally fell under the rubric of "World Literature," a category which conflated Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, and others into one indistinct cultural mass. Multiculturalists maintained that these diverse cultures not only produced art and literature worthy of recognition, but also offered valuable insights and perspectives on philosophical, religious, ethical, and social questions. Some argued that rather than being peripheral, the study of non-Western civilizations and traditions was integral to understanding the complex interconnectedness of human experience. English studies programs progressively changed their parameters, becoming increasingly interdisciplinary in content and methodology. This trend toward interdisciplinary study would spread across programs, breaking down the traditional boundaries between history and literature, psychology and sociology, or philosophy and science.

Literature written by people of color, however, had successfully infiltrated the mainstream by the 1980s, with novels by Toni Morrison, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Alice Walker among the bestsellers. Silko's *Ceremony*, published in 1977, became the first published novel written by a Native American woman (Silko is Laguno-Pueblo Indian). Walker's Pulitzer prize winning novel, *The Color Purple*, was made into a critically acclaimed film directed by Stephen Spielberg. Morrison, the first black woman to receive the Nobel prize for literature, had already established an international reputation by the time her novel, *Beloved*, won a Pulitzer prize and was made into a major motion picture in the late 1990s. In 1993, Amy Tan's bestseller, *The Joy Luck Club* was also made into a popular film, along with Oscar Hijuelos's *The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love*. These and many other successful "crossover" books suggested that multiculturalism—whatever its putative flaws or disputed benefits—had already moved into the popular arena.

Its influence was also felt in personal, professional, and social relationships. Couples grappled with issues of equality, friends and teachers with questions of tolerance and respect, managers with the challenges of communicating with their multicultural clientele. As more women and minorities asserted their rights in the workplace and in the classrooms, individuals faced new legal, professional, and social questions: What constitutes sexual harassment? Discrimination? Which words or behaviors are considered racist? Sexist? A breach of racial etiquette? What hiring practices need to be instituted to ensure equity, and when are those practices discriminating against formerly privileged white males? The ensuing race, gender, and ethnic politics led to a backlash among those who objected to multiculturalism's methods or goals. The epithet "political correctness" was coined to describe what some considered to be a dictatorial, restrictive new code of conduct. In some cases, it merely served as a means to dismiss actual abuses or offences. Multiculturalists, portrayed as the "PC Patrol," became a favorite target of conservative talk show hosts, comedy shows, and radio disc jockeys. Just as nineteenth-century caricatures of the suffragettes had ridiculed and trivialized women's efforts to gain the right to vote, so did these contemporary images of "Feminazis" and PC enforcers often distort multiculturalism's principal aims and effects.

In a world grown progressively more interconnected by technological, economic, and political currents, multiculturalism represents

neither a panacea for social injustice nor the bane of so-called "Western" culture. As a concept, it suggests a conciliatory gesture, a desire to recognize and redress past wrongs. Theoretically, it steps in the direction of the margins, away from an ethnocentric reference points and towards a kind of panoptic view. As a social phenomenon, multiculturalism registers some of the most significant events in the second half of the twentieth century: political realignments, reconfigured local and international economies, rapid technological and demographic shifts. Undoubtedly, multiculturalism aroused pity and fear in its audience—though there was no moment of catharsis. Instead, late-twentieth-century Americans celebrated or condemned, embraced or resisted, watched or experienced it—all the while reflecting its very nature.

—Myra Mendible

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The Mummy

A near-perfect synthesis of Dracula and Frankenstein, the mummy is a supernatural (as opposed to a medico-scientific) representative of the "living dead" class of horror film monsters. Acclaimed cinematographer Karl Freund (*Metropolis*, *Murders in the Rue Morgue*) made his directorial debut with Universal's *The Mummy* (1932), otherwise known as *Cagliostro* and *Imhotep*. Originally conceived as a vehicle for Boris Karloff, screenwriter John Balderston (*Dracula*) rewrote the film after the 1931 discovery of King Tut's tomb. Accidentally brought back to life when some archaeologists read from a sacred Egyptian scroll, the mummy (Karloff) goes on a mission to claim the soul of a young Englishwoman who turns out to be his beloved but forbidden princess reincarnated. Attempting to thwart him is Doctor Muller (Edward Van Sloan, reprising his role as Van Helsing in *Dracula*). At least ten *Mummy* spin-offs, even more zombie movies, and an Anne Rice novel have since followed.

—Steven Schneider

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Muni, Paul (1895-1967)

Muni was considered the foremost serious character actor of 1930s cinema. He came to prominence with a number of contemporary issue movies, including *Scarface* (1932) and *I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang* (1932), and maintained his success through biographical pictures such as *Pasteur* (1935), *Zola* (1937) and *Juarez* (1939). He approached each of his roles with unprecedented research into makeup, character, dialect, and background. However, though his professionalism is to be admired, even by the 1940s his style was considered by many to be overstated, trite, and dated. A major source of his unprecedented success was, perhaps, a depression-era audience in dire need of uplifting through simple stories about larger-than-life heroes.

—Kyle Smith

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Paul Muni (right) in a scene from the film *The Good Earth*.

Munsey's Magazine

In 1893, a former telegraph operator named Frank A. Munsey made his namesake the first nationally distributed and mass-read magazine. Munsey, who had grown up poor in rural Maine, recognized that most of the growing American middle class could not afford magazines, so he dropped the cover price of his failing literary monthly from twenty-five to ten cents per copy. Advertisers made up the difference by paying more for and increasing the number of their ads. Munsey also proved that sex sold magazines, publishing a regular page called "Artists & Their Work" which featured a half-tone photograph of a draped or undraped female in an artistic setting. *Munsey's Magazine* jumped in readership overnight, becoming the world circulation leader by 1907, and came to be recognized as the prototype of the modern popular magazine. As he made his magazine universally available, Frank Munsey also paved the way for what is now called the Information Age.

The first two American magazines, published by Andrew Bradford and Benjamin Franklin, appeared in 1741, but the periodical industry grew slowly over the next century. Thousands of titles appeared, but all but a very few were financial failures with low circulations, little or no advertising, and poor revenue. None could claim a wide national readership. Several "quality" literary journals, *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Century*, began to appear and prosper around 1850, but they cost between twenty-five and thirty-five cents an issue, much too expensive for the newly emerging educated middle class, especially by yearly subscription. A few women's magazines, *Ladies' Home Journal*, *Delineator*, and *Woman's Home Companion*, built mass circulations after the Civil War, but they were very specialized in their viewpoint, featured editorial content strongly influenced by advertisers, and were overlooked by most advertisers and the magazine industry because women had not yet been recognized as a viable national mass market.

Frank Munsey was born on August 21, 1854, and grew up on a series of struggling farms near Augusta, Maine. He began making his own way in the world at the age of seven, but it was a visit to the 1876 World's Fair that inspired him to build the first magazine and newspaper publishing empire. At Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition Munsey saw one of a new breed of R. Hoe & Company's stereotype plate rotary presses spewing out thousands of newspapers per hour and resolved that he would be the proprietor of such an impressive machine one day. To make his dream come true, Munsey wrote freelance articles for local newspapers and saved money earned as a telegraph operator. He also convinced several Augusta businessmen of his prospects, and was able to raise enough capital to move to New York City on September 23, 1882. There he founded *Golden Argosy: Freight with Treasures for Boys and Girls*. The first issue featured several articles including "Do and Dare, or a Brave Boy's Fight for a Fortune," a short story written by self-success advocate Horatio Alger, Jr. that could have been Munsey's own story.

The market for juvenile magazines was crowded in late nineteenth-century America and Munsey was often broke and always in debt for the first five years of *Argosy*. He began changing the direction of the magazine away from children and more toward teenaged boys and men by 1885 but his periodical still failed to capture the public's imagination. Frustrated, Munsey used his own writings and the contributions of the small *Argosy* editorial staff to fill the inaugural issue of the adult literary magazine, *Munsey's Weekly*, on February 2, 1889. The magazine seemed inexpensive at ten cents per copy, but a

yearly subscription was still too expensive for most potential middle-class readers and it lost thousands of dollars over the next two years even though it built a circulation of 40,000.

In October 1891, Munsey took a gamble. He changed his namesake to a monthly, gave it the same size and look as *Harper's* and the other profitable literary monthlies, and raised its price to twenty-five cents per copy. To differentiate himself from his competitors, he concentrated on light, easy-to-read articles and novelettes, "a complete novel in each number," instead of serious literature and criticism. He also featured the cutting-edge publishing technology of halftone photographs instead of the fine-line wood engravings featured in most other magazines. Still, *Munsey's* lost money. The depression of 1893 made it even more difficult for Munsey to borrow money to keep his floundering magazine business afloat, so he took yet another gamble, dropping *Munsey's* cover price to ten cents per copy and the cost of a subscription to one dollar a year.

Munsey's was not the first magazine to sell at ten cents, nor even the first to make a dramatic price cut. The moderately successful *Drake's Magazine* had sold for a dime in the 1880s and *Ladies Home Journal* built its circulation by selling for a nickel before it raised its price to ten cents in the early 1890s. S. S. McClure dropped the price of his soon-to-become famous magazine to fifteen cents an issue in June 1893, and in response, John Brisben Walker cut the price of his new general-interest monthly, *Cosmopolitan*, from twenty-five to twelve and one-half cents in July. *Munsey's* didn't fall to ten cents until September. But in cutting his price, *Munsey* made his periodical the first that was truly affordable to the nation's middle class. To help build circulation at such a cheap price, Munsey bypassed the expensive wholesale magazine distribution monopoly then in existence and advertised to readers directly, using mailed circulars and newspaper advertising.

The result revolutionized the magazine industry. *Munsey's* monthly circulation climbed from 40,000 before its price change to 100,000 in late 1893, 500,000 in 1895, and 700,000 by 1897. His four magazines, *Munsey's*, *Argosy*, *Scrap Book*, and *All-Story*, peaked in March 1906, with a combined circulation of 2.1 million. An average turn-of-the-century *Munsey's* featured 160 pages of text and as many as 100 pages of ads, unprecedented figures for the day. Advertising revenues alone averaged \$25,000 to \$35,000 per issue and more. Munsey toned back the nudity in his "Artists & Their Work" section beginning in 1895 but not before a reputation and market had been created. He featured a monthly section on famous personalities long before celebrities became a magazine mainstay. He solicited fiction and non-fiction writings from well known authors and public men such as Theodore Dreiser, William Dean Howells, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and Theodore Roosevelt, but most of his contributors were modestly paid unknowns. Munsey produced his magazine cheaply on his own printing equipment. Even his signature half-tone photographs were gotten cheaply, reproductions of art works, theatrical pictures, or portraits. Munsey claimed that he cleared \$500,000 a year from his magazines by 1900, \$1.2 million in 1907.

One aspect of turn-of-the-century magazines that Munsey never embraced was muckraking. The January 1900 *Munsey's* featured two articles critical of industrial trusts and monopolies, the basic fodder of muckraking, but that was all. While *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and other muckrake periodicals built their fame and circulations with exposé-style journalism, Munsey stayed with lighter, less critical fare. "*Munsey's Magazine* has never been committed to the muckraking theory, and never will be," Munsey explained in 1910. "Muck-raking is one thing, and progress is quite another." Munsey

was a strong political supporter of progressive Theodore Roosevelt, becoming the primary financier of Roosevelt's ill-fated third-party bid in 1912, but he never considered his magazines a platform for the crusading reforms that marked Progressivism.

Munsey admired millionaires, especially J. Pierpont Morgan, the prime financier of American industrial monopolies at the turn of the twentieth century. Like Morgan, Munsey resolved to knit the disparate United States together into one mass marketplace for his product, information, using the newest technology. Beyond halftones and high speed presses, Munsey's used two other recent innovations to make his magazines a success. The telephone allowed quick contact with faraway distributors, eliminating the need for middle-man news agencies. Improved railroad shipping services, especially to the untapped markets of the West, made timely distribution of a national magazine like *Munsey's* possible for the first time in American history.

The profits from his magazines gave Munsey capital to branch out into the newspaper industry, and he owned some of the best known papers in the country, such as the *New York Daily News*, *New York Sun*, *New York Herald*, *Washington Times*, *Philadelphia Evening Times*, *Boston Journal*, and many others, at one time or another. As with magazines, Munsey tinkered with his newspapers, reducing and raising prices, using red ink for headlines and other typographical innovations, and adding more photographs, human interest, and other magazine-style features. Some of his changes pleased readers but they infuriated his newspaper employees, who considered him ignorant of the newspaper business. However, Munsey's most irritating business practice was the constant purchase, merging, or elimination of what he considered to be superfluous or competitive publications, in a bizarre manner at times. He likened his newspaper and magazine acquisitions to a grocery store chain he owned. The *New York World* insulted him as of "one of the ablest retail grocers that ever edited a New York newspaper." Others, many of them his own employees, considered him the "Grand High Executioner of Journalism."

Munsey's Magazine and its publisher's empire declined after 1907, more so after Roosevelt's defeat in 1912. *Munsey's* set a then record of 265 pages in one 1918 issue. The magazine became an all-fiction pulp in 1921 but never achieved the circulation it had known in its earlier years. When he wasn't merging or killing off publications, Munsey would make impossible demands such as ordering politically unpleasant information withheld, firing entire editorial departments, eliminating pages or sections, or punishing uncooperative employees. He paid \$4 million for the *New York Herald* in 1920 in part so he could fire the paper's editorial cartoonist for an unflattering drawing of Munsey in 1916. He never married, had no family, lived most of his life alone in hotels, and claimed he did not care for money except for what he could accomplish with it.

Munsey died of appendicitis on December 12, 1925. Other great publishers founded schools of journalism or at least insisted that their publications carry on after their death. Munsey ordered that all of his properties, magazines and newspapers included, be sold for cash although much of the profits were used to found New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Ironically, its new publisher combined *Munsey's Magazine* with *Argosy All-Story* in October 1929, eventually dropping the Munsey name altogether. Meanwhile, Munsey, the founder of mass media and the precursor of the Information Age, was eulogized by journalist William Allen White as such: "Frank Munsey contributed to the journalism of his day the talent of a meat packer, the morals of a money changer, and the manners of an undertaker. He and

his kind have about succeeded in transforming a once-noble profession into an eight percent security. May he rest in trust!"

—Richard Digby-Junger

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The Muppets

From their modest beginnings as the stars of TV commercials and children's programming, Jim Henson's Muppets rose to a worldwide fame rivaling Walt Disney's mouse or Warner Brothers' bunny. Henson (1936-1990) coined the term Muppets by combining the words "marionette" and "puppet," which pretty much describes these sock puppets with arms that were usually operated by a single puppeteer. Henson felt that the intimate medium of television demanded of puppets a greater flexibility and expressiveness than the usual painted wooden faces such as Charlie McCarthy or Howdy Doodly could provide, but it wasn't only his puppets' faces that were flexible: the Muppets' loose and loopy sense of humor offered TV viewers a refreshing brand of comedy which almost immediately set Henson's work apart from that of his contemporaries.

In the 1950s, fresh out of high school, young Henson secured a job as a puppeteer at the local NBC TV station in Washington, D.C. All through his college years, Henson's first Muppet prototypes appeared in a five-minute show called *Sam and His Friends* which aired immediately before *The Tonight Show*. In 1958, the program won a local Emmy award, but, curiously, Henson had until then never taken puppetry very seriously. As he later explained to a journalist, "It didn't seem to be the sort of thing a grown man works at for a living." A trip to Europe exposed Henson to a wide tradition of puppetry he hadn't encountered in his own country. The experience inspired him to pursue puppetry in earnest and at the same time it convinced him that he wanted to bring something fresh and innovative to the craft which he'd found lacking in even its most expert European practitioners.

After his graduation from the University of Maryland, Henson earned much of his living by producing TV commercials. One character, Rowlf the Dog, created for a TV dog food ad, ended up as a featured player on *The Jimmy Dean Show* in the 1960s. The talkative, philosophical hound charmed viewers and put a national spotlight on Henson. His Muppets began doing specialty appearances on *The Tonight Show* and *The Ed Sullivan Show*. In one memorable bit, Kermit the Frog—who had not yet made a name for himself—sat idly humming "Glow Worm" and devouring each unfortunate worm which inched his way. The pay-off came when one of the tiny worms

turned out to be the tip of the snout of a great hairy beast, which then in turn gulped down the frog (and belched). Not limiting himself to puppetry, Henson tested his creativity in other venues, such as *Timepiece*, a 1965 short film (nominated for an Oscar), which he wrote, directed, and starred in.

The turning point for Henson's Muppets came in 1969 with the debut of Public Television's innovative children's show *Sesame Street*. The program's runaway success made stars out of the befuddled Big Bird, the ravenous Cookie Monster, ash-can dwelling Oscar the Grouch, and roommates Bert and Ernie (named after the cop and cabbie in Frank Capra's *It's a Wonderful Life*), but especially the gentle puppeteer's alter ego, Kermit the Frog. For the first time in broadcast history, an educational program started drawing ratings comparable to those of the commercial networks, and the Muppets were given their due share of the credit and glory for this feat. Millions of three-to-five-year-olds were falling in love with Henson's creations and begging their parents for Muppet merchandise. Henson, providing the singing voice for Ernie and Kermit, even had hit single records with the songs "Rubber Ducky," which was just for fun, and "It's Not Easy Being Green," a subtle plea for racial tolerance. Eventually, such was the Muppets' stature in show biz that Kermit filled in one night for Johnny Carson as the guest host on *The Tonight Show*. To this day, Muppets are starring on the still-running *Sesame Street*.

In the 1970s, a series of Muppet TV specials inevitably led to the weekly half-hour *The Muppet Show*. Premiering in 1976, *The Muppet Show* featured the puppets in a variety show format, interacting each week with a different human star. But none of these celebrities outshone the Muppets themselves, nor did their stellar performances eclipse the public's interest in the ongoing, one-sided courtship between shy Kermit and the boisterous, short-tempered coquette, Miss Piggy. The phenomenal success of *The Muppet Show*—it has been called the most popular TV show ever—led in turn to *The Muppet Movie* (1979) and other big screen follow-ups including *The Muppets Take Manhattan* (1984), *The Muppet Christmas Carol* (1992), *Muppet Treasure Island* (1996), and *Muppets from Space* (1999).

The continued success of his Muppets in all these ventures enabled Henson to branch out into other areas of show business artistry. Henson Associates, a multi-media organization which far outstripped its humble origins with a frog, has provided creatures for various filmmakers, such as cinematic realizations of the famous characters from *Alice in Wonderland* for the 1985 movie *DreamChild*. One of Henson's own special projects, *The Dark Crystal* (1983), was an elfin fantasy in the Tolkien manner, populated entirely by beasts and fairies of Henson's devising. The Henson influence can be witnessed in the *Star Wars* films in the presence of Yoda, a puppet given voice by long-time Henson associate Frank Oz. TV series continued to issue forth from Henson Associates, including the children's program *Fraggle Rock* and the sophisticated fairy tale presentations of *The Storyteller*. Henson was responsible for the creature effects in *The Witches*, a film based on a story by Roald Dahl, which, sadly, turned out to be the last project on which the puppeteer-turned-media-mogul would be involved. In 1990, the tall, bearded, gentle genius suddenly died after a brief illness. Henson's organization continues to produce innovative work in the field of fantasy and "creature creation," and, of course, his Muppets have proven that they have a life of their own.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Murder, She Wrote

The longest-running detective drama series in television history, *Murder, She Wrote* premiered in September 1984 and ended in May 1996 after 261 episodes, becoming a feature of popular American cultural life in the process, and the highest-rated drama series for nine of its 12 seasons. As James Parish observed in *The Unofficial Murder, She Wrote Casebook*, the series broke a number of television rules, not least in having a middle-aged female lead where previous crime or



Angela Lansbury in *Murder, She Wrote*.

suspense dramas with female stars had involved glamorous young women—Angie Dickinson in *Police Woman*, for example. The show did, however, tap into a vast reading audience who enjoyed traditional detective fiction by writers such as Agatha Christie. Despite the literary success of amateur detection stories in which crimes are solved by deduction rather than convenient coincidence or violent physical confrontation, few attempts had been made to adapt such material to television.

Murder, She Wrote was created by Peter S. Fischer and his longtime collaborators Richard Levinson and William Link. The latter two, who had been responsible for a number of television programs, including *Mannix*, *Columbo*, and *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, served only as consultants after the pilot episode. The character of Jessica Fletcher, a widowed ex-high school teacher and successful mystery novelist who hails from Maine but lives in Manhattan where she teaches criminology at Manhattan University, was conceived as a contemporary, energetic, self-sufficient woman rather than a dowdy spinster. The writers furnished her with the curiosity and the will necessary to ask uncomfortable questions, as well as the tenacity to get the answers. Although the scripts were designed to draw on many of the conventions of cozy, “golden age” detective fiction—the closed circle of suspects often gathered together at the end for the final revelation, and the use of flashbacks to review key moments of action and major clues—its creators tried to avoid some of the mistakes made in shows like *The Adventures of Ellery Queen*, whose bumbling hero, 1940s setting, and complex plots were too outmoded to appeal to latter-day audiences.

Murder, She Wrote allowed the viewer to play detective along with Jessica Fletcher. In addition, her literary career was not an afterthought, but added substance to her character, and provided a springboard for many of the plots. Miss Fletcher was presented as a prolific novelist whose output was studded with intriguingly parodic titles, from her first, “The Corpse Danced at Midnight” to “Dirge for a Dead Dachshund” to “The Stain on the Stairs.” All of these familiar elements, present throughout the series, both created and fulfilled audience expectations, with each facet contributing to the show’s success and longevity. Formula here, as in most television, was an integral ingredient, so *Murder, She Wrote* simply immersed itself in the form it had adopted, ignored its improbabilities, and rode to success with its star, Angela Lansbury.

The role of Jessica Fletcher was originally offered to Jean Stapleton, who turned it down. Angela Lansbury was approached on the strength of having played Agatha Christie’s Miss Marple in the films *Death on the Nile* (1978) and *The Mirror Crack’d* (1980); it was also known that she was interested in the challenge of a television series. Lansbury, who said in an interview that “mystery is the most popular form of fiction there is and most television shows deal with it in one way or another,” liked the script, and the character, and, in accepting, brought a distinguished provenance to the small screen.

The granddaughter of George Lansbury, a distinguished British Labor Party leader, Angela Lansbury was born in London on 16 October 1925. She was evacuated to the United States in the early 1940s, continued her drama training, and went to Hollywood in 1943. A screen test led to a contract with MGM and her debut role as the devious maid in *Gaslight* (1944), which brought her the first of three Oscar nominations as Best Supporting Actress. (The others were for *The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1944, and *The Manchurian Candidate*, 1962.) She often played older women and was a noteworthy purveyor of malicious characters. A long stage career blossomed into theater stardom when she played the title role in *Mame* on Broadway in 1966.

The musical won her a Tony Award, followed by three more for *Dear World* (1969), the revival of *Gypsy* (1975), and *Sweeney Todd* (1979). Ironically, as with the Oscars, the Emmys eluded her grasp, despite her 12 nominations for *Murder, She Wrote*.

Lansbury labored tirelessly to mold Jessica into an unconventional character, despite confessing early on that she felt she was playing “an older Nancy Drew.” She lamented the character’s lack of emotional involvement in the action, and the necessity of leaving most of the dramatic scenes to the guests, but the drive and sincerity of her performance paid off. By the third season, however, Lansbury gained weight and became depressed about her appearance. In the process of overcoming the problem, she wrote a book on health and fitness and made an exercise video. Her commitment to the show escalated when Peter Fischer left before the ninth season and she became executive producer. Surrounded by family—her husband as an advisor, her son as a segment director, and her brother as producer and sometime scriptwriter—and ably supported on screen over the years by faces familiar to the show such as Tom Bosley, Ron Masak, William Windom, Jerry Orbach, and Len Cariou, the series flourished.

Originally set in the fictional small town of Cabot Cove, Maine (filmed in Mendocino and other locations in northern California and Oregon), in its eighth season the series shifted its primary locale to Manhattan. The plotlines had often taken the amateur sleuth traveling the world on various pretexts from visiting friends to attending conferences. The varied locations acknowledged the need to keep the series fresh, as did such devices as a crossover episode with *Magnum P.I.*, and the presentation of a dramatized version of one of Jessica’s “novels.” During the sixth and seventh seasons, in a ploy that gave the star a needed rest, she merely narrated stories featuring other recurring characters, thus appearing herself in only 13 of 22 and 17 of 22 episodes respectively. In one memorable episode, she played Jessica’s British cousin Emma, a music hall performer. Another prominent feature of the series was its casting of veteran actors and actresses in guest roles, many of them playing offbeat characters who served as red herrings to mask the murderer, but, as years went by, a deliberate effort was made to cast younger performers in order to draw a more youthful audience.

From the outset, *Murder, She Wrote* found favor with the majority of critics, who praised its cleverness and sophistication, its lack of violence, and Angela Lansbury’s polished portrayal. The public quickly became devotees of the show, but it garnered its share of negative criticism. Detractors attacked the solve-it-yourself plotting as patronizing and objected to the heavy quota of elderly characters. The star did not escape. Referred to in one instance as “granny Mary Poppins,” in another, a reviewer complained, with justification, that Jessica, in a ladylike way, was “the most intrusive butt-in-sky on prime-time television.” Yet the show’s high ratings and longevity attested to its strengths, as did the modest merchandising products that evolved from it—a computer jigsaw puzzle, a cookbook, and numerous novelizations.

The final seasons, however, brought problems. The series’ perennial appeal to older viewers, coupled with increasingly expensive production costs, weakened the network’s confidence and support and in 1996 the show was moved without warning from Sunday nights to Thursdays. Aired opposite youth-oriented programs, including *Friends* (which was spoofed in one of the last episodes), *Murder, She Wrote* sank in the ratings. The final show, “Death by Demographics,” served as a subtle but pointed reference to its situation. Though the last four installments reverted to the Sunday slot, it was too late and the final curtain rang down on 12 years of

Jessica Fletcher et al. A TV movie appeared in 1997, and the original episodes went into syndication. In an article in *TV Guide*, Angela Lansbury thanked her fans and expressed the hope that Jessica Fletcher would be remembered as courageous, independent, and “a champion of the wrongfully accused.”

—Stephen L. Thompson

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Murphy Brown

Created, produced, and written by Diane English, *Murphy Brown* debuted in 1988 during a period when women were nearly eliminated from television by all-male “buddy” shows. One of the only series to focus on a female character that year, it would become one of the most popular of the 1980s and 1990s and enter the platform of a presidential campaign.

The main character, Murphy Brown (Candice Bergen), was one of the most well developed characters to ever appear on a sitcom. At the beginning of the series, Murphy, a highly competitive journalist, had just spent time in the Betty Ford Clinic, where she overcame the drinking and smoking addictions honed during her years as an ambitious journalist. Included in the ensemble cast were her “family” of co-workers on the fictitious television newsmagazine, *FYI*, and Eldin Bernecky (Robert Pastorelli), house-painter-turned-permanent-fixture at home.

Murphy’s co-anchor was Jim Dial (Charles Kimbrough), a newsman in the image of Edward Murrow, who for 25 years had been a respected peer of such luminaries as Walter Cronkite and Dan Rather. Corky Sherwood (Faith Ford) was the naive former Miss America who was brought onto *FYI* to add youth and energy to the “aging” program by covering human interest stories of dubious value. Rounding out the *FYI* team was Frank Fontana (Joe Regalbuto), Murphy’s best friend and the show’s insecure investigative reporter. For the first eight years, Miles Silverberg (Grant Shaud) was the neurotic boy-wonder who was foisted on the experienced triumvirate as the show’s producer. He was replaced by Kay (Lily Tomlin), the no-nonsense veteran who could be as abrasive as Murphy.

Murphy Brown dealt frankly and intelligently with topical issues such as homelessness, political correctness and over-sensitivity, celebrity, ecology and the environment, first amendment protection, single motherhood and “family values.” Not only did the series readily address issues of substance, but it often reflected a strong viewpoint on the issue, as when Brown went to jail rather than reveal the source of a story.

It was the series' willingness to take a stand on issues and to deal with controversial topics that propelled Murphy Brown into the center of controversy over contemporary morality. During the 1991-92 season, the unmarried Murphy became pregnant, although the baby was given a quasi-legitimacy as the child of Murphy's ex-husband. In part because of the popularity of the character and the show, Murphy became the topic of heated debate within the media and the target of conservative politicians and religious groups. In speeches during the 1992 presidential campaign, vice president Dan Quayle criticized Murphy Brown for being an unwed mother and a symbol of declining family values. The argument quickly spread to a variety of national magazines from *U.S. News and World Report* to *Christian Century*, and, in an episode from the 1992 season, Murphy replied to Quayle's comments in a segment of *FYI* that featured real-life nontraditional families.

During the final season, Murphy learned that she had breast cancer and, in addition to the typical comedy stories, many episodes chronicled her battle and the way in which she dealt with this new crisis in her life. At the end of several episodes, Candice Bergen made public service announcements concerning breast cancer awareness. At last, in the final episode, Murphy learned that she was cancer-free. After questioning her priorities and lifestyle, Murphy decided that there was nothing she would rather do than continue her work on *FYI*. Perhaps the most satisfying scene of all was when she returned home to find Eldin, who had left several years earlier to "paint" in Spain, in her townhouse planning his "masterpiece" to be painted on her den ceiling.

While Murphy was, in many ways, a feminist role model, her character was not without the typical conflicting signals and symbols found in female characters who are successes in non-traditional terms. Although she was extremely successful in her work, the traits that aided in her success were those generally ascribed to males in our society—independence, bluntness, excessive self-confidence, courage, and ambition. In addition, her private life, the traditional realm of the female, was a disaster. The implicit message seemed to be that to be successful a woman must be masculinized, thereby losing her "female-ness" and resulting in an empty personal life.

Murphy Brown offered a nontraditional role model of female success even though it also presented conflicting messages of the cost of that success to women. Yet, through it all Murphy was depicted as a survivor of a dysfunctional childhood and a professional journey replete with "hard knocks." For the viewing audience, perhaps her resiliency and persistence were the most positive and beneficial aspects of her character.

—Denise Lowe

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Murphy, Eddie (1961—)

As a stand-up comedian and a cast member of *Saturday Night Live* (1981-1984) Eddie Murphy rose quickly from obscurity to stardom. In the movies *48 HRS.* (1982), *Trading Places* (1983), and



Eddie Murphy as Stevie Wonder on *Saturday Night Live*.

Beverly Hills Cop (1984), he played street-smart characters forced into unusual situations. The popularity of his action-comedies decreased steadily after these early successes, but Murphy reinvented himself by leaving behind adult themes and found success in family films such as *The Nutty Professor* (1996), *Doctor Dolittle* (1998), and *Mulan* (1998).

—Christian L. Pyle

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Murray, Anne (1946—)

Juxtaposing fresh-faced country girl innocence with a hard-nosed sense of business practicality, Anne Murray is a Canadian national treasure who, from the early 1970s, became a singing star throughout North America. By the late 1990s, her velvety contralto voice and personable delivery had taken her from her simple beginnings as a ukulele-strumming folk singer to her high-profile status as one of the most highly paid Canadian entertainers. Though ultra-cool music critics sometimes sneered at her efforts to broaden her genre (one called her disco album "Madonna of Sunnybrook Farm"), even they found it difficult to fault Murray within the folk-pop-country niche that she made her own.

Murray was born in the Nova Scotia mining town of Springhill to a Scottish Presbyterian surgeon and a coal miner's daughter, just in time to grow up to the smooth pop sounds of the pre-rock and roll 1950s. As a toddler, she was already singing along with her parents'



Anne Murray

albums, and she gave her first public singing performance at age 15, yet she had never considered singing as a career choice. “Singing was something you did in the bathtub and around bonfires,” she said. “I felt there was no security in it.” Always a tomboy, who enjoyed playing ice hockey with her five brothers, Murray got a physical education degree from the University of New Brunswick and went on to teach the discipline on Prince Edward Island. As a sideline, she regularly performed on a CBC-TV show called *Singalong Jubilee*, playing a baritone ukulele as she sang folk songs from the Maritime provinces and rapidly gained popularity across Canada.

In 1970 a recording she made of a song called “Snowbird” became an immediate hit, both in Canada and across the border in the United States, and from that point Anne Murray launched into a singing career that lasted over 30 years and yielded 30 hit singles and nearly 40 albums in three decades, as well as television specials in Canada and America, and many awards for her music. In 1990, the Anne Murray Center, a museum devoted to her life and career, opened in her home town of Springhill.

During the 1970s Murray moved to Toronto and married Bill Langstroth, who had been her associate producer and host on *Singalong Jubilee*. After a brief, difficult period from 1976 to 1978, when she tried but failed to fit into the glitzy American rock scene, she opted to prioritize her family over stardom, and placed strict limitations on her touring concert schedule to ensure that she spent sufficient time at home with her children. Whatever income she might have sacrificed as a result, was well compensated for by the adroit management of the enterprise that is Anne Murray. The careful investments made by trusted financial advisors, combined with Murray’s own hardheaded

business sense, turned the singer’s sales and royalties into something of an empire. Her company, Balmur Ltd., is a successful talent agency that handles not only her own career, but also a handful of other Canadian singers including her brother Bruce.

When Murray was a child, listening to the girl singers of the 1950s, she aspired to be “just like Doris Day.” In a way, she achieved her wish. Her public persona, like Day’s, has always been friendly and likable, fresh and wholesome—sometimes to her dismay. “It’s a real pain in the ass, having to read all that crap about me being goody-two-shoes next door,” she has complained. Also like Day, she has been pursued through her career by rumors that she is gay. The rumors have been hotly denied, but she has always attracted a large lesbian following, drawn perhaps to her tomboyish appearance, casual manner, and cello-deep voice. Within the gay community stories have circulated of Murray-sightings in lesbian bars and of possible affairs with well known lesbians such as fellow Canadian singer kd lang.

Though an internationally known star, who has made recordings in phonetically learned French and Spanish, and commercials on Japanese TV, Anne Murray has maintained a simple and thrifty lifestyle. While perhaps staying in elite hotels with posh service on tour, at home in Toronto she remained a housewife and mother. Though she separated from her husband in the late 1990s after 25 years of marriage, she continued to live with her children and give priority to her personal life over her public career, but with no loss of popularity as a performing artist.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Murray, Arthur (1895-1991)

The logo of Arthur Murray International Dance Schools is the stylized silhouette of a man and woman dancing. Drawn with broad and sweeping lines, it suggests movement, elegance, and romance, the very qualities that have been associated with the name of Arthur Murray for over eight decades. Combining his love of dance with a canny business sense and a shrewd perception of human nature, Murray first began giving dancing lessons to earn some extra money. By the time he retired, there were hundreds of studio franchises bearing his name—a name that had become synonymous with ballroom dancing itself.

Born Moses Teichman, the son of Austrian immigrants, Murray grew up on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. He was a shy, hardworking youth who attended high school by day, studied draftsmanship by night, and worked as an errand boy in between. To overcome his shyness, he asked a girl friend to teach him to dance, and



Arthur and Kathryn Murray

by the time he was 17, he was giving lessons himself. In the next few years he studied with the famous performers and dance instructors Irene and Vernon Castle and, through them, he got a job in the resort town of Marblehead, Massachusetts, teaching dance to upper-class vacationers. It was 1914 and World War I was imminent; a Germanic (not to mention Jewish) name like Moses Teichman might have made the customers nervous, and at Irene Castle's suggestion, the young man changed his name to Arthur Murray. Following his introduction to elite society in Marblehead, he went to college in Georgia, where he continued to supplement his income by giving dance lessons.

Before 1900 there was little ballroom dance in the United States beyond the fox trot and the polka, but the advent of jazz and ragtime in the early decades of the twentieth century brought a wave of new dances that swept the nation. The Kangaroo Dip, the Chicken Scratch, and the Turkey Trot were just a few of the new dances Americans were anxious to learn. With an acute sense of business timing and strategy, Murray rode the new wave of dance popularity, teaching lessons, organizing dances, and even tapping into the new mail order market to sell lessons by mail. His success prompted *Forbes* magazine to feature an article about him, headlined "This College Student Earns \$15,000 a Year."

Murray owed the success of his mail order campaign to his innovative approach to dance instruction—his famous "footsteps." Rather than merely describing the movements of a particular dance, Murray invented the concept of diagrams, with silhouetted footprints illustrating the movements. His advertisement, under the banner "How I Became Popular Overnight," has remained a Madison

Avenue classic. The combination of accessible learning techniques and their appeal to the socially insecure, made lessons "the Arthur Murray way" wildly popular.

Another trademark of Arthur Murray's approach had originated perhaps that first summer in Marblehead. Perceiving that social dancing was associated with both romance and refinement, Murray promoted those associations in his lessons. When he opened his first franchise studios in 1938, he continued the tradition of providing elegant instructors who would adhere to his philosophy of teaching dance "not as isolated feet or step movements, but as an integral part of social life and an expression and celebration of it."

From those first studios, Murray went on to build an ever-expanding dance empire. There was a dip in business during the Depression, but, by 1946, there were 72 Arthur Murray Studios nationwide, and in the 1950s he graduated from sponsoring early television shows to having his own. *Arthur Murray's Dance Party* ran from 1950 to 1961, and ushered in a new boom in ballroom dancing to accompany the country's new prosperity. At its height, the show brought 2000 new students a week to Arthur Murray Studios around the country. Many celebrities, from Elizabeth Arden and Katherine Hepburn to Enrico Caruso and the Duke of Windsor, learned to dance in an Arthur Murray studio.

Also in the 1950s, Philip Masters and George Theiss, former students of Murray's, joined the organization. Though their names would never be as famous as their mentor's, they would eventually take the helm of the organization that became known as Arthur Murray International (AMI). The Studio remained on the cutting edge of new trends, sending instructors to study in Cuba and bring back the latest in Latin dance. It was Arthur Murray instructors who introduced the Lambada to the United States in the 1970s, having discovered it in Paris where it was fast becoming the rage.

When Murray retired in 1969, there were more than 350 franchise studios internationally, pulling in a gross annual income of over \$25 million, but the "no-touch" individualistic style of dancing that became popular in the 1960s decreased the demand for ballroom dancing. AMI persevered, however, capitalizing heavily on the skilled disco-style dancing of the late 1970s as popularized by John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever* (1977). Happily, all fashion is cyclical, and the "retro" culture of the 1980s and 1990s once again came to admire the elegance, romance and agility associated with social ballroom dance. By the end of the century in which it was born, AMI was still there, holding out the promise of grace, style and popularity in its pricey packages of instruction.

The AMI statement of purpose calls dancing "the art that brings people together." With hundreds of franchise studios in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, Canada, Puerto Rico, South America, Australia, and Israel, the organization spreads that art, teaching waltz, fox-trot, tango, samba, rumba, and cha-cha to students of widely varying skill, and diverse reasons for learning. Whether they are among the thousands who join to find a social life at the Arthur Murray dancing parties, or the few who continue the efforts to make ballroom dancing a competitive Olympic event, all are a realization of a shy young New Yorker's dream. In learning to overcome his own shyness, Arthur Murray found a magic solution to the universal problem of social insecurity—and, in true American fashion, he turned it into a multi-million dollar business.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Murray, Bill (1950—)

Despite actor Bill Murray's high exposure and national success on television's *Saturday Night Live* and as the semi-delusional greenskeeper in the golf classic *Caddyshack* (1980) the enduring gift he had bequeathed to popular culture by the 1990s rested in the image of his smug and arrogant weatherman who, inexplicably one February 2, wakes up in the town of Punxsutawney and finds himself having to relive the day over and over again, until he recognizes the folly of his ways. The transformation of weatherman Phil into a loving, caring

human being takes place in *Groundhog Day* (1993), an inventive "feel-good" fantasy with a message that springs from the tradition of Frank Capra and captivated cinema-going audiences. In the film, Murray demonstrated that he could be equally effective as a Mr. Nasty or a Mr. Nice, and earned serious plaudits.

When the network executives of NBC's *Saturday Night Live* (SNL) first saw Bill Murray, they wrote him off as an Irish Catholic street fighter. He was no Chevy Chase, and this perception of his quality almost cost him a job with the network and the stardom it brought him. Over the years, however, Murray churned through a succession of images, from slick Vegas nightclub singer, through con-artist scientist turned ghostbuster, to the suave weatherman of *Groundhog Day*.

The fifth of nine children of a Chicago lumber salesman, Bill Murray dropped out of a Jesuit college and into arrest on charges of marijuana possession. While on probation, he did a series of manual jobs before following his older brother Brian Doyle Murray into Chicago's famous improvisational comedy theater company, Second City. This led to his joining a cast that included John Belushi, Dan Aykroyd, and Gilda Radner for the *National Lampoon Radio Hour* in



Bill Murray with the gopher in a scene from the film *Caddyshack*.

1975 and the subsequent New York cabaret revue, the *National Lampoon Show*. The timing of Murray's move to New York was fortuitous, coinciding with the period when producer Lorne Michaels was developing a new television show, *Saturday Night Live*. Murray auditioned for the original cast of SNL, portraying the sleazy nightclub singer that he would later bring to the show, which he joined in 1977, having lost out to John Belushi the first time around.

When Chevy Chase left SNL after its first season, Michaels sought out Murray despite the network's reservations. At first, the newcomer remained in the shadows of SNL's stars Belushi and Aykroyd, but when the duo left, Murray was designated the new male star, and during the show's fifth season the majority of the male roles fell to him. He was a particular hit as Nick, the sleazy Las Vegas lounge singer and as the clueless movie critic who never saw the movies he reviewed but panned them anyway.

Murray's success on SNL led him into movies, beginning with *Meatballs* (1979), a puerile adolescent comedy made in Canada, directed by Ivan Reitman, and written by a team of writers and actors including comedian Harold Ramis. He left SNL after the fifth season, and played a variety of roles, large and small, in movies of variable quality, including *Caddyshack* with Chevy Chase and the dramatic lead in a failed 1984 remake of *The Razor's Edge* (which he co-wrote). That same year he was reunited with Harold Ramis, Dan Aykroyd, and director Ivan Reitman for the hugely successful box-office hit, *Ghostbusters* (1984). His performance as Dr. Peter Venkman, brash, confident, cool, and seemingly unaffected by the cataclysmic events surrounding him, seemed tailor-made for Bill Murray. His persona, and the sardonic wink and roll of the eyes that became a trademark mannerism, appealed as much to movie audiences as it had to fans of SNL, and he graduated to solo star status with *Scrooged* (1988), a contemporary take on Charles Dickens' *A Christmas Carol*. Playing Scrooge in the guise of a New York television company executive who is forced to confront the hollowness of his life. A more vulnerable, three-dimensional aspect of Murray's acting abilities was mined and revealed, and evolved further in *Groundhog Day*.

These roles evidenced a new thoughtfulness in Bill Murray's approach to his career, and he sought to continue challenging his abilities by playing characters of substance. Although established as a popular and successful leading man in the 1990s, he still took supporting roles in movies such as *Mad Dog and Glory* (1993), *Ed Wood* (1994), and *Rushmore* (1998). His performances in all of these movies brought critical acclaim. While he has not altogether abandoned the use of his comedic talents, which brought him his initial success, he has moved on, demonstrating sufficient versatility to carry his career into the twenty-first century.

—John J. Doherty

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Bodybuilder Lenda Murray became the first black Ms. Olympia in 1990 and then tied predecessor Cory Everson's record by winning the title five more times. An outstanding athlete in high school, Murray was an all-city sprinter and a cheerleader at her Detroit high school. She continued her cheerleading at Western Michigan University, where she earned a degree in political science and became the first African American to be chosen as the university's homecoming queen. Murray has been a televangelist for exercise on various cable television shows, and she has done color commentary on bodybuilding events for ESPN. She has also been featured in national magazines such as *Vanity Fair*, *Ebony*, *Mademoiselle*, and *Sports Illustrated*.

—Jan Todd

Murrow, Edward R. (1908-1965)

Edward R. Murrow is the preeminent journalist in American broadcasting, having defined the standards of excellence and social responsibility for the news media. He was the guiding force for the development of news and public affairs on radio during the 1930s and 1940s as well as television during the 1950s. He almost single-handedly created a tradition that distinguished the broadcast journalist from the newspaper reporter while embodying the ideals of courage and integrity for the entire profession.

Murrow is one of the few giants of the industry to live up to his legend. He had both the style and substance to incarnate the quintessential roving correspondent. With his rich, resonant voice and penetrating eye, he documented some of the most profound events of the twentieth century. He also looked the part of the slightly world-weary reporter who was impelled by conscience to set the record



Edward R. Murrow

straight. A Hemingwayesque figure with brooding good looks and invariably draped in a worn raincoat, Murrow was described as “the only foreign correspondent who could play a foreign correspondent in the movies and give all the glamour Hollywood wants.”

Murrow’s rise to fame is even more astounding because he never aspired to a reportorial career. Unlike his contemporaries in radio, who almost exclusively came from a newspaper background, Murrow was trained as an educational administrator. Born Egbert Roscoe Murrow in Greensboro, North Carolina on April 25, 1908, he graduated from Washington State University with majors in political science, speech, and international relations. He served as president of the National Student Federation, organizing international travel for students and debates between American and European universities. He also was assistant director of the Institute of International Education, where he supervised offices in London, Berlin, and Vienna. He was hired by CBS in 1935 for his executive ability, not his journalistic skills.

His first responsibility was as director of talks and special events, where he secured personalities to appear on the CBS radio network. In 1937 he was sent to London to schedule European speakers and oversee short-wave cultural programming. In March of 1938 he was on his way to Poland to arrange for a *School of the Air* broadcast when Adolf Hitler’s German forces invaded Austria. Murrow chartered a passenger airliner and, out of necessity, reported the occupation from Vienna. He followed up with reports from London, describing Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain’s negotiations with the Germans and the eventual annexation of Czechoslovakia a year later.

In the late 1930s there was no network tradition of reporting international crises. With another major war almost inevitable, Murrow was instructed to staff correspondents in all the major European capitals. His team, known as “Murrow’s boys,” was radio’s first professional corps of journalists and reported daily on CBS’s *World News Roundup*. The members, whose ranks included William Shirer, Eric Sevareid, Charles Collingwood, and Howard K. Smith, were imbued with their leader’s unflinching dedication and would have an impact on broadcast news for years to come.

More than anyone else, Murrow was able to bring the war into the homes of America. During the bombing of London in the fall of 1939 and early 1940, his impressionistic prose captured the anxiety and resolve of British people. Often speaking from the rooftops, Murrow commenced each broadcast with a somber gravity, “This . . . is London.” His graphic description, called “metallic poetry” by one critic, gave an eyewitness account of the horror and devastation of the blitz. Poet Archibald MacLeish stated that Murrow “burned the city of London in our houses and we felt that flame . . . [he] laid the dead of London at our doors.” Because of Murrow’s intimate broadcasts, America no longer seemed thousands of miles away from the conflict.

In his long career, Murrow was never an impartial anchorman. He emerged from the tradition of the radio commentator, who did not shy away from expressing an opinion. During World War II Murrow wove his editorial views subtly into the broadcasts, not trying to be objective about the war against Hitler. As he often said, there is no reason to balance the values of Jesus Christ with those of Judas Iscariot. After World War II, Murrow had hope that the media would engage other less defined issues, such as injustice and ignorance.

During the mid-1940s, Murrow was a national celebrity, but had trouble finding a forum for his pursuit of truth. He was dissatisfied as a CBS vice president in charge of news and public affairs. He deliberately avoided television, proclaiming “I wish goddamned television had never been invented.” In 1948 he found piece of mind by producing a series of record albums with Fred W. Friendly, a

former radio producer at a Rhode Island station. The *I Can Hear It Now* albums interwove historical events and speeches with Murrow narration and, surprisingly, became a commercial success. The Murrow/Friendly partnership clicked, and the team developed a radio series, *Hear It Now*, which featured the sounds of current events, illuminated, of course, by the wisdom of Murrow.

In 1951 the team agreed to modify the *Now* concept again, this time emphasizing the visual dynamic of television. They called the effort *See It Now*. Murrow did not want the medium’s first documentary series to be a passive recap of daily events, but an active engagement with the issues of the day. To implement this vision, Murrow and Friendly formed the first autonomous news unit in television. With Murrow as host and editor-in-chief and Friendly as managing editor, *See It Now* hired its own camera crews and reporters. As he did with radio, Murrow changed the fundamental structure of newsgathering in television.

“This is an old team trying to learn a new trade,” proclaimed Murrow on the premiere of *See It Now*, which aired on November 18, 1951. Murrow, as in all the programs that followed, was seated in Studio 41 amid the television technology—the monitors, the microphones, and supporting technicians. To underscore this breakthrough in instantaneous coverage, Murrow relayed the first live coast-to-coast transmission, summoning up a split screen of the Brooklyn Bridge in New York City and the Golden Gate Bridge in San Francisco.

See It Now achieved many firsts during its early run. Reaching an audience of three million homes, Murrow presented the first broadcast from a submerged submarine. The program also simulated coverage of a mock bomb attack on New York City, with Murrow reporting from an F-94 jet. During the 1952 Christmas season *See It Now* featured a one-hour report on the realities of the ground war in Korea. The special surveyed the frustrations and anxieties of everyday soldiers and was described by *The New Yorker* as “one of the most impressive presentations in television’s short life, [picturing] for us a tragic living legend of our time . . . with great piety and understanding.”

Impelled by the accolades, Murrow and Friendly wanted to report on the anti-communist hysteria that was beginning to envelop the country. The team searched for what Friendly called “the little picture,” a story that could symbolize this wrenching issue. In October 1953 Murrow and reporter Joe Wershba produced “The Case of Milo Radulovich,” a study of an Air Force lieutenant who was branded a security risk because his family subscribed to subversive newspapers. In “Argument in Indianapolis,” broadcast one month later, *See It Now* investigated an American Legion chapter that refused to book its meeting hall to the American Civil Liberties Union, a potent metaphor for how the demagogic tactics of Senator Joseph McCarthy penetrated middle America.

On March 9, 1954 *See It Now* decided to expose the architect of this paranoia, McCarthy himself. Murrow used documentary material, “told mainly in his own words and pictures,” to refute the half-truths and misstatements of the junior senator of Wisconsin. In his tailpiece Murrow explicitly challenged his viewers to confront their fears: “this is no time for men who oppose Senator McCarthy’s methods to keep silent.” The McCarthy program produced tensions in the relationship between Murrow and the network. CBS did not assist in promoting the broadcast and questioned whether Murrow had overstepped the boundaries of editorial objectivity.

See It Now continued to provoke controversy. Murrow interviewed J. Robert Oppenheimer, the physicist who was removed as

advisor to the Atomic Energy Commission because he was suspected of being a Soviet agent. The series also documented issues of desegregation, the cold war, and governmental scandal. Beginning in October 1953, Murrow counterbalanced his grave image by hosting a celebrity talk show, *Person to Person*. Each week Murrow electronically visited the homes of personalities from the arts, sports, politics, and business. Critics worried about the show's lack of depth, particularly the interviews with such movie stars as Marilyn Monroe and Marlon Brando. In the late 1950s Murrow hosted a discussion series of greater depth, *Small World*, where he moderated an unrehearsed conversation among intellectuals and world leaders situated in studios and homes around the globe.

Murrow received numerous awards for his work on *See It Now* and *Person to Person*, but his relationship with CBS deteriorated. Murrow complained about the increasing commercialism of television. He lambasted the industry at a 1958 convention for radio and television news directors by stating the medium insulated the viewer from "the realities of the world in which we live." His crusades and jeremiads were accepted in times of war and national hysteria, but in the late 1950s they seemed out of place in a prosperous nation. After the cancellation of *See It Now*, CBS split up the esteemed team of Ed Murrow and Fred Friendly. Friendly became executive producer of *CBS Reports*, for which Murrow occasionally hosted such investigative reports as *Harvest of Shame*.

In 1961, President John Kennedy persuaded Murrow to leave CBS to become director of the United States Information Agency. Murrow remained in that post until 1964, when he resigned because he was suffering from lung cancer. Always a heavy smoker, Murrow had investigated the connection between cigarettes and cancer for *See It Now*. Murrow died on April 27, 1965 and was saluted by *The New York Times* "as broadcasting's true voice."

Edward R. Murrow remains the dominant individual in broadcast news. During his 25-year career, he made more than 5,000 reports, many of which are now considered journalistic classics, probing into the twentieth century's most troubling issues with poetry and insight. Murrow and partner Friendly invented the magazine news format, which became the major documentary form on network television. Shaping the form and content of television news, they also tested the limits of editorial advocacy. Murrow became the exemplar of free speech and democratic ideals in a commercial media. As the *Columbia Journalism Review* noted, Murrow's "spirit is still invoked . . . whenever the glories, the deprivations, and the promise of television news come up for argument."

—Ron Simon

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Muscle Beach

Hard by the Santa Monica Pier, on an otherwise empty section of beach, there is a plaque which reads, "The Original Location of Muscle Beach. The Birthplace of the Physical Fitness Boom of the Twentieth Century." Although somewhat hyperbolic, the statement is not far wrong. What began as a sort of playground for acrobatic adults in the years before World War II became, after the war was over and people were looking for a little overdue "R & R," a magnet for men and women who were captivated by the sun, the sand, the skin, and the sense of endless summer that resides in the mythology of Southern California. The original Muscle Beach drew, and helped to shape, the careers of many cultural icons, including Steve Reeves, Jack LaLanne, Mae West, Pudgy Stockton, Vic Tanny, Joe Weider, and, of course, Arnold Schwarzenegger.

There were, to be sure, other—and earlier—locations where, for a time, physical fitness boomed, albeit under the more precise label of physical culture. Battle Creek, Michigan's Sanitarium, under the energetic, eccentric direction of Dr. John Harvey Kellogg; Bernarr Macfadden's Physical Culture Hotel in Florida; and Robert (Bob) Hoffman's York Barbell Club in York (often called "Muscle town"), Pennsylvania, were among the spots where people came in hopes of improving their strength, their health, their appearance or, more usually, all three. Two things elevated Muscle Beach over these earlier Meccas of strength and health: first, the "Beach" did not depend on the personal force of one man, and second, the location was unbeatable.

American photography, art, advertising, television, and film have traded on the image of a magical Southern California lifestyle since the beginning of the twentieth century. "California dreamin'" is, in a way, the logical extension of the American Dream; and names such as Hollywood, Beverly Hills, and Sunset Boulevard evoke

glamour, youth, and good vibrations throughout America. All that was needed to ignite an explosion of interest in the beach lifestyle was a group of insouciant young folks who, by their own example, showed Southern Californians and the world how to have fun in the sun.

Although some historians note that a gymnastics “horse” was set up on the Santa Monica beach in 1924, or that Kate Giroux, a playground instructor at the beach, installed parallel bars, rings, and a gymnastics platform in 1934, the real Muscle Beach began when Abbye “Pudgy” Evile (Pudgy Stockton) and her boyfriend, Les Stockton, began to meet in the summer of 1939 with a small group of tumblers and hand balancers at a platform built there by the W.P.A. Soon they were joined in the long summer afternoons by others who either liked acrobatics or who thought they would. By 1940, the Beach was bustling, and in the months before the war, Pudgy and Les were joined by accomplished tumbler-balancers such as Glenn Sundby, Bruce Conner, and Wayne Long. The weekend crowds who came to see the free, circus-like performances grew, and grew again, often reaching several thousand spectators.

In the beginning, there were no barbells or dumbbells on the beach, but soon they began to appear, brought by weight trainers who were drawn by the jolly camaraderie of the acrobats, most of whom used weights to strengthen their bodies for the rigor of their stunts. The open use of heavy weights by men and women who were such marvelous athletes had another significant effect on the American culture. The nimbleness of these weight-trained athletes went a long way toward convincing anyone who saw them lift and tumble that the use of barbells and dumbbells, contrary to the opinion of almost every coach and sports scientist in the country, would not make a person “musclebound.” In 1940, it was believed that the lifting of heavy weights would make a person slow and inflexible, even though there was no scientific evidence to support the belief. But no one who watched Pudgy and Les Stockton lift weights and then perform their stunts could still believe in the myth of the musclebound lifter. Such weight training, now universally accepted by coaches and athletes in all sports, demonstrates the precocity of the Muscle Beach Gang.

A story published in an American magazine during those years described the crowded scene as a “wide stretch of sand between hot dog stands and ocean, [with] dozens of big muscular people throwing little muscular people high into the air, shapely girls doing flip-flops on a long platform, agile teen-age boys twisting through space.” One of the most crowd-pleasing stunts the Muscle Beach regulars performed was the building of human pyramids. Stunts of this sort, as well as what is known as *adagio* (in which people are thrown and caught), require careful cooperation. They fostered, and built on, the sense of fellowship engendered by the non-competitive atmosphere which prevailed in the early days. Harold Zinkin, who years later would help to invent the Universal weight machine, said the acrobats “shared everything we knew. It was a happy atmosphere, like a jam session with everyone playing his part.”

The burgeoning of the Beach was cut short, of course, by the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the entry of the United States into World War II, although Pudgy and a few others still gathered by the pier from time to time while Les and many of the others were doing their part in the war effort. But when hostilities ended, activity alongside the pier reached a higher level than ever before. In addition, the tumbling platforms were elevated by the city so that visitors to the increasingly famous Muscle Beach weekends had a better view. By that time the bodybuilders had arrived, and their extravagant physiques also drew crowds, like fully fanned peacocks at a zoo. The city

soon built a “weight pit” where the competitive lifters and bodybuilders could pump iron and work on their tan all at the same time, cooled by the prevailing Pacific “westerlies.”

Even though the period from 1946 through the late 1950s lacked the sweetness and purity of the pre-war Muscle Beach, it featured ever-larger crowds and an ever-greater percentage of bodybuilders in the cultural mix. Some of these people made major contributions to the world of weights. One such was Jack LaLanne who, although he lived in San Francisco, would drive down to Santa Monica almost every weekend to lift and do stunts with his friends. In 1951, he began a pioneering fitness program on television that ran for 34 years and made his name a household word. Steve Reeves was also a regular at the weight pit, and those who were there say that no one ever drew crowds like the handsome, Greek God-like Mr. America of 1947. After a bit of earlier film, stage, and television work, Reeves was chosen for the lead role in *Hercules* (1959), and this film launched a 16-year career during which, for a time, Reeves was the number one male movie star in the world.

Other regulars at Muscle Beach were Vic Tanny and his younger brother Armand, an outstanding lifter. In the 1950s, Vic founded a nationwide chain of modern “health clubs” that bore his name. They were the first of their kind, and although the chain grew large and unwieldy and eventually failed, Tanny’s influence was felt by millions of Americans who had their first taste of progressive resistance exercise in his glittering, chrome-filled clubs. Lesser known early on than Tanny but with more “legs,” Joe Gold developed his muscles as well as his famous tan at Muscle Beach before opening what would eventually become the second West Coast bodybuilding Mecca—Gold’s Gym—training headquarters of the leading bodybuilders in the world during the 1960s and 1970s. Eventually, Gold sold his legendary gym, and promised not to start another in which his name was used. However, once he opened his new place, called World Gym, it attracted so many of the top bodybuilders that he was able successfully to franchise the name around the United States.

By the late 1950s Muscle Beach had begun to draw what many of the old-timers considered unsavory characters, and a series of incidents, some of which were criminal in nature, caused the city to close Muscle Beach and haul away the weights. Some close observers believe that the city, although somewhat worried by the sorts of people who had been joining the throng, was primarily motivated by a desire for more parking for shoppers and tourists. Whatever the reason, Muscle Beach ceased to exist in its original fabled form. Unwilling to be without a place to train by the beach, however, a dedicated group of bodybuilders convinced the city of Venice to put in a small weight pit two miles south of the old location. In time, Venice Beach began to draw a regular crowd, which reached its apex during the heyday of the bodybuilding career of Arnold Schwarzenegger. Venice Beach was often the location chosen by magazine publisher Joe Weider for photo shoots of Arnie for *Muscle & Fitness*, the leading magazine in the field. These photographs helped both Weider and Schwarzenegger, and they perpetuated the legend of Southern California as the *terminus ad quem* for bodybuilders everywhere.

In 1974, Schwarzenegger was training for his sixth victory in the International Federation of Bodybuilders’ Mr. Olympia contest, the premier title in the sport. His training—along with that of several of his rivals, and the competition itself—became the subject of a remarkable documentary film, *Pumping Iron* (1976). Conceived and scripted by Charles Gaines and filmed by George Butler, the film was

a huge critical success and, in the process, made a celebrity of Arnie, leading to his casting in the title role of the successful *Conan the Barbarian* (1981). *Pumping Iron* and Arnold introduced bodybuilding to a wider public, and in so doing gained acceptance for weight training as a way to develop a leaner, healthier body.

As bodybuilding rode Arnie's broad back to ever greater popularity, Venice Beach, which officially adopted the name, "Venice Muscle Beach" in 1986, finally decided to expand the weight training area, and a much larger facility was built with a stage which can accommodate bodybuilding competitions. In the late 1990s, in a major change of heart, Santa Monica also built a new facility on the site of the old Muscle Beach platforms, complete with an open-air weight pit and a place for children to exercise. Muscle Beach has seen many changes in the years since the 1930s, and the changes have not all been good ones. Drugs now play a major and sinister role in competitive bodybuilding and they have allowed bodybuilders to develop a combination of muscle mass and definition that the health-conscious bodybuilders of earlier decades could not have imagined. The men and women who were first drawn to Muscle Beach trained hard in the fresh air, ate carefully, and were healthy as horses. Good health was at the heart of their lifestyle. Many of the top competitors in the 1990s have made a Faustian bargain and sacrificed health for appearance. Some of the bodies that a visitor to Muscle Beach might see at the beginning of the twenty-first century, unlike those in the middle of the twentieth, might only look healthy.

—Jan and Terry Todd

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Muscle Cars

Muscle cars were a special breed of automobile that were born in the 1950s, grew throughout the 1960s, and for the most part died in the early 1970s. They remain a cultural symbol of style, mild rebellion, and a personal statement of independence. The concept was based upon the simple engineering idea of placing the largest possible engine into the lightest possible chassis. Using this measurement, the muscle cars initially emerged from the factories of a small handful of car manufacturers. Chevrolet was among the first of these, bringing out a modern-design 265-cubic-inch V-8 configuration engine in their lighter, sportier 1955 Bel Air range, while Chrysler offered their awesome hemi-head engine in the guise of their 300 series vehicles. Moving into the 1960s, the formula began to take root. The Chevy 409 was out, followed by the first Pontiac GTO, which featured a 389-cubic-inch displaced motor in a light Tempest body. Other American manufacturers followed suit: Ford with the Fairlane and Galaxie 500, and Chrysler with the Dodge Polara and Plymouth Belvedere.

As with most cultural phenomena, muscle cars began as unique specialist models hidden within the mainstream. In appearance, they were little different from their sedate mass-produced assembly-line cousins, but, as their popularity spread, they became a visible entity and replaced the much older personal automotive expression, the hot rod.

By the end of the 1960s the muscle car was commonplace across manufacturers' ranges. Virtually all models of car had a "hot" version that was affordable, powerful, and, above all, fast. Engine sizes climbed into the over 400-cubic inch displacement class with GM muscle cars having their largest performance engines in the 450-cubic inch range. Ford's performance engines were the 427, 428, and 429-cubic inch engines, and Chrysler developed 426 and 440 cubic inch engines as their standard bearers. Many of these engines came equipped with large four-barrel carburetors, or combinations of three two-barrel, or two four-barrel carburetors. Horsepower ratings climbed to over 400, while gas mileage often fell into the low 'teens or less. Hood-scoops, stripes, and spoilers helped to define the breed, as did the model names—Charger, Cobra, Cyclone, Grand Prix, 442, Road Runner, Machine, and any Chevy "SS" conveyed the intended image of the new, aggressive vehicles.

Muscle cars didn't corner well by later standards, but they did go fast. The standard of performance was judged by how fast a car could cover a quarter mile from a standing start. The 14-second bracket seemed to define the breed, but a few exceptional models could go even faster. Drag racing, and the much more dangerous street racing, were very much part of the muscle car phenomenon. The obvious racing tie to muscle cars was usually drag racing, but both Chrysler and Ford also were heavily involved in stock car racing.

A subset of the muscle car was the "Pony" car, a genre started with the 1964 Mustang. The Mustang's early successful combination of style and performance led to the creation of the Chevrolet Camaro, Pontiac Firebird, Dodge Challenger, Plymouth Barracuda, and American Motors' Javelin that came to populate the Sports Car Club of America's popular Trans-Am racing series. Pony cars were even lighter than their muscle car cousins, but were frequently available with the same larger engines.

Muscle cars were aimed at young people. The design styles, colors, advertising, and price were all aimed at the first-time new car buyer. Chrysler marketed their performance cars under advertising campaigns that identified their cars as the Dodge Rebellion, and the Plymouth Rapid Transit System; Pontiac connected its popular GTO with TV's *Laugh-In* with a model called the Judge; and Ford openly tied its performance cars to its racing programs and its association with Carroll Shelby. The successful mass marketing and consequent popularity of the cars were reflected by their appearances in high-profile television series and movies. The eponymous hero of *Mannix* drove Barracudas and, later, a Z-28. *The Mod Squad* started out with a hot rod Woody, but moved to Challengers and Chargers. Even Jim Rockford of *The Rockford Files* had a Firebird, while muscle cars were prominently featured in films such as *Two Lane Blacktop* and *Vanishing Point* (both 1971), that focused on anti-social or rebellious heroism expressed through driving cars. Popular music of the 1960s, too, was laced with muscle car-oriented tunes such as "Little GTO" and "409."

While not exactly representing the counter-culture, muscle cars were certainly a visible accessory of the 1960s youth movement. Muscle cars represented the kind of car parents did not drive and would likely be offended by. How far did it all go? Dodge sold a



The 1963 Ford Mustang II.

virtual Grand National Stock Car in 1969 called the Daytona for the street, Chevrolet had the 454-cubic inch Chevelle SS in 1971, Ford had the 428-cubic inch Mach 1 Mustang in 1970. Even relatively sedate American Motors promoted its Javelin and its racing heritage. In 1972 it built and sold the Gremlin X, a sub-compact with a V-8.

Ultimately, high insurance costs and the gas crisis of the early 1970s doomed the muscle cars. Consumer taste shifted towards personal luxury cars, and economics dictated a shift towards fuel-efficient imports. By the 1990s, there were but a few survivors of the muscle car. Pontiac was still making the Firebird Trans-Am, as was Chevrolet the Camaro Z-28 and Ford its Mustang. Each of these models offers a better level of performance than its 1960s ancestors, while many standard cars of the 1990s were taking their styling clues from the old muscle cars. Spoilers, custom wheels, fat, raised, white-letter tires, and bulged or scooped hoods are all examples of the performance images that were first seen 30 years earlier.

By the end of the twentieth century, muscle cars had begun to experience a renaissance of sorts, with restorers and collectors seeking out selected models and reliving the heady days of the 1960s with cheap gas and lots of power. Muscle cars represent an era when an automobile could make a bold, personal statement in sharp contrast to most automobiles built since. They might seem primitive, but their purpose was pure.

—Sean Evans

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Muscular Christianity

Simply defined, muscular Christianity is masculine, or “manly” Christianity. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Christian men in the United States have responded to the so-called “feminization” of American religion. From the seventeenth century through the end of the Victorian era, women comprised approximately two-thirds of America’s Christian churches, and beginning in the 1850s men began to challenge women’s dominance by making religion a manly endeavor. Organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), Men and Religion Forward Movement, Boy Scouts, Christian Service Brigade, and, most recently, Promise Keepers sprang from this movement. These groups emphasize a uniquely masculine expression of Christian faith, American nationalism, citizenship, chivalrous behavior, and in some cases even skills in outdoor activities. Today, people often use the term “muscular Christianity” to refer to any type of male-dominated, outdoor,

virile, or sports-oriented activity with a specifically Christian or evangelistic purpose.

In addition to its general connotation, muscular Christianity is also a specific movement, originating in England and finding voice in the United States beginning with the revival of 1857-1858. The term "muscular Christianity" originated as a literary device in a review of English novelist Charles Kingsley's *Two Years Ago* (1857) written by T. C. Sanders for the *Saturday Review* (February 21, 1857). Sanders recognized Kingsley as the most important and visible representative of this new movement which valued "a man who fears God and can walk a thousand miles in a thousand hours—who breathes God's free air on God's rich earth, and at the same time can hit a woodcock, doctor a horse, and twist a poker around his finger." Fellow advocate of Christian masculinity, Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1860), wrote, "muscular Christians hold [to] the old chivalrous and Christian belief, that a man's body is given him to be trained and brought into subjection, and then used for the protection of the weak, the advancement of all righteous causes, and the subduing of the earth which God has given to the children of men." The ideal of muscular Christianity celebrated physical exertion, comradeship, and determination and emphasized manliness, morality, health, and patriotism. In these writings, the male human body was a metaphor for social, national, and religious bodies. A man must discipline his body physically and morally to become healthy and influential; in the same way, a country must assert control over socially disruptive forces in order to become a great and holy nation. Therefore, the goals of muscular Christians were not primarily individual but communal—their task was to subdue culture and render it more Christian. Inspired by this movement, Victorian urban revivalists sought to evangelize the nation, spreading the gospel and the accompanying civilizing values of middle class culture.

During the "Great Revival" of 1857-58, the United States began to express its own version of masculinized religion; by the 1860s, the term "muscular Christianity" had become commonplace in denominational publications as well as major periodicals like the *New York Times*. The 1857-58 revival, perhaps the closest thing in American history to a truly national awakening, differed from previous revivals in three key ways: the leadership was lay instead of clerical, its setting was urban instead of rural, and its participants were primarily male instead of female. The middle-class, white men who participated in this "businessmen's revival" formed prayer meetings in the nation's major metropolises and devoted their energies to soul-saving and social reform. The most lasting institution to emerge from this revival was the YMCA. Although the organization was founded in England in 1844 and transplanted to Montreal and Boston in 1851, it did not gain cultural importance until 1857 when urban revivalists like D. L. Moody in Chicago joined and championed the movement. Made up primarily of white, middle-class men, the YMCA sought to promote a masculinized Christianity consistent with middle-class businessmen's culture. It also sought to "civilize" the immigrant masses flooding into America's cities. The idea of muscular Christianity arose in the United States alongside post-millennial ideals of evangelical cultural dominance, manifest destiny, and worldwide mission. Evangelicals argued that the United States held the sympathy of all the nations of the world, and "God could not do without America." If the United States was to hasten the return of Jesus Christ, it must reform its cities, Christianize the masses, and serve as a beacon of Christian culture for the rest of the world. Spiritual and

national aims converged as muscular Christians came to see the United States as the world's savior.

Muscular Christianity, however, was more than Christianized manifest destiny. In addition to revealing the longing for Christian culture and middle-class dominance, it also reflected gender tensions inherent in Victorian America. Antebellum Americans, somewhat fearful of the moral dangers of the open market but also seeking its maximum potential, placed men in the public sphere of economic activity and women in the private sphere of religion and moral nurture. Women would keep their husbands and children moral, men would become entrepreneurs and provide for their families, and together they would form godly homes—the backbone of a Christian nation. The ideal of muscular Christianity challenged this gendered version of Protestantism by making the evangelical faith manly. During the 1857-1858 revival, leaders aimed all the advertising at men and organized prayer meetings in urban business districts—public spaces accessible almost exclusively to men. Businessmen looked with suspicion upon women who challenged social boundaries and came downtown to participate in prayer meetings. Thus, muscular Christianity can be said to be an attempt by religiously marginalized men to recapture evangelical Christianity as a male endeavor.

In 1911, leaders of the inter-denominational and lay-led Men and Religion Forward Movement sought to bury feminized religion for good and replace it with a Protestant faith that was manly as well as friendly to a growing consumer-driven economy. Accompanying American Protestants' affirmation of vertically integrated, corporate capitalism was a new gender ideology. Evangelical men argued that religion should no longer be dominated by women somewhat leery of burgeoning capitalist growth; rather, it should become a manly endeavor fully consistent with consumer capitalism and a culture of leisure. Feminized religion's restraint of commerce had become stifling, and middle-class Protestants eventually replaced Victorian sentimentalism with a more muscular Christianity which would buttress their growing economic prosperity.

Although women in the late twentieth century continue to maintain a majority in North America's churches (approximately 60 percent), American religion is no longer perceived as effeminate or woman-dominated. The sea changes in the American economy, the re-orientation of gender coding at end of the Victorian era, and the ideal of muscular Christianity help to explain this shift from feminine to masculine Christianity. Both now exist alongside one another as we witness the proliferation of gender-focused religious groups, among them the Council on Biblical Manhood and Womanhood, Christians for Biblical Equality, Promise Keepers, the "Re-Imagining" Conference, and scores more denominational groups. The ideal of muscular Christianity is a key element in the centuries-long debates regarding gender's role in defining Christian practice and the relationship between religion and commerce—debates Americans will continue for centuries to come.

—Kurt W. Peterson

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The Musical

The American musical theater of the twentieth century is a widely diverse genre that encompasses a variety of styles. From traditional operettas and musical comedies by composers such as Sigmund Romberg and George Gershwin in the early part of the century, through mid-century dramatic works by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II and their contemporaries, to shows that expand the boundaries of the genre by creators such as Stephen Sondheim and Andrew Lloyd Webber, the musical has been immensely popular with audiences worldwide for over one hundred

years. A work in which music and drama are combined in various ways, the Broadway musical adds dance, costumes, sets, orchestration, and musical style to the basic duality of music and drama to create a singular contribution to both American and global popular culture.

Works for the musical stage appeared in the United States prior to the twentieth century, thus establishing important precedents for the Broadway musical. Important genres included European-style opera, ballad opera, minstrel shows, and vaudeville. The first Broadway musical is generally acknowledged to be *The Black Crook* (1866). This show was significant for two reasons: it established New York City as a center for musical theater; and it played for 475 performances, instituting a defining goal of the successful Broadway musical—a long commercial run.

During the first third of the twentieth century, three distinct types of musical theater co-existed on Broadway stages: revue, musical comedy, and operetta. The revue was a performer-based genre and included comic skits and songs, often on a central topic. *Ziegfeld's Follies*, Shubert's *Passing Shows*, *George White's Scandals*, and *Irving Berlin's Music Box Revues* were among the most popular series of revues. Significant composers for the revue included Irving Berlin and George Gershwin. Fannie Brice, Marilyn Miller, Will Rogers, and Al Jolson were just a few of the stars whose fame was established in the genre.

The musical comedy was similar to a revue but included a dramatic plot. It featured everyday characters in everyday, albeit comic, situations. The emphasis was on individual musical numbers and star performers. George M. Cohan, Jerome Kern, Gershwin, Vincent Youmans, Cole Porter, and the collaborative team of Richard Rodgers and Lorenz Hart were important contributors to the genre. Among Gershwin's most important shows were *Lady, Be Good!* (1924); *Oh, Kay!* (1926); and *Girl Crazy* (1930). These works, along



A scene from the musical *A Chorus Line*.

with Youmans's *No, No, Nanette* (1925); Porter's *Anything Goes* (1934); and Rodgers and Hart's *A Connecticut Yankee* (1927); *Babes in Arms* (1937); and *Pal Joey* (1940) virtually defined the musical comedy. Ethel Merman, Fred and Adele Astaire, and Gertrude Lawrence were but three of the many stars associated with the genre.

The third style of musical theater, operetta, consisted of works which were set in a time and place other than the present. The genre was dominated by the entire musical score, rather than by individual musical numbers and star performers. Sigmund Romberg and Rudolf Friml were the principal composers of operetta during the 1920s. Romberg's *The Student Prince* (1924); *The Desert Song* (1926); and *The New Moon* (1928); and Friml's *Rose-Marie* (1924) and *The Three Musketeers* (1928) were among the era's most popular Broadway shows. With the Stock Market Crash of 1929, the operetta generally lost favor—audiences in the 1930s preferred the brash musical comedy to the sentimental operetta. They preferred laughter to tears.

The era of the modern musical began with *Show Boat* (1927, music by Jerome Kern, book and lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein II). In this seminal work, character development and dramatic plot took precedence over music and performers. Music, superb as it was, was intended to serve the plot. Songs such as "Ol' Man River," "Can't Help Lovin' Dat Man," and "You Are Love" were integral to the storyline of *Show Boat*. They were not mere decoration or entertainment. The creators of *Show Boat* addressed serious issues such as racial intolerance, alcoholism, and desertion in their plot. No longer was the musical theater the domain of only effervescent musical comedy and revue and romantic operetta.

The "mature" musical, in which music and lyrics were integrated into the plot, continued in the work of Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II. Their historic collaboration began with *Oklahoma!* (1943) and ended with *The Sound of Music* (1959). Their nine shows included *Carousel* (1945), *South Pacific* (1949), and *The King and I* (1951). Rodgers and Hammerstein used song as a means of defining a character. Numbers such as "Oh, What a Beautiful Morning" from *Oklahoma!*, "Soliloquy" from *Carousel*, "Wonderful Guy" from *South Pacific*, and "Something Wonderful" from *The King and I* humanized and personalized the characters who sang them in ways which were virtually unprecedented in the Broadway musical. Songs now revealed the emotions and situations of the character rather than those of the songwriter. Rodgers and Hammerstein were often criticized for being "preachy" in their shows. They addressed serious social concerns in their shows, including racial prejudice, the role of children in society, and the victory of good over evil in war. In addition to an emphasis on dramatic content, the team established a form for the musical—a long first act which culminated in a dramatic climax followed by a much shorter second act in which the dramatic conflict was resolved as quickly as possible.

Contemporaries of Rodgers and Hammerstein who adopted their basic approach to the musical included Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe (*Brigadoon* [1947], *My Fair Lady* [1956], and *Camelot* [1960]), and Frank Loesser (*Guys and Dolls* [1950], *The Most Happy Fella* [1956], and *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying* [1961]). Other popular shows from mid-century which followed the general plan established by Rodgers and Hammerstein included *Finian's Rainbow* (1947, music by Burton Lane, lyrics by E. Y. Harburg); *Kiss Me, Kate* (1948, music and lyrics by Cole Porter); *Damn Yankees* (1955, music and lyrics by Richard Adler and Jerry Ross); *West Side Story* (1957, music by Leonard Bernstein, lyrics by Stephen Sondheim); *The Music Man* (1957, music and lyrics by

Meredith Willson); *Gypsy* (1959, music by Jule Styne and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim); *Hello, Dolly!* (1964, music and lyrics by Jerry Herman); *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964, music by Jerry Bock, lyrics by Sheldon Harnick); and *Man of La Mancha* (1965, music by Mitch Leigh, lyrics by Joe Darion). The creators of these shows took the Rodgers and Hammerstein model and expanded it in a variety of ways. Shakespeare provided the inspiration for *Kiss Me, Kate* (a show which incorporated *The Taming of the Shrew*) and *West Side Story* (a transformation of *Romeo and Juliet*), while his Spanish contemporary Cervantes actually appeared as a character in *Man of La Mancha*. Myth and legend materialized on stage in *Brigadoon*, *Camelot*, and *Finian's Rainbow*.

The mid-century produced a number of significant musical theater stars. Among the most famous female performers were Julie Andrews, Carol Channing, Mary Martin, Ethel Merman, Chita Rivera, and Gwen Verdon. Male stars included Alfred Drake, Zero Mostel, Robert Preston, and John Raitt. Occasionally, male stars on Broadway were true opera singers, as in the cases of Ezio Pinza and Robert Weede.

During the final third of the century, creators for the Broadway stage made attempts to expand the boundaries of the musical theater in various ways. The concept musical, developed by Stephen Sondheim in works such as *Company* (1970) and *Follies* (1971), was a type of show in which narrative plot in the traditional sense did not exist. Composer Marvin Hamlisch, lyricist Edward Kleban, and director-choreographer Michael Bennett chose this approach for *A Chorus Line* (1975), a show in which each auditionee for a chorus line tells his or her life story. John Kander and Fred Ebb also used the general principle of the concept musical in *Cabaret* (1966) and *Chicago* (1975). In these shows, the team used song to comment on plot developments rather than to present the narrative in a purely linear fashion. *Cabaret* featured the song "Willkommen" (sung by Joel Grey), and *Chicago's* opening number was "All That Jazz" (performed by Gwen Verdon).

Musicals that eschewed the traditional lyrical style of Broadway song and replaced it with rock numbers included *Hair* (1968, music by Galt MacDermot); *Godspell* (1971, music and lyrics by Stephen Schwartz); *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1971, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Tim Rice); *The Who's Tommy* (1993); and *Rent* (1996, music, lyrics, and book by Jonathan Larson). These shows demonstrate the ability of a Broadway show to incorporate current popular music styles; however, this style of show has yet to enter the mainstream American musical theater. Even at the end of the twentieth century, shows with traditional-sounding scores, generally with soft-rock influences, are those that achieve the greatest popularity with audiences and critics.

Catalog musicals—those that feature the music of a particular composer or performer—are another type of Broadway musical that does not include typical Broadway music. Some shows based on this formula are *Ain't Misbehavin'* (1978, based on Fats Waller); *Sophisticated Ladies* (1981, based on Duke Ellington); *Five Guys Named Moe* (1992, based on Louis Jordan); and *Jelly's Last Jam* (1992, based on Jelly Roll Morton).

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, composers continued to write traditional-style shows in the wake of these other developments. Musicals such as *Annie* (1977, music by Charles Strouse, lyrics by Martin Charnin); *Barnum* (1980, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by Michael Stewart); *Big River* (1985, music and lyrics by Roger Miller); *City of Angels* (1989, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by David

Zippel); *Once on this Island* (1990, music by Stephen Flaherty, lyrics by Lynn Ahrens); *The Secret Garden* (1991, music by Lucy Simon, book and lyrics by Marsha Norman); and *Ragtime* (1998, music by Flaherty, lyrics by Ahrens) took the traditional style of musical and proved that it could be adapted for stories as diverse as the comic book world of *Annie*, the 1940s spy world of *City of Angels*, and a Caribbean island in *Once on this Island*. Literature was musicalized in the cases of *Big River* (Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*), *The Secret Garden* (novel by Frances Hodgson Burnett), and *Ragtime* (novel by E. L. Doctorow) to great success.

Film became an important source for musical theater works in the last quarter of the century. Musicals based on motion pictures included *42nd Street* (1980, music by Harry Warren, lyrics by Al Dubin); *The Goodbye Girl* (1993, music by Marvin Hamlisch); *Sunset Boulevard* (1994, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Don Black and Christopher Hampton); and *Passion* (1994, music and lyrics by Stephen Sondheim). Perhaps the most significant shows in this genre, however, are the Disney productions of *Beauty and the Beast* (1994, music by Alan Menken, lyrics by Howard Ashman and Tim Rice) and *The Lion King* (1997, songs by Elton John and Tim Rice).

Earlier genres made their reappearance on Broadway in the final decades of the century either through original works or bona fide revivals. The revue reasserted itself in *Cats* (1982, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics based on T. S. Eliot) and *The Will Rogers Follies* (1991, music by Cy Coleman, lyrics by Betty Comden and Adolph Green). Significant revivals during the 1990s included *Guys and Dolls* (1992), *Show Boat* (1994), *Carousel* (1994), *Damn Yankees* (1994), *How to Succeed in Business without Really Trying* (1995), *The King and I* (1996), *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1996), and *Chicago* (1996). Revivals have come to be so important on Broadway that the Tony Awards now include the category Best Revival.

Other changes in the overall concept of the Broadway musical took place during the final decades of the century as well. Chief among these was the move toward a totally sung musical. Drama was no longer to be exclusively in the domain of spoken language. Plot could be advanced largely through music, as in opera. Although shows such as *The Most Happy Fella* were groundbreaking in this approach, it became much more mainstream in works such as Lloyd Webber's *Evita* and Sondheim's *Sweeney Todd*, *The Demon Barber of Fleet Street* (1979).

When the sung-through (or nearly so) musical was infused with spectacular sets, stage effects, and costumes, the so-called "mega-musical" emerged. These shows are meant to dazzle the audience with visual effects which at least match, if not surpass, the aural ones. Theatricality is paramount. Shows such as *Cats*, *Les Miserables* (1987, music by Claude-Michel Schoenberg, lyrics by Alain Boublil and Herbert Kretzmer); *The Phantom of the Opera* (1988, music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Charles Hart and Richard Stilgoe); *Miss Saigon* (1991, music by Schoenberg, lyrics by Richard Maltby, Jr. and Boublil); and *Sunset Boulevard* are prime examples of this approach. Sets are as important as the characters. The tire in *Cats* (as well as the entire theater), the barricade in *Les Miserables*, the ghostly candelabra and huge chandelier in *The Phantom of the Opera*, the helicopter in *Miss Saigon*, and the staircase in *Sunset Boulevard* are as central to each of the shows as are the human characters. These mega-musicals have their roots in London's West End (the British equivalent of Broadway, which has a fascinating heritage of its own), where

directors such as Cameron Mackintosh apply their lavish treatment to the genre.

In the course of the twentieth century, the Broadway musical has developed from an entertainment, whether comic (musical comedy and revue) or romantic (operetta), into a substantial artistic genre. Shows from as early as 1927 (*Show Boat*) included moral and social messages, a trend which continued through the middle part of the century with Rodgers and Hammerstein and into the latter years of the century. Many shows from the 1980s and 1990s included a "song of social injustice" in which there is a call for popular response to a particular issue. "Do You Hear the People Sing?" from *Les Miserables*, "Anthem" from *Chess* (1988, music by Benny Andersson and Bjorn Ulvaeus, lyrics by Tim Rice); "Bui Doi" from *Miss Saigon*; and "The Day after That" from *Kiss of the Spider Woman* (1993, music by John Kander, lyrics by Fred Ebb) are significant examples of such songs.

The final part of the twentieth century has also produced a number of significant musical theater stars. Actresses include Judy Kuhn, Angela Lansbury, Rebecca Luker, Patti LuPone, Donna Murphy, and Bernadette Peters. Actors include Michael Crawford, Nathan Lane, Brian Stokes Mitchell, and Mandy Patinkin.

The Broadway musical has contributed to both the popular music and film industries. Many songs from Broadway shows have gone on to achieve popularity outside of the theater. Broadway was tied closely to Tin Pan Alley (the American popular music style) until World War II. Gershwin standards such as "Embraceable You" and "But Not for Me" were introduced in Broadway shows, as were many Porter and Rodgers and Hart songs. This trend has continued through the century, with Sondheim's "Send in the Clowns" (from *A Little Night Music*); Schoenberg-Boublil's "I Dreamed a Dream" and "Empty Chairs at Empty Tables" (from *Les Miserables*, the latter of which has become an anthem for AIDS research); and Lloyd Webber's "Music of the Night" (from *The Phantom of the Opera*) being relevant examples from the last decades of the century. Singers ranging from opera stars Kiri TeKanawa and Bryn Terfel to popular singers Barbra Streisand (who got her start on Broadway), Judy Collins, and Frank Sinatra have included Broadway songs in their repertoires. Conversely, pop singers such as Paula Abdul appeared on Broadway musical stages during the 1990s.

The Broadway musical is not limited to Broadway, however. Film versions of Broadway musicals have appeared since the late 1920s. *The Desert Song* (1929, Warner Brothers) was the first of a long line of film adaptations which continued through the mid-century with a string of Rodgers and Hammerstein films, among others, to the end of the century with *Evita* (1996, Cinergi Pictures). Touring productions, resident companies, and amateur and school productions of Broadway musicals have also done much to promote the genre outside of New York City. The musical is certainly one of the popular forms of theatrical entertainment with the American—and world—public.

The American musical theater is a widely diverse form of popular entertainment. Its many guises range from pure entertainment to tales with strong moral messages. The Broadway musical has had a dramatic impact on American popular culture not only because of the shows themselves but also because of the individual hit songs that were introduced in the shows. Furthermore, a number of the century's most popular musical personalities established their professional careers on Broadway's musical stages.

—William A. Everett

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Mutiny on the Bounty

In 1932, Charles Nordhoff and James Norman Hall became bestselling authors with the publication of *Mutiny on the Bounty*, based upon the true story of mutiny on board an English naval vessel in the late eighteenth century. They followed their success with sequels, *Men Against the Sea* (1934) and *Pitcairn's Island* (1938). The books tell of exciting nautical adventures, idyllic life on Pacific islands, romantic affairs between sailors and native girls, and power struggles in which good ultimately triumphs over evil. These were the topics, exotic fantasies of long ago and far away, that offered Americans an emotional escape from the throes of economic depression during the 1930s.

In 1933, *In the Wake of the Bounty*, the story of the mutiny, was filmed in a documentary starring Errol Flynn. Some of the film was

shot on location on Pitcairn's Island where, in 1788, the Bounty mutineers found a haven from Captain Bligh and the court martial and death that would have met them had they returned to England. This documentary film was followed, in 1935, with the hit Metro Goldwyn Mayer (MGM) film, *Mutiny on the Bounty*, starring the popular actor Clark Gable. It received Academy Award nominations for its score, film editing, screenplay, director, and three of its actors, and won the award for best picture of 1935.

The film tells of the H.M.S. Bounty which, in 1787, left England to obtain breadfruit plants from Tahiti and transport them to the West Indies, where they could be established as a plantation food source for slaves. Clark Gable played Fletcher Christian, the hero who leads a mutiny against the tyrannical Captain Bligh, portrayed by Charles Laughton. In the beginning of the film, Captain Bligh immediately reveals his sadistic nature. Before the ship sets sail, he has a dead man flogged to show his crew that he will carry out punishment to the letter. The journey includes many similar incidents in which Bligh's harsh discipline establishes his tyranny and kindles the inclination for rebellion by the crew.

When the ship arrives at Tahiti, the crew enjoys a six-month reprieve from Bligh's punishments while the men collect breadfruit plants. During this time they enjoy the island paradise and the company of the native girls. When the project is finished, the crew leaves reluctantly, and five of them try to desert ship to return to the island, but they are caught and flogged. Captain Bligh orders all hands on deck to observe the flogging, even though one crewmember, the elderly ship's doctor, is too ill to move. Bligh demands that he come to the deck, and the effort kills the old doctor. As Christian watches the doctor die and the flogging begin, he rallies the crew to mutiny. Christian orders the men to spare Bligh's life. Bligh and some crewmembers who are still loyal to him travel in a lifeboat for 49 days until they reach the Dutch East Indies. Meanwhile, the mutineers return to their paradise where they marry their Tahitian lovers.

A year later, Bligh, on board a new ship, the Pandora, returns to arrest the mutineers and bring them to justice in the English court. But Christian and some others escape on the Bounty to Pitcairn's Island, where they are safe from Bligh forever. Bligh's new ship is wrecked on the reefs surrounding the island, and though he returns to England, testimony against him by one loyal member of the crew who was wrongly charged with mutiny brings condemnation upon Bligh by his peers. This Hollywood ending in which Bligh's inhumanity is noted and Christian's gentleness and bravery earn him an island paradise made the movie a great success at a time when Americans clung to hope for escape from their own dilemmas during the financial crises of the Great Depression.

In 1962, Nordhoff's and Hall's novels were republished and the movie was remade, this time starring Marlon Brando as Fletcher Christian. Another generation of Americans learned the story of the Bounty. Though the film was praised for its score and South Seas cinematography, it did not succeed as well as the classic Gable film. It fell short of the unanimous popularity enjoyed by its predecessor, perhaps because of an uneven performance by Brando, or possibly as a result of the country's preference for contemporary American issues over British naval history. The romances between the sailors and the Tahitian women were exotic and appealing during the 1930s, but American viewers of the 1960s were not entranced. Though the film was not a box office or critical hit, it was nominated for a share of Academy Awards (seven, though it did not win any), and it did rekindle an interest in Captain Bligh and the H.M.S. Bounty.



Charles Laughton (right foreground) and Clark Gable (left foreground) in a scene from the film *Mutiny on the Bounty*.

The replica from the 1962 movie, a full-rigged sailing ship, was donated in 1993 by its owner, Ted Turner, to Tall Ship Bounty, a non-profit educational foundation. Called the H. M. S. Bounty, its crew trains teen cadets and teaches maritime history to elementary school students. It sails between Canada and the Caribbean, docking for public tours and participating in tall-ships festivals. This activity has kept the history of the Bounty alive through the end of the century. In addition to the interest generated by Tall Ship Bounty, the motion pictures, and the popular novels, there have been more than 2,000 articles, books, and documentary films about the Bounty's mutiny, making it perhaps the best known of maritime adventures.

—Sharon Brown

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Mutt & Jeff

Mutt was the tall one, Jeff the short one. They were a funny paper team for well over 70 years. Cartoonist Harry "Bud" Fisher invented Mutt first, in 1907, introducing him solo in a comic strip that ran daily on the sports page of the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Fisher originally used his strip to recount Augustus Mutt's misadventures in betting on the ponies. He also tossed in racing tips. In 1908, while spending some time in a lunatic asylum, Mutt encountered Jeff and the two teamed up. Though often credited with being the first daily newspaper strip, *Mutt & Jeff* had a few predecessors. It was, however, the first truly successful one.

Popular from the beginning, *Mutt & Jeff* eventually moved from the *San Francisco Chronicle* to William Randolph Hearst's *San Francisco Examiner*. Eventually the shrewd Fisher acquired ownership of his feature and, with the aid of the Bell Syndicate, became the first millionaire cartoonist in America. A large list of papers all across the country helped, as did extensive merchandising. There were *Mutt*

& *Jeff* reprint books from 1910 on, as well as toys, animated cartoons, and even Broadway shows.

Fisher involved his pair in various contemporary activities, including the fracas with Pancho Villa, the First World War, and Prohibition. His basic aim, however, was to get across a joke a day. Mutt was married, henpecked, and the father of an ageless son named Cicero. He and Jeff tried any number of professions, never able to hold down any job for long. For decades the two of them operated pretty much like a movie or stage comedy team, daily delivering many a tried and true joke borrowed from vaudeville. It is safe to say that there was not a single variation of the classic “Waiter, there’s a fly in my soup” gag that did not appear in *Mutt & Jeff* more than once. Fisher and his staff were very much given to slapstick elements and brickbats; clubs and other weapons were frequent props. Mutt, although not the brightest of men, was the more practical partner. Jeff was the zany one, often not too well grounded in reality. When one of their innumerable get-rich-quick schemes went awry, Mutt was not above doing violence to his little top-hatted sidekick. Jeff, however, often got the last laugh and, almost always, the pretty girls who frequented the strip. Their basic relationship was akin to that of such screen comedians as Laurel & Hardy and Abbott & Costello.

The life of a millionaire, in Fisher’s case filled with such upper-class distractions as a racing stable and chorus girls, did not leave him much time for his comic strip. Fairly early in his career, he hired others to produce *Mutt & Jeff*. Ken Kling was the first ghost writer and he went on to do comic strips of his own, including a racing tip one called *Joe & Asbestos*. Next came Eddie Mack and then, in the early 1930s, the long-suffering Al Smith. A much better cartoonist than his boss or any of his predecessors, Smith wrote and drew the strip, daily and Sunday, for over 20 years without any credit and not too much in the way of a salary; he eventually created the Sunday companion strip, *Cicero’s Cat*. After Fisher’s death in 1954, Smith was allowed to sign his name to the strip. He stayed with it, gradually mellowing the tone and putting more emphasis on Mutt’s home life, until 1980. For its final two years *Mutt & Jeff* was drawn by George Breisacher.

—Ron Goulart

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Muzak

The seeds of the all-enveloping background sound of music in public places that evolved into Muzak were sown in the early decades of the twentieth century. By the 1950s, the concept had developed into a commercial reality that invaded the American way of life, its presence only increasing as the century wore on. The trademarked name “Muzak” has become generic, referring not only to that company’s own proprietary mix of piped-in background music, but to any such music in public spaces and the workplace. It is sometimes called “wallpaper” or “elevator” music—a mild pejorative that distinguishes its contrived and synthetic quality from “real” music, listened to actively and intentionally—and signifies its role as ambient sound to be experienced subliminally.

The aesthetic concept of music as an environmental component rather than an artistic abstraction of sound important for its content was consciously advanced in the first decades of the 1900s by French composer Erik Satie in what he called *musique d’ameublement* (furniture music). Workplace music, however, goes much farther back to folk genres such as the songs sung by British textile handworkers and their seagoing counterparts, the chanty men. In the early factories of the Industrial Revolution, workers sang on the job for their own amusement and that of their co-workers, falling silent in the mid-1800s only when the noise of increasingly powerful industrial machinery drowned their voices. (Even then, some factories encouraged glee clubs and hired bands in an attempt to make the workplace less austere.)

Early in the twentieth century, however, the new science of industrial efficiency management was electrified by the discovery made at an indoor bicycle race held in 1911 at the old Madison Square Garden in New York. A brass band was part of the entertainment, and statisticians clocking the race discovered that cyclists’ average speeds shot up by about ten percent during the band’s sets. Five years later, a commercial laundry experimented with playing ragtime records; productivity increased dramatically when ironing was done in time to the music. In 1922, the Minneapolis post office tried playing records in its night sorting room and found that sorting errors fell.

By 1930, many American factories provided some sort of music, either live or phonograph, and the numbers of workplaces where music was supplied increased steadily. During World War II, one researcher reported recorded music in 76 out of 100 factories visited and more than half of management as stating that music increased production. Despite some uncertainty about fitting the rhythm of the music to the actual tasks (one wartime factory in Britain had to withdraw “Deep in the Heart of Texas” because workers stopped what they were doing to clap in time to it), factory music came to be favored both for its cheering effect on morale and for the relief it offered employees obliged to perform monotonous tasks.

Muzak was the invention of General George Owen Squier, who had invented both a high-speed telegraph and telephone-line multiplexing during his rise to the command of the United States Army Signal Corps. He took his inspiration from *Looking Backward*, Edward Bellamy’s utopian novel that featured a “musical telephone” which would bring music programming—rousing in the morning, soothing in the evening—to every house in a then futuristically posited dawning of the twenty-first century. Squier entered an agreement with the North American Company, an Ohio utilities conglomerate, to produce a service called Wired Radio that would offer subscribers a choice of three program channels over telephone lines to homes or retail shops. Shortly before his death in 1934, Squier’s efforts to come up with a catchier name for his company, resulted in the term Muzak, a blend of the word “music” with the final syllable from George Eastman’s universally pronounceable synthetic trade name, Kodak.

In 1936 Muzak moved to Manhattan from its studios in Cleveland. In-house engineers recorded such popular artists as the Dorsey Brothers Orchestra and two members of Benny Goodman’s original sextet, Fats Waller and Teddy Wilson, using the cutting-edge technology of 33 1/3 r.p.m. vinylite disks, forerunner of the long-playing records that would render 78 r.p.m. shellac platters obsolete in the decade following World War II.

Postwar consumer culture spawned suburban sprawl, including the supermarket and, later, the ubiquitous shopping malls, and recorded music contributed to the subnormal eye-blink rate of day-dreamy

grocery shoppers (although it did not stop them, as sociologist Vance Packard noted, from a sharp increase in blinking and, presumably, anxiety as they approached the cash registers). Music in the office environment came more slowly, but by the late 1950s the Muzak corporation could boast that its programming was being heard by 50 million Americans daily. Sequencing was the key to Muzak's success: in response to psychological research showing that workdays started with high energy which fell off sharply after an hour or so until the approach to lunch, Muzak provided programming which offered catchier, cheerier rhythms at mid-morning and whose arrangements were laced with woodwinds and occasional brass (in contrast to the subtler and more subdued strings preferred, for example, by restaurants for their early evening trade).

Although worker response tended to be highly favorable to judiciously programmed environmental music, not everyone cared for it. When the Washington, D.C. transit system contracted Muzak to supply its vehicles in 1948, disgruntled riders brought a lawsuit. The hearing eventually went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court (as *Public Utilities Commission v. Pollak*), which ruled in 1951 that the Constitution did not guarantee a passenger on a federally regulated vehicle "a right to privacy substantially equal to the privacy to which he is entitled in his own home." Thus, the court implicitly affirmed the right to play wallpaper music willy-nilly as a form of First Amendment expression.

Since the late 1950s the recording industry has profitably offered mood-music recordings from artists such as Mantovani, with his sweeping strings, soothingly romantic or mystical, through arrangements of show tunes, to Brian Eno's *Ambient 1: Music for Airports*. Meanwhile, Muzak and its two main competitors, Audio Environments, Inc. and 3M Sound Products, thrived through the end of the twentieth century on a formula of what a former Muzak music designer, Christopher Case, defined as "music artfully performed in a manner to uplift, not to intrude."

—Nick Humez

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My Darling Clementine

The film *My Darling Clementine* (1946), based on Stuart Lake's novel *Wyatt Earp, Frontier Marshall*, was a re-make of the 1939 film *Frontier Marshall*. Its director, John Ford, had built a reputation on

directing Westerns, and *My Darling Clementine* is considered by many to be his best and most poetic Western. Ford used the story of the O.K. Corral to create the image of a triumphant postwar America. The film centers on Wyatt Earp (Henry Fonda) and Doc Holliday (Victor Mature) and their shoot-out with the Clantons at the O.K. Corral. Tombstone, the town over which Earp presides as sheriff, rids itself of evil and thus transforms itself from a wilderness into a garden. Holliday struggles to overcome his sullied past, while Clementine Carter (Cathy Downs) brings a future of innocence to Tombstone. The film ends with a triumphant ushering in of the new church with a social dance at which Earp accompanies Clementine.

—Liza Black

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My Fair Lady

My Fair Lady, written by Alan Jay Lerner and Frederick Loewe was one of the most popular musical plays of the 1950s. Its initial New York run, which began on March 15, 1956, lasted six and a half years for a total of 2,717 performances. The story of phonetician Henry Higgins, who transforms the Cockney flower girl Eliza Doolittle into a society lady through teaching her correct speech, was based on the George Bernard Shaw play *Pygmalion* and included such musical numbers as "I Could Have Danced All Night," "On the Street Where You Live," "The Rain in Spain," and "Get Me to the Church on Time."

British actors Rex Harrison and Julie Andrews created the roles of Higgins and Doolittle, Andrews in her American debut. The musical won Tony Awards for best musical, actor (Harrison), and director (Moss Hart). The 1964 film version starred Rex Harrison and Audrey Hepburn, whose vocals were dubbed by Marni Nixon. The film won Academy Awards for best picture, actor (Harrison), score, and costume design.

—William A. Everett

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My Family, Mi Familia

Filmmaker Gregory Nava crafts a multi-generational epic in *My Family, Mi Familia*, a film that follows nearly 60 years in the life of a

Latino family whose roots in the United States date back to the 1920s. Released in 1995, Nava's film addresses themes central to the immigrant experience. The financial success of *My Family, Mi Familia* demonstrated that audiences—specifically Latino audiences—were hungry for positive cinematic representation. Nava's insistence that an entirely Latino cast play his characters (as opposed to bankable Anglo stars) was a victory not only for independent filmmakers working within the Hollywood system but, more importantly, for greater verisimilitude and diversity in filmmaking.

Although he was born and raised in San Diego, Nava's own family tree has its roots in Tijuana. Nava has said that he was raised in a border world that experienced a "tremendous clash between the cultures." It is this culture clash that dominates many of Nava's films, such as the acclaimed *El Norte* (1983), a story of a brother and sister who flee Guatemala during a military coup and move northward, first to Mexico and then to California. Their struggle to adapt to a new culture provides the film with its moving drama and conflict. Nava gained much of his filmmaking experience while a student at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) film school, where he made his promising first feature, *Confessions of Aman* (1973). Nearly all of his films have been collaborations with his wife and partner Anna Thomas, who acted as co-screenwriter and producer on *My Family, Mi Familia*.

Narrated by writer Paco (Edward James Olmos), one of José and María Sanchez's five children, *My Family, Mi Familia* begins when a teenaged José (Jacob Vargas) leaves his remote Mexican village in the 1920s to seek out his last surviving relative, an old man known as El Californio (Leon Singer), one of the state's original settlers. José finds work in Beverly Hills as a gardener for a wealthy family. There he meets and falls in love with their housekeeper María (played as a young woman by Jennifer Lopez). By the 1930s, the couple has made a life for themselves in California that includes two children and a third baby on the way. When the pregnant María (Jenny Gago) is mistaken for an illegal immigrant during a routine sweep, she is deported to Mexico and separated from José and their two children for nearly two years. Once they are reunited as a family, the Sanchez's story jumps to the late 1950s when their third child Chuco (Esai Morales), who has grown into a troubled and rebellious young adult, gets involved in a fight, kills a man, and is shot by the police in front of his younger brother Jimmy (played by Jonathan Hernandez and as an adult by Jimmy Smits). The family's story continues into the 1980s, and it traces the lives of the individual family members as they struggle with more sorrow and celebrate life's successes.

Masterfully photographed by cinematographer Edward Lachman, *My Family, Mi Familia* interweaves elements of magical realism (or dream realism, as Nava prefers to call the surreal stylization of films such as *Like Water for Chocolate*) within the epic story co-scripted by Nava and Thomas. Partly autobiographical and partly based on Nava's research of families living in East Los Angeles, the film also features mythical references including the pre-Columbian motif Ometeotl, or the creator couple, who are reflected in the characters of José and María. Bridges figure largely in the film as well, serving as literal and metaphorical images uniting different cultures, spaces, and characters.

My Family, Mi Familia received mixed critical reviews upon its release in 1995. The multi-generational story often was praised for its ambition but not always for its execution. The *San Francisco Chronicle* called it a "haunting, poignant, and joyful memoir," while *Sight & Sound* said, "Although three decades are covered . . . there is little sense of the complexities of the American immigrant experience."

Similarly, the *New York Times* review called the film "wildly uneven" but "grandly ambitious" and "warmhearted." Some critics argued that the film's themes are raised but never adequately addressed, and others suggested that the film reinforces Latino stereotypes of the patriarchal family and, through its narrative and stylistic choices, deprives the female characters of agency and action. Nearly all who wrote about *My Family, Mi Familia*, however, praised the film for its positive Latino portrayals. Nava's film received many accolades from community groups and national Latino organizations and won the prize for outstanding feature film at the National Council of La Raza Bravo Awards in 1995.

The film's bilingual title reflects both the filmmakers' desire to appeal to a broad audience and distributor New Line Cinema's fears that Anglo audiences would be disinterested in a film titled only in Spanish. In a rather bold marketing move, New Line launched an entirely Latino promotion that targeted specific cities and regions throughout the country. Traditionally, the Latino market is younger than average moviegoing audiences, and they are avid consumers of mass-market entertainment such as movies. Perhaps this statistic influenced the film's financial success: in its first week, *My Family, Mi Familia* had the number one per screen average across the country, earning more money during its opening weekend than any other film playing at that time. With a modest budget of \$5.5 million, the film had grossed nearly \$8 million by the end of 1995.

During an interview to promote the release of *My Family, Mi Familia*, Nava was quoted as saying, "We have to look to our roots to find our strength." The strengths of *My Family, Mi Familia* lie in its fictional exploration of one family's multicultural roots and each member's struggles to preserve their Latino heritage while making a better life for themselves within the often rigid culture of the United States. Nava believes the immigrant experience is one of great drama and conflict, and the story (and backstory) of *My Family, Mi Familia* reflects this experience.

—Alison Macor

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My Lai Massacre

On March 16, 1968, in the wake of the Tet Offensive, American soldiers committed perhaps the most brutal, and certainly the most infamous, atrocity of the Vietnam War. The tragedy occurred in My Lai 4—one of several hamlets in Song My village in Quang Ngai province, a historic stronghold of the National Liberation Front. During an uneventful search-and-destroy mission, members of Charlie Company, First Battalion, 20th Infantry Division, commanded by Lieutenant William Calley Jr., massacred from 300 to 500 unarmed,

unresisting Vietnamese women, children, and elderly men. They raped, sodomized, and mutilated many of their victims. Once the full story of My Lai reached the American public, it reshaped how they viewed the war, and, in no small way, how they understood their own hallowed history. My Lai seared America's collective memory with seemingly indisputable proof that American behavior often failed to live up to its self-righteous rhetoric.

Remarkably, initial press reports presented the "battle" of My Lai in a positive light. Misled by army publicity reports, one news agency even spoke of an "impressive victory" by American soldiers. The army's misinformation represented only part of a systematic cover-up. The entire chain of command related to the massacre, from Capt. Ernest Medina of Charlie Company through the division commander, Maj. Gen. Samuel Koster, imposed neither corrective nor punitive measures despite their awareness of the events at My Lai. Not until a year later, when in the spring of 1969 ex-GI Ronald Ridenhour requested the House Armed Services Committee to explore rumors of mass killings, did the army initiate an investigation. Even then, however, the army conspired to downplay the massacre.

If not for Seymour Hersh, a freelance investigative reporter, the army's indictment of a single soldier would have been the last Americans ever heard about My Lai. Pursuing the army's low-key announcement of Lt. William Calley's indictment, Hersh uncovered the full story of the massacre, which the *New York Times* published on November 13, 1969. For weeks thereafter, My Lai dominated news reports across the nation. CBS and other networks aired confessions by soldiers who had participated. *Life* magazine, calling My Lai "a story of indisputable horror," published ten pages of gut-wrenching photographs of the massacre in process.

Although it had taken over a year and a half, the massacre of My Lai, in all its graphic detail, had become a household topic of conversation. Never before had ordinary Americans directly confronted the brutality of their own soldiers. For some, My Lai confirmed their worst fears about America's war in Vietnam. For others, My Lai contradicted not just their vision of the war in Vietnam, but also a longstanding American tradition of depicting the enemy, whether Indians, Nazis, Japanese, or Vietnamese, as the perpetrators of heinous atrocities—not typical American "boys."

Either way, Hersh's story set off a maelstrom of controversy. Americans responded with both denial and outrage. Despite the evidence, many Americans refused to accept that American soldiers, and by extension, America itself, could commit such barbarous crimes. A December 1969 poll, for instance, found that 49 percent of Minnesotans felt the story was false. Congressman John R. Rarick from Louisiana dubbed My Lai a "massacre hoax." Even President Nixon referred to My Lai as an "isolated incident." Others, however, charged that My Lai typified a brutal war of muddled tactics and flawed strategy. Many veterans of the war, welcoming the opportunity that My Lai presented, came forward with other similar stories, suggesting that civilian killings typified the fighting. Spurred by this controversy, the Army appointed Lt. Gen. William R. Peers to head a full-scale investigation of My Lai. The Peers Commission indicted 25 Americans: 13, including Calley, for war crimes; 12 for the cover-up. Sentenced to life imprisonment for murder, only Calley was convicted. Legal appeals on his behalf lasted for years afterwards.

Much of the cultural response to My Lai cut across ideological lines, focusing more on how the war had corrupted typical American

"boys" than on the massacre's real victims. A *Time* poll showed that events like My Lai concerned only 35 percent of Americans. Calley's plight, however, became a *cause celebre*, especially among those who saw him as a scapegoat for the Army and U.S. government. Veterans groups called for leniency. State legislatures passed resolutions of support. "Free Calley" bumper stickers appeared. A pro-Calley song, "The Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley," sold 200,000 copies in three days. Sensing the political winds, President Nixon intervened on Calley's behalf. The public sympathy for Calley, who was released on parole in 1974, epitomized Americans' obsession with what the war had done to them—as well as their general disregard for what the U.S. had inflicted upon Vietnam. The theme of the exploited or psychologically scarred Vietnam veteran became a narrative fixture in later cinematic treatments of the war, common to both anti-war films like *Deerhunter* (1978) and *Coming Home* (1978) as well as to conservative films like *Rambo*.

My Lai and American war tragedies in Vietnam also found their way into popular culture, but at first only through analogy. Two movies—*Little Big Man* (1970) and *Soldier Blue* (1970)—recreated U.S. army massacres of native Americans during the nineteenth century. While such movies clearly emerged in response to the war in Vietnam, they seemed to open all of American history to reinterpretation. Eventually, more direct treatment of American atrocities became a common, if often secondary, feature of Vietnam films. Not until Brian De Palma's *Casualties of War* (1989) did a My Lai-type atrocity become the driving story of a film. The film, which refueled the debate on the legacy of the war, recounts the story of an American platoon that kidnaps, gang-rapes, and murders a Vietnamese woman during a search-and-destroy mission. The film is perhaps best understood as rebuke to conservative revisionism of the Reagan era, calling into question Reagan's claim that the war should be considered a "noble crusade." After My Lai, Americans had to work harder to convince themselves that they were indeed the same shining "City upon a Hill" that John Winthrop spoke of in 1630 as he led anxious Puritans towards life in the new world.

—Tom Robertson

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My So-Called Life

Network television programming has often been criticized for being collectively shallow, insipid, and fashioned to appeal to the mentality of an ill-educated pre-adolescent. One refreshing exception



Claire Danes and Jared Leto in a scene from *My So-Called Life*.

was *My So-Called Life*, an original and intelligent dramatic portrayal of the world of contemporary teenagers that aired briefly in the mid-1990s. The show is set in Three Rivers, a fictional Pittsburgh suburb. Its heroine, Angela Chase (Claire Danes), is a 15-year-old sophomore at Liberty High School. Angela attempts to deal with her “so-called life”—her adolescent anxieties, quest for identity, relationships with peers, and her views of parents and authority figures. Patty and Graham Chase, Angela’s mom and dad, are not the one-dimensional adults that are staples in teen-oriented Hollywood movies and television shows. Instead, they are a realistically depicted fortysomething couple who face their own problems and crises. It is just this sort of realism that made the show popular with a small group of fans during the cynical 1990s.

My So-Called Life, produced by Marshall Herskovitz and Edward Zwick, premiered on ABC on August 25, 1994. It earned positive reviews and quickly developed a cult following. Unfortunately, its ratings were unimpressive and *My So-Called Life* had come to television at a time when new shows were axed if they did not immediately earn big ratings. In December, ABC announced that the show would be cancelled. Had the network allowed it to gestate and build an audience, however, its ratings would likely have improved. After all, numerous classic television shows of an earlier time—including *M.A.S.H.*, *All in the Family*, *Hill Street Blues*, and *Cheers*—started out with low ratings. But *My So-Called Life* would not be so lucky; reruns of its 19 episodes began airing on MTV (Music Television) the following April.

—Rob Edelman

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My Three Sons

One of the longest-running and most popular sitcoms in television history, *My Three Sons* offered a cultural anodyne to the turbulent events that characterized America during the 1960s, presenting “wholesome” family entertainment. The series revolved around an all-male household facing the trials and tribulations of life in suburbia in the 1960s. The series, which ran from 1960 to 1972, was one of television’s first single-parent sitcoms. It starred Fred MacMurray as Steve Douglas, a widowed aeronautical engineer, raising his three boys in a motherless household. When the series began the boys were Mike (18), Robbie (14), and Richard or “Chip” (seven). Also in the home was the kids’ gruff but lovable grandfather, Michael Francis “Bub” O’Casey, who moved in to cook and clean for the family. He was played by veteran character actor William Frawley, best known for his portrayal of Fred Mertz on *I Love Lucy*. In the course of its long run, the series’ structure changed several times as members of the Douglas clan were added or subtracted. However, its tone always remained comfortingly “square.”

According to authors Harry Castleman and Walter Podrazik, actor Fred MacMurray came to symbolize the classic idealized television father. They wrote, “[MacMurray] exudes, revels in, and virtually defines bland TV fatherhood in the role of Steve Douglas. He stands as an edifice, a monument to an age of simplicity, both on TV and in our pristine national image of ourselves.” Ironically, this man who played television’s most attentive father had no interest in a TV career. He had been a popular and successful movie actor, whose career had begun in the 1930s and included roles in several classic movies, notably the lead in *Double Indemnity* (1944), and the cause of Jack Lemmon’s troubles in *The Apartment* (1960). MacMurray also gained pop culture immortality as the facial model for *Captain Marvel*, the 1940s comic book super-hero who exclaimed the magic word “Shazam.” Upon being approached to headline a series called *The Fred MacMurray Show*, the star refused, saying he did not wish to devote his time to the medium. To persuade him to reconsider, the producers altered the show’s name to *My Three Sons* to reflect the increased emphasis on the children and, when he accepted, they accommodated his contractual requirements by implementing the unique “MacMurray System” shooting schedule. MacMurray agreed to work only for 65 days in any one season of the show, so all episodes were written far in advance and filmed out of sequence. MacMurray would then, for example, tape all the year’s scenes set in the family kitchen in one afternoon. The cast would then shoot their scenes around the “missing” MacMurray months later.

Despite its chaotic shooting schedule, the series always portrayed a stable and loving family whose problems were usually minor. All the lead characters had backgrounds in “family entertainment” emphasizing the show’s approach and increasing its audience appeal. MacMurray and his eldest TV son, Tim Considine (Mike), had starred in several Disney productions; Don Grady (Robbie) had been a Mouseketeer in the 1950s *Mickey Mouse Club*, and even little Stanley Livingston (Chip) had appeared in several episodes of *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. The boys were “good kids” who never caused serious difficulties for their dad, and the storylines centered on their growing pains and their father’s occasional romances. The

series' tone was always kept light, with barely a mention of the family's late wife and mother. Furthermore, references to such 1960s strife as political assassinations, Vietnam, and increased drug use among the nation's youth were completely avoided. When the imperfect reality of the outside world was allowed to intrude on the Douglas family, it was generally as a benign acknowledgment of changing trends, demonstrated by such innocuous events as Chip's decision to wear a Beatles' haircut.

During its run, the series underwent several important cast and format changes. The ailing William Frawley left the show in 1964 and was replaced by the even grouchier Uncle Charley, played by William Demarest; and, in 1965, Tim Considine asked to leave his role as the eldest son. When he departed the show, the plot had MacMurray adopting a local orphan named Ernie—played by Barry Livingston, the real-life brother of Stanley—to keep the series title accurate. Eventually the entire family moved to California where father Steve and sons Robbie and Chip all got married. In 1968, Robbie's wife Katie gave birth to triplets, named Steve, Charley, and Robbie II. Once again, there were three Douglas boys. Even the all-male family format that served as the series' original basis was abandoned as Steve's new wife moved in with her own daughter, Dodie. The strangest twist of the show occurred in 1972 when MacMurray took on a second role as Lord Fergus McBain Douglas, a Scottish cousin in search of a wife. With such an extended cast, episodes could only feature selected members of the growing Douglas family each week. The show was canceled in 1972, but returned in 1977 for a reunion special. Fred MacMurray died in 1991.

Few television programs have better represented the perfect family ideal. In *My Three Sons*, the kids were decent, the father dependable, and even the grandfather had a soft heart beneath his crusty exterior. Fred MacMurray and company presented good, clean entertainment suitable for the entire family throughout an increasingly troubled era. Along with programs like *Bachelor Father* and *The Andy Griffith Show*, it paved the way for later domestic comedies featuring single-parent households and demonstrated that sitcom audiences would accept a program without a traditional nuclear family as its center. The Douglas's may not have physically fit the "Ozzie and Harriet" mold, but they held the same values, ideals, and gentle good humor.

—Charles Coletta

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N

Nader, Ralph (1934—)

Activist Ralph Nader became twentieth-century America's prime crusader in matters of serious public concern. Since the mid-1960s his name has been synonymous with consumer protection and, although the consumer rights movement did not originate with him, he publicly expanded, publicized, and legitimized it. Nader elected a broad focus for his cause with the basic goal of protecting the individual citizen from corporate might, concentrating not merely on one issue of public concern, but seeking out the effects of profit-motivated industry on the public in many different arenas, from water pollution and airline safety to insurance, free trade, and law.

Born the son of Lebanese immigrants and raised in Winstead, Connecticut, Nader graduated from Princeton University in 1955 and got his law degree from Harvard in 1958. While in law school, his studies of auto injury cases sparked his interest in unsafe automobile



Ralph Nader

designs. He practiced law in Connecticut until 1963, when he moved to Washington, D.C., and got a job as a consultant with the U.S. Department of Labor. In 1965, he published his landmark work, *Unsafe at Any Speed*, a critique of the American automobile industry. Using the General Motors Corvair as his prime example, Nader cited low safety standards, and the failure of car manufacturers to devote a sufficient amount of their profits to safety research, as the cause of many accidents.

His research, and the publication of its results, led directly to the passage of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966, which gave the government the power to set safety standards for all vehicles sold in the United States. Nader then turned his attention to other consumer issues. Working with a team of committed lawyers who were soon known as "Nader's Raiders," he published dozens of studies calling for government regulation of a wide-ranging list of disturbing consumer issues. These included baby food, insecticide, mercury poisoning, banking, and many more. In 1969, Nader founded the Center for Responsive Law for the continuing investigation of many aspects of modern life, including the health hazards of mining and nursing home abuse. Nader's Raiders put their investigative noses into every corner of the industrial and corporate world, highlighting injustices, illegalities, and dangers, and incurring the enmity of many captains of industry and commerce.

In the mid-1970s, Nader sponsored the "Critical Mass" conferences about the dangers of nuclear power, which produced the ongoing Critical Mass Energy Project. In 1988, he helped to secure the passage of a California initiative to reduce the cost of automobile insurance, and in the 1990s he began taking on the computer industry, fighting the monopolistic practices of many of the big corporations. The work of Nader and his colleagues is responsible for the creation of many concerned consumer groups, including Congress Watch, Public Citizen, Commercial Alert, the Center for Auto Safety, the National Insurance Consumer Organization, and the Health Research Organization.

Though he said, "The most important office in America for anyone to achieve is full-time citizen," in 1996 Ralph Nader ran for the presidency of the United States. He didn't expect to win, but to call attention to the lack of real debate between the major party candidates, whom he called, "a Corporate Party with two heads wearing different makeup." Running on a platform that expounded on the need to fight corporate crime and oppose multinational corporations "whose only allegiance is to profit," Nader was not permitted to participate in the nationally televised candidate debates. Despite Democratic fears that Nader's candidacy would draw votes away from Bill Clinton, the Democratic incumbent won handily. A number of traditional Democrat supporters did vote for Nader, however, if only to express their dissatisfaction with the party's lack of response to the concerns of working people.

Nader's landmark work for the rights of consumers has made his name a household word throughout the United States and abroad. Even those who disagree with his politics acknowledge him as a sharp watchdog on industry. His methodology—employing fact-finding investigations, published reports, and lawsuits followed by lobbying—has become a model for action in the public interest movement. A deeply committed activist, he has eschewed a celebrity lifestyle in favor of legendary thriftiness, living in a tiny apartment in the town

where he grew up and refusing to own a car. Describing his work, Ralph Nader has said he wishes to promote “citizen action against the growth of the corporate state and its political and economic disenfranchisement of the public.”

—Tina Gianoulis

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Nagel, Patrick (1945-1984)

Painter, illustrator, and graphic artist Patrick Nagel came to prominence around 1980 with works influenced by fashion photography, Art Deco poster art of the 1920s and 1930s, and Japanese woodblock prints. Born in Dayton, Ohio, Nagel grew up in the Los Angeles area, where he spent most of his life. He studied art at the Chouinard Art Institute, and in 1969 received his bachelor of fine arts degree from California State University at Fullerton. After first working as a freelance artist he joined ABC-TV in 1971, where he produced television graphics for promotion and news broadcasts. After a year, he returned to freelance assignments, accepting commissions from major corporations and magazines, including IBM, ITT, United Artists, MGM, Universal Studios, *Architectural Digest*, *Rolling Stone*, *Oui*, and *Harpers*. From 1976 he illustrated the *Playboy* column “The Playboy Advisor.”

Although he produced over sixty different graphic editions during his lifetime, he was best known for the “Nagel women,” idealized portraits of fashionable young women who exuded both a sense of style and an alluring mystery. Perhaps inspired by Nagel's wife, the model Jennifer Dumas, these silk-screened limited edition prints quickly won him an international reputation. Often used in advertisements, they marked a decided turn away from the visual trends of the late 1960s and 1970s. Nagel's crisp lines and flat, cool colors were quite unlike that period's busy, neo-Baroque “psychedelic” poster art. Nagel attempted to depict the new, confident woman of the 1980s, one secure with her sexuality, yet simultaneously slightly distanced and aloof. Almost always shown with ghostly white skin, red lipstick, and short black hair, this “Nagel woman” proved a narrow but extremely popular vision. His first solo show of painted works sold out in fifteen minutes. In 1982 the rock band Duran Duran invited Nagel to design the cover for its number-one selling album, *Rio*.

Many celebrities, including Joan Collins, posed for Nagel's paintings, attracted perhaps by his rare sense of an almost austere glamour. After his untimely death in 1984, *Playboy* published in its January 1985 issue an homage to Nagel the artist and Nagel the man. His work can be found in the permanent collections of the Library of

Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, and the Musée des Arts Decoratifs and the Musée de L’Affiche, in Paris.

—Vance Bell

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Naismith, James (1861-1939)

Dr. James Naismith would no doubt be astounded to see the degree to which the game he invented in the late nineteenth century has changed and evolved. As it was, Naismith—during his remarkable life—saw the game transformed from one in which people tried to throw a ball into a peach basket to one in which athletic players competed at an extremely high level. As Glenn Dickey has noted in his book *The History of Professional Basketball Since 1896*, basketball is “the only true American game,” as there existed nothing even remotely resembling basketball until Naismith invented the game in 1891 in Springfield, Massachusetts. Naismith's invention grew out a need to help fulfill a curriculum requirement at the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) Training School where he taught; students there were required to exercise for one hour per day. While students played football in the fall and baseball in the spring, they had no winter sport and had to resort to one hour per day of calisthenics, which was extremely unpopular. Little did Naismith know that he would not only fill that hour with a more enjoyable activity, but he would also create one of the twentieth century's most popular sports.

Naismith's life prior to landing in Springfield was a rather bumpy one. He was born in Ontario, Canada, and dropped out of high school in his mid-teens, feeling that further education was not necessary for his future. He began working as a lumberjack to support his brother and sister. After five years of work, Naismith decided that he needed to return to school to advance himself and, in 1881, he reentered high school, beginning with his second year. After graduation from high school, he decided to enter a university, despite family opposition. His uncle, who had taken over care of the Naismith children following the death of both of their parents from typhoid fever in 1870, wanted James to stay and help run the family farm.

Despite his uncle's opposition, Naismith attended McGill University in Montreal, where he became involved in athletics, particularly rugby. Naismith also excelled in academics, graduating with a degree in philosophy and Hebrew in 1887; he was named one of the top ten students in his class. Following his graduation, Naismith decided to pursue a theological education at Presbyterian College, a school which was affiliated with McGill. Upon finishing his theological work, Naismith decided, in 1890, to move to Springfield to take part in the recently founded International Young Men's Christian Association Training School, created to train laymen in the promotion of Christian ideas.

As Bernice Larson Webb notes in her book *The Basketball Man: James Naismith*, the guiding ideas of the YMCA Training School

were “A sound mind in a sound body,” and that sports could be used to build character. According to Webb, Naismith wholeheartedly agreed with this philosophy and ardently wanted to be one of the men who spread it. Naismith took a position as a physical education instructor in Springfield, where he taught until the summer of 1895, after which he moved to Denver, Colorado, to serve as physical education director for the Denver YMCA.

Naismith first began to formulate the principles of basketball in an attempt to help satisfy the needs of a group of students in a class in the Training School’s Secretarial Department—many of the older men in the class became bored with the exercises they were forced to do to fulfill the school’s physical education requirement. Because the activity had to take place indoors, Naismith realized that he needed to create a game in which running, due to lack of space, and tackling, because of wooden floors, were kept to a minimum. To solve this dilemma, he came up with the idea that players should try to throw a ball into a peach basket, with passing the ball between players used to replace tackling. While the rules of basketball evolved to a great extent, Naismith had come up with the game’s basic principles.

Following his YMCA career in Denver and Springfield, Naismith became the first in a long line of famous coaches at the University of Kansas, which has had one of the most successful basketball programs in the country. When Naismith arrived in 1898 as the University’s physical education and religious director, the school did not yet have a basketball program. He coached the Jayhawks from 1898 to 1907, where he had the dubious honor of being the only coach in Kansas history to compile a losing record; his teams won 55 games and lost 60.

Because he had an interest in helping to promote other sports programs at Kansas and never became obsessed with basketball, Naismith handed the coaching reins over to F.C. “Phog” Allen in 1907. Additionally, according to his biographer Bernice Webb, Naismith was “noticeably uninterested” in coaching basketball and was more concerned with building players’ character and physical fortitude than he was with winning games. Naismith was apparently also unhappy with many of the changes which were occurring in the game he invented. He is quoted in the “Century of Basketball” section of the University of Kansas basketball webpage as saying “Oh, my gracious. They are murdering my game . . .” in response to the physical play he witnessed in a 1910 game between Kansas and Missouri.

In addition to the inventing the game of basketball, Naismith also invented the football helmet. When playing football in Springfield, he frequently complained of receiving ear bruises. To help alleviate the problem, he cut a football lengthwise and began wearing it on his head. The innovation not only prevented injuries, but more significantly it fostered the further development of the game of football.

Naismith and his wife Maude, whom he married in June 1894, had three daughters. Naismith retired from the University of Kansas faculty in 1937. He died in 1939 at the age of 78. The National Basketball Hall of Fame in Springfield is named for Naismith, and he was inducted into the Hall in 1959.

—Jason George

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Namath, Joe (1943—)

“I guarantee it!” Joe Willie Namath’s outlandish promise, made poolside in the days preceding the 1969 Super Bowl, angered his own head coach, infuriated his opponents, and helped bring the spirit of the 1960s counterculture into sports. When the New York Jets backed up their 25-year-old quarterback’s “guarantee” with a 16-7 upset over the highly favored Baltimore Colts, the new American Football League gained credibility and sealed the success of the upcoming NFL-AFL merger.

While “Broadway Joe” never challenged “establishment” social structures in the manner of the draft-resisting, poetry-spouting boxer Muhammad Ali, his hedonistic “make love, not war” lifestyle infused the strait-laced atmosphere of professional football with an entirely alien cultural attitude. An openly promiscuous user of adults-only substances (he preferred Johnnie Walker Red Label) who partied all night, Namath simply admitted to behavior usually indulged in secrecy by more clean-cut (and more married) jocks. While Namath apparently never smoked pot and his tastes in music (Glen Campbell, The Fifth Dimension) were decidedly not hip, his abhorrence for hypocrisy was a lightning bolt that shattered the value system of professional sports.

Born Joseph William Namath in the steel mill town of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania on May 31, 1943, the young athlete excelled in many different sports from a very early age. He played high school basketball and was offered a professional baseball contract upon graduation. He decided to play football instead, and he applied to Penn State. However, he failed to attain the minimum score on his college entrance exams and had to settle for the University of Alabama who was interested in the young quarterback and less academically demanding.

Initially, Namath disliked Alabama, disliked most of the people, disliked the prevailing attitudes to skin color, and generally felt alien and isolated. He was not only a swarthy-complexioned son of Hungarian immigrants, but maintained close friendships with African Americans. The Alabama classmates who referred to him as a “nigger-lover” had noted this, while some of his teammates were also resentful because legendary head coach Paul “Bear” Bryant seemed to take Namath under his wing.

By 1964, when Namath finished his final and successful senior year at Alabama, the old New York Titans of the new American Football League had a new owner and a new name, the New York Jets. Entertainment mogul Sonny Werblin had purchased the team, promptly decided that sports should be considered a glitzy form of entertainment, and thus needed a star. Joe Namath left a rather checkered career behind him at Alabama. He was, at one point, suspended from the football squad for directing traffic in downtown Tuscaloosa while intoxicated. Known as something of a rogue, Namath was also a superb and fearless quarterback who liked to take chances both on and off the field. Werblin had found his star. He gave Namath a record-breaking \$427,000 contract, including a lavish signing bonus and jobs for the player’s brothers, making him truly the



Joe Namath (middle) in Super Bowl III.

first bonus baby in sports. Werblin's lavish terms were offered despite Namath's questionable athletic future; the quarterback underwent knee surgery immediately after his senior season.

Namath's first few years with the Jets were more notable for his off-the-field activities than for his quarterbacking. His hair was alarmingly long, he had numerous girlfriends, and spent many nights drinking and hobnobbing with sportswriters and celebrities in New York City. On one occasion he got into a fist fight with a writer at a club and was fined by the team; on another, he and his African-American teammate Winston Hill tried unsuccessfully to room together during a mid-1960s exhibition game in Birmingham, Alabama. Namath appeared utterly unconcerned with whatever accepted standards of propriety he considered hypocritical, no matter where or to what they applied.

In 1966, the old National Football League negotiated a deal with the new American Football League; each year the champions of each league would face-off in a game called the "Super Bowl," and they agreed to cooperate in matters of drafting and signing players. They planned on an eventual merger, but many were skeptical as to whether the new AFL teams were seriously competitive. The legendary Green Bay Packers, an NFL team, captured the first two Super Bowls. In 1968, Joe Namath and his New York Jets won the American Football League title and earned the right to play in the third Super Bowl.

After the Jets' shocking January 12, 1969, victory over the NFL's Colts, and the enormous publicity accorded Namath's outlandish and entertaining pre-game behavior and comments, the merger was secure. The NFL absorbed the AFL, along with many of the new attitudes toward the sport exemplified by Joe Namath. Then, in the summer of 1969, just as the two leagues were about to merge, Joe Namath stunned the sports world by announcing his retirement from football at the tender age of 26. He had by then bought his own club, the "Bachelors Three," and Football Commissioner Pete Rozelle had offered Namath an ultimatum: sell your nightclub, which Rozelle claimed was frequented by "undesirables," or face indefinite suspension. At a much-publicized press conference held at his club, Namath tearfully said that he had to follow his conscience and leave the game behind. Before the beginning of the new season, though, he reconsidered, sold the club, and went to training camp. He later said a compromise plan worked out between Rozelle and his own attorneys "was against all my instincts."

Namath continued to play for the Jets through the 1976 season, when chronic injuries and age convinced the team to place him on waivers. The Los Angeles Rams picked him up for one more season, and he retired in 1977 at the age of 34.

—Robin Markowitz

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Nancy Drew

When Edward Stratemeyer conceived of the Nancy Drew Mystery Stories in 1929, he envisioned a girls' version of his popular Hardy Boys series. He hoped it would prove successful, but he could not have foreseen that it would fast become the bestselling juvenile series in the country (originally targeted for 10-to-15-year-olds and later for 8-to-11-year-olds), and would eventually gain renown as the longest-running series of children's fiction in American history. Nancy Drew even conquered foreign shores: first appearing in Norway in the late 1930s, by the 1980s she had been translated into over a dozen different languages. In Nancy Drew, Edward Stratemeyer did not merely create a series of books, he created an enduring cross-cultural icon.

Ghostwriter Mildred Wirt had already worked for the Stratemeyer Syndicate, contributing to a well-established series. When she was assigned the first volumes of Nancy Drew, Wirt was glad for the opportunity to create a new character from scratch. With only a short outline to limit her, she had the freedom to sculpt Nancy as self-reliant and courageous, traits she felt were lacking in girls' fiction of the day. Her manuscripts featured a forthright teenager who was the intellectual superior of the adults around her, and was possessed of a fierce determination. As Wirt later told the story, Stratemeyer liked her work but thought she had made Nancy too flippant. The publishers did not share his reservations, and the first three volumes were published in 1930 under the pseudonym "Carolyn Keene."

Stratemeyer died soon after Nancy Drew's debut, stricken by pneumonia, and the operations of his business fell to his daughters. Harriet Stratemeyer Adams and Edna Stratemeyer assumed control of newborn Nancy Drew. Between their plots and Mildred Wirt's prose, the characteristics that made Nancy Drew popular took shape. From the first, Nancy Drew was remarkable for her physical and mechanical acumen. She could row a boat to safety in a violent storm, change flat tires, and solve other automotive problems. In these respects she resembled the Hardy Boys, but Nancy was not merely a male character in the guise of a girl, she was popular because she performed manly tasks without losing her femininity. Sixteen-year-old Nancy wears lovely clothes, comports herself like a lady, and demonstrates skill in the domestic arts by running the Drew home and supervising housekeeper Hannah Gruen (Mrs. Drew died when Nancy was a child). By combining traditionally male and female behavioral traits, Nancy presented a model of womanhood radically different from what readers saw in other children's books.

The beguiling combination of masculine and feminine effects even the series' literary style. The crimes committed in Nancy's hometown of River Heights are less hard-edged than those found in

their predecessors, the Hardy Boys books; they center on the loss of wealth or relatives, suffered by genteel characters. Nancy spends much of her time—when she is not crawling through damp basement tunnels—in Victorian drawing rooms, moated castles, and lush gardens. She captures counterfeiters, but she also specializes in reuniting long-lost sweethearts. She finds clues in love songs, heirlooms, and artwork. In sum, Nancy's narratives offer action and thrills similar to those in boys' books, but couched in a decidedly feminine atmosphere.

Another profitable paradox in the Nancy Drew series is the depiction of Nancy herself. Although merely a teenager (she eventually ages to 18), she is the co-custodian of the Drew domain with her father, famous attorney Carson Drew. This relationship is the stuff of fantasy for girl readers. Carson treats Nancy like his equal, seeking her advice on cases and entrusting her with total freedom. With no mother in the way, and a servant as the series' sole older woman, Nancy may define womanhood as she pleases. She is the lady of the house and the mother of her own identity. When she needs them, however, she also enjoys the protections of a child's life. She may run the household, but she does not pay the property taxes; her reliable Dad handles all economic concerns, even buying her new cars when villains steal or sabotage hers. Nancy also finds a mother-surrogate in housekeeper Hannah, who loves her yet is never high-handed. Thus Nancy (and, by extension, her audience) enjoys the best of both worlds, free to be both an adult and a child.

As was the case with all other popular products of the Stratemeyer Syndicate, Nancy's popularity did not extend to librarians, many of whom refused to stock her volumes on their shelves because of the

series' numerous literary shortcomings. But if any flaw spoiled the experience of reading Nancy Drew for girls, it was not the books' flatly formulaic structure; it was the utter perfection of their heroine. Balanced between her friends Bess and George, girls who are caricatures of creampuff and tomboy, Nancy is repeatedly drawn as the golden mean between extremes. Every volume has Nancy performing some outlandish combination of feats that no human girl could manage. As Bobbie Ann Mason observed in *The Girl Sleuth*, "Nancy is so accomplished that she can lie bound and gagged in a dank basement or snowed-in cabin for as much as twenty-four hours without freezing to death or wetting her pants." While millions of girls loved the vicarious thrills of attaining zeniths with Nancy, a significant minority found her inhuman perfection off-putting, and preferred to read more realistic series of girls' mysteries—most of which had begun as imitators of Nancy Drew. Her prodigious accomplishments, unflinching luck, and ever-cheerful attitude left Nancy vulnerable to the wicked wit of satirists. Since the 1970s, Nancy and her friends have frequently been skewered in the press, in fiction, and on stage.

The basic qualities of the Nancy Drew series remained fairly constant despite changes in the books' production process. After writing all but three of the original novels, Mildred Wirt left the series permanently in 1953. The Stratemeyer Syndicate produced subsequent Nancy Drew books with other ghostwriters, and Harriet Adams wrote several volumes herself. Also in the 1950s, Adams began revising and rewriting the older titles in all her major series, to make them more attractive to younger readers and to remove their overt racism. The combined effects of the revisions and the loss of the original ghostwriter altered the flavor of the Nancy Drew series. In one notable change, Nancy lost some of her independence. After the 1950s Nancy became more submissive to authority figures and traveled more often in a group with her boyfriend Ned and other friends, thus minimizing the courage and the risk-taking that highlighted her solo escapades.

The biggest changes, however, came after publishers Simon & Schuster purchased the Syndicate in 1984, following Harriet Adams' death. After slightly updating Nancy's image in the core series, the publishers launched a string of spin-off series aimed at different age groups. In 1986 the Nancy Drew Files revised Nancy for 12-to-14-year-old audiences. A sexy teenager with a passion for trendy clothes and handsome boys, this Nancy was a departure from her earlier image. The mysteries were more sophisticated as well, now including murders for the first time. A series designed for much younger girls, the Nancy Drew Notebooks debuted in 1994, featuring a grade school Nancy. Older teens could read the Nancy Drew on Campus series, in which Nancy attends college and confronts such controversial issues as date rape, drug use, and pre-marital sex (though Nancy herself does not participate in any unwholesome behavior). Further splintering of Nancy's image came with the Nancy Drew and Hardy Boys Supermysteries, a series in which Nancy teams with Frank and Joe Hardy to solve cases. All of these ancillary series were produced while the core series continued to grow.

Simon & Schuster's aggressive handling of Nancy Drew gave her more visibility than she had previously enjoyed. Despite her immediate popularity, Nancy Drew was not greatly exploited in earlier decades, owing partly to Harriet Adams' protectiveness. Often referring to Nancy as "my fictional daughter," Adams discouraged

interpretations of the character which she found inappropriate. This may explain why very little merchandise was produced for Nancy Drew. The late 1950s did see a popular board game, and in 1967 the Madame Alexander doll company produced a Nancy Drew doll. But Adams disapproved of it, and it was withdrawn from circulation.

Nancy Drew did not fare much better as a screen-character. In the late 1930s Warner Bros. produced four films featuring teen actress Bonita Granville. The comic movies made Nancy appear younger and sillier than she did in the books, and were not big successes. Nancy Drew did not reappear onscreen until 1977, when the Hardy Boys/Nancy Drew Mysteries debuted on ABC-television, starring Pamela Sue Martin as Nancy. The Hardy Boys half of the series was bolstered by the teen-idol status of its actors, but the Nancy Drew episodes were less successful and garnered low ratings. The producers canceled the Nancy Drew series, instead using Nancy as a recurring character in the Hardy Boys episodes. Disliking the arrangement, Martin left and was briefly replaced by Janet Louise Johnson, but Nancy's character was soon eliminated altogether. It took nearly 20 years for the character to be televised again; in 1995, Canadian production company Nelvana introduced two syndicated series about Nancy Drew and the Hardy Boys. After conducting a cast search on the Internet as well as through more conventional channels, the producers hired Tracy Ryan to play Nancy. Both series failed to find an audience, and disappeared after only one season.

Success eluded Nancy Drew as a filmed character, but her fame as a fictional heroine made her more than a household word. Beginning in the early 1970s, something of a Nancy Drew renaissance occurred in the media. The feminist movement adopted Nancy as one of its matron saints, producing a string of articles about the plucky girl detective in such magazines as *Ms.* and *Vogue*. Encomiums appeared in nostalgia magazines and scholarly journals. National newspapers reported the grassroots formation of a Nancy Drew fan club in 1974. Prominent public women admitted that Nancy Drew had influenced their career paths.

Reporters frequently interviewed Harriet Adams, who demonstrated her close connection to Nancy Drew by claiming to be the series' sole author. The result of her publicity statements is that virtually everything written about Nancy Drew before the 1990s—even, unfortunately, entries in reference books—contains misleading information. Mildred Wirt did not receive widespread public recognition until her alma mater, the University of Iowa, hosted a Nancy Drew conference in 1993 and invited Wirt—by then, Mildred Wirt Benson—to appear. The conference received national press coverage and its proceedings were published in *Rediscovering Nancy Drew*, thus making accurate information about Nancy Drew's authorship easily available.

By the late 1990s Nancy Drew was living a triple life. Still in print for children, she also became an increasingly popular subject of analysis in college Humanities departments, as well as remaining a leading figure with adult collectors of nostalgia and rare books. Several webpages devoted to Nancy appeared on the Internet, and in 1998 she became the heroine of a CD-ROM game. Some of Simon & Schuster's spin-off Nancy Drew series were canceled during the same period, and the vicissitudes of children's publishing make it difficult to predict what kind of a future Nancy can expect in a world where independent heroines have become the norm. Nancy Drew may eventually be out-performed by competitors who owe their existence

to her. Her place in the history of popular culture, however, has been assured by her influence on the industry of children's fiction and on the lives of millions of readers.

—Ilana Nash

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NASA

Whether it be through film or print, Americans have always been fascinated with space travel. Stories range from the more mainstream exploration of space to "far-out" depictions of alien abductions and other encounters with creatures from another world. Much of our fascination with space has come out of the work of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), which was established in 1958 as an agency of the United States Government. With ten facilities—including the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center in Houston, Texas and the main launch facilities at Cape Canaveral, Florida—NASA's purpose is to coordinate and conduct aeronautical and space research.

With the Soviet launching of Sputnik 1, the first artificial satellite, in October 1957, Americans became concerned about the apparent "technological gap" between the two world powers. In an attempt to bridge this gap, America launched its own satellite and established NASA. NASA quickly brought the "space race" to national attention as it sought to fulfill President John F. Kennedy's challenge to reach the moon before 1970.

Americans watched these events with a childlike fascination. A new frontier was about to be conquered. Cowboys, soldiers, and sports figures were replaced by America's new heroes, the seven astronauts chosen for the first manned space program, Project Mercury. NASA's work ignited tremendous excitement in the nation.



The space shuttle *Columbia*.

Children played with spaceships, wore space helmets, and fired ray guns. Indeed, families even made trips to Cape Canaveral making it clear that our fascination with space was not just a fleeting one.

The world of popular culture would eventually catch up, and profit from, this fascination. Television programs such as *Men Into Space* and *The Twilight Zone* became popular as Americans anticipated the first manned flight, not knowing exactly what to expect. Science fiction movies and comic books, already popular since the days of Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon serials, became even more popular. They pictured astronauts traveling into space, landing on hostile worlds, battling aliens, and encountering dangers that threatened mankind. Even Disneyland had its own World of Tomorrow. NASA sparked America's imagination by opening a frontier that had only been a dream.

Excitement was also mixed with fear. Some people who knew the families of astronauts wondered how they could let their sons go into space and bring back a deadly disease. Others objected because they believed that God never intended people to leave earth. But NASA launched two successful sub-orbital flights and then placed John Glenn into orbit. In the early years, though, NASA always seemed to be one step behind the Soviet space program. Americans wondered if NASA would win the ultimate prize of the space race. . . the first moon landing.

NASA enjoyed overall success until the deaths of the Apollo 1 astronauts in early 1967. The three prime candidates for the first moon landing were killed when their spacecraft caught fire on the launching pad. This proved a setback to the program, but NASA would reach its goal on July 20, 1969 when the Apollo Project resulted in the first

successful moon landing. The image of Neil Armstrong walking on the lunar surface is permanently impressed upon the memories of Americans who watched it on television. The astronauts were immediate celebrities and NASA's popularity soared. The Apollo spacecraft toured American cities and it became clear that the successful Apollo program was the ultimate sign of American prestige and technological superiority. NASA's popularity, however, began to wane as Americans grew weary of moon landings. Reruns of *The Howdy Doody Show* achieved higher ratings than NASA's later lunar voyages and people complained to television stations that their soap operas had been interrupted by these space missions.

In 1973, NASA launched Skylab, the first United States manned space laboratory. The Apollo-Soyuz project was a later joint American-Soviet mission, but it took the first manned space shuttle, launched in 1981, to rekindle NASA's popularity. The rise in popularity, however, would be short-lived as a series of failures changed the way Americans looked at NASA.

Christa McAuliffe, the school teacher who trained with NASA astronauts for the Challenger shuttle mission, made Americans everywhere believe that space travel was possible for the average person. The vision of Challenger exploding on the television screen on January 28, 1986 is indelibly burned into the memories of millions of Americans. Many Americans became critical of NASA and the space shuttle program, questioning the safety of space travel and research. After a two year hiatus, shuttle launches resumed when Discovery blasted off in September of 1988.

While the agency made successful shuttle launches, it also sent unmanned probes to other planets and placed the Hubble space telescope into orbit, supplying detailed pictures of other worlds. NASA also captured the imagination of the public when it successfully launched the Mars Pathfinder in July of 1997—the Mars rover sent photographs back to Earth and the public once again discussed the possibility of life on the Red Planet.

After the Challenger tragedy, space shuttle flights became so routine they were only briefly mentioned in the news. Former Astronaut and Senator John Glenn changed that when he came out of retirement to join the crew of the Discovery in 1998, becoming the oldest person to ever travel into space.

Over the years, NASA has provided inspiration for many science fiction writers and movie makers. The television series *Star Trek* and the movie *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) were released during the "space race" era. NASA has been featured in many popular movies, including *Apollo 13* (1995), that popularized astronaut Jim Lovell's announcement "Houston, we have a problem." *The Right Stuff* (1983) and the HBO (Home Box Office) mini-series *From the Earth to the Moon* (1998) have also documented NASA's work. NASA has even been the source of speculation for conspiracy theorists. Some authors believe NASA covered up Unidentified Flying Object (UFO) sightings by early astronauts. They also accuse NASA of hiding the truth about an alleged monument on Mars supposedly caught on film in 1976. Some groups believe that no moon landing ever took place and that the lunar landing was staged on a movie set.

The history of NASA is a mixture of tragedy and triumph. Over the years, the American public has had mixed feeling regarding the success and usefulness of NASA. With the on-going speculation regarding life on other planets, Americans will continue to be intrigued with NASA's efforts to explore outer space.

—James H. Lloyd

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The Nation

America's oldest continuously published weekly magazine, *The Nation* has maintained a consistent liberal/radical outlook since its founding, in 1865, by a group of abolitionists just at the end of the Civil War. Among the causes advocated by the magazine over the years have been labor unionism in the late 1800s, the formation of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) in the early 1900s, the Sacco and Vanzetti case in the 1920s, anti-McCarthyism in the 1950s, the civil-rights and anti-war movements of the 1960s, and countering Reaganomics in the 1980s. Its contributing writers over the years have included many of the nation's most prominent figures in politics, the arts, education, and literature, such as W. E. B. Du Bois, H. L. Mencken, Willa Cather, Eleanor Roosevelt, James Baldwin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Cesar Chavez, Ralph Nader, E. L. Doctorow, and Toni Morrison. By the end of the twentieth century, columnists such as Alexander Cockburn, Katha Pollitt, Christopher Hitchens, and Calvin Trillin were offering readers commentary on public policy and cultural issues. Since 1966, the periodical has sponsored *The Nation Institute*, an independently funded public charity "committed to the creation of a just society and an informed public, as well as to the preservation of rights protected under the First Amendment." Some historians have credited *The Nation* with keeping alive the tradition of muckraking and advocacy journalism in the United States.

According to *The Nation's* original prospectus, in 1865 the publication was defined as strictly independent and not "the organ of any party, sect or body." Hoping that their organ could help heal the rifts of the bloody Civil War that had just ended, the founders of the weekly periodical—among its early backers were Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, William James and his brother Henry James, Henry Adams, and William Dean Howells—further declared that its purpose would be to "make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred. . . ." Its first editor, the Anglo-Irish journalist E. L. Godkin, raised \$100,000 to launch the magazine, which published its first issue on July 6, 1865, just weeks after Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

Radical abolitionists dominated *The Nation's* earliest issues. Its major financial backer, George Luther Stearns, was a Boston lead-pipe manufacturer who had supplied John Brown with the munitions for the raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859. The first literary editor was Wendell Phillips Garrison, the son of abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Still, although *The Nation* supported most of the Reconstruction program and civil rights legislation, its middle-of-the-road

stance disappointed supporters who advocated more radical reforms. In the interests of stabilizing the publication, Godkin distanced himself from what he called “too close identification with a factional or partisan cause.” On labor-versus-capital issues, *The Nation* adopted a generally “liberal capitalist” stance, criticizing the excesses of business and supporting unions while steering clear of more ideological socialist solutions. When investors threatened to withdraw support, landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted helped reorganize the periodical to guarantee its editorial independence.

In 1881, when *The Nation* became an insert in Henry Villard’s *New York Evening Post*, Godkin turned over the editorship to Wendell Phillips Garrison. Circulation shrank, and the publication became little more than a book review section for the newspaper. After Garrison retired, several editors followed in quick succession: Hammond Lamont, who died within three years; Sanskrit scholar Paul Elmer More, who added more literary criticism to the publication; and Harold deWolf Fuller. Finally, in 1918, with World War I straining public discourse and threatening civil liberties, Oscar Garrison Villard, Henry’s son, took over as editor and turned it into the more radical publication that it has since remained. Under his guidance, circulation increased fivefold in just two years: from 7,200 in 1918 to 38,000 in 1920. Oscar Garrison Villard had earlier helped found the NAACP, and was active in controversial causes, advocating clemency for conscientious objectors, opposing American colonial expansion as in the annexation of Hawaii and Panama, and backing self-determination for the Philippines and Ireland. The United States government seized the magazine’s September 14, 1918 issue on the grounds that it was seditious. *The Nation* gave extensive coverage to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and was the first American publication to publish the new Soviet Constitution. During the 1920s, it helped galvanize public opinion in favor of a retrial for anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti.

With the resurgence of liberal ideology in the wake of the Great Depression, circulation of *The Nation* increased to 36,000 by the time Villard retired in 1932. He was succeeded by Freda Kirchwey, who remained editor until 1955. Villard continued writing for the publication until 1940, when he broke with Kirchwey in the Stalinist-versus-Trotskyist controversy that had seriously divided American leftists. By the late 1930s, after Kirchwey assumed ownership of the publication, *The Nation* was breaking new ground in American journalism by publishing more articles on the Spanish Civil War and on women’s issues, birth control, and sexual freedom. During World War II, she staunchly opposed Nazism and Fascism in Europe. In the postwar period, the publication stood firmly against the witch-hunts of Senator Joseph McCarthy and advocated the peaceful use of atomic energy and the establishment of the state of Israel. Kirchwey angered many leftists, however, by refraining from endorsing the Progressive candidacy of Henry A. Wallace for president in 1948. Faced with financial difficulties, Kirchwey transferred ownership of the magazine in 1943 to The Nation Associates, a network of subscribers who were asked to enroll members. The publication seriously considered a merger with its amicable rival, *The New Republic*.

Carey McWilliams succeeded Kirchwey as editor in 1955 and, with George Kirstein as publisher, continued to question Cold War policies, the growth of the military-industrial complex, CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) involvement in Guatemala, and the events that led to the Vietnam War. *The Nation* also broke new ground in consumer advocacy in the 1950s and 1960s, publishing the first serious article that linked cigarette smoking to cancer, as well as early articles by Ralph Nader on car safety. At the same time, *The Nation*

took a strong stance on behalf of desegregation and other aspects of the growing civil rights movement, and published with greater frequency the views of revisionist American historians such as Walter La Feber, Gabriel Kolko, Barton Bernstein, H. Stuart Hughes, Howard Zinn, and others. Kirstein helped stabilize the always precarious financial position of the publication before turning the reins over to James J. Storrow, Jr. in the mid-1960s, whose expertise in print technology further bolstered the periodical’s fiscal viability.

McWilliams was briefly succeeded as editor in 1975 by Blair Clark, who had worked for CBS and *The New York Post* and who had earlier been campaign manager for Senator Eugene McCarthy’s presidential campaign in 1968. Within two years, *The Nation* was purchased by a consortium organized by Hamilton Fish III, which selected Victor Navasky as editor. Under the new structure, the editor and publisher became general partners and the investors became limited partners with no editorial voice. Fish was succeeded as publisher by Arthur Carter. After 1994, Katrina Vanden Heuvel served as editor, with Navasky becoming publisher and editorial director. In reflecting on the history of the publication at its 125th anniversary in 1990, Navasky wrote: “A maverick magazine, it has attracted maverick proprietors, which may be one of its survival secrets.” He added, “We will continue to fight for causes, lost and found . . . someone once described *The Nation* as a magazine for the permanent minority. . . . A magazine shouldn’t come to power. It can nourish, it can prod, it can hector, it can educate, it can cajole, wheedle, expose, embarrass, inform, illuminate and inspire. And if it does all these things . . . the laws of capitalism notwithstanding, it will survive.”

—Edward Moran

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National Basketball Association (NBA)

One of two indigenous American sports (volleyball is the other), basketball dates to 1891, the year Young Men’s Christian Association instructor James Naismith first hung two peach baskets to the track railing around his gym and encouraged his charges to pitch balls into them. The first professional leagues began operating around the turn of the twentieth century, with the first true national league, the American Basketball League (ABL), established in 1925. A casualty of the Depression, the ABL’s demise left the midwestern-based National Basketball League (NBL) as the only major professional basketball league. That monopoly lasted until 1946, when the Basketball Association of America (BAA) was formed by an alliance of

arena owners in the major eastern cities. The New York Knickerbockers and the Toronto Huskies played in that league's inaugural game on November 1, 1946.

Despite staging its games in the nation's best venues, like New York's Madison Square Garden and the Boston Garden, the BAA had trouble attracting top-flight players. By a fortuitous coincidence, that just so happened to be the NBL's strong suit, paving the way for a league merger that resulted in the creation of the National Basketball Association (NBA) in 1949. The new league fielded 17 clubs in its inaugural season, although the absorption of NBL franchises left the NBA a curious agglomeration of large (New York, Boston) and small (Sheboygan, Syracuse) markets. As a consequence, seven of the league's less competitive teams had folded by the start of the 1950-1951 season.

The contraction actually helped the NBA by dispersing the talent more generously among the surviving franchises. But professional basketball still suffered in comparison to the college game, then all the rage in hoops hotbeds like New York City. Only a point-shaving scandal that rocked the college game in January of 1951 allowed the NBA a chance to grab the attention of basketball fans nationwide. The incorporation of African American players, beginning in 1950 with Earl Lloyd of the Washington Capitols, further enhanced the level of play and improved the league's image in progressive circles.

Still, professional basketball had trouble captivating the national imagination. Its marquee player in those early years, seven-foot Minneapolis Laker center George Mikan, seemed an unapproachable hero whose freakish size inspired a host of less talented imitators. The league became dominated by big men and slowed down by constant fouling designed to impede their scoring. Public disenchantment was crystallized by a nationally televised contest between the Knicks and the Boston Celtics in 1954, from which the network cut away in the final minutes because the action was so enervating. The NBA quickly adopted rule changes to speed up play and encourage athleticism.

The principal beneficiaries of the new rules were the Boston Celtics. They built a team around two players—center Bill Russell and guard Bob Cousy—who excelled at the fast-break style of play that the new regulations encouraged. With the athletic, intimidating Russell blocking shots out to the agile, propulsive Cousy, the Celtics won five straight NBA championships between 1959 and 1963 and set a standard of excellence in the sport akin to that erected by the New York Yankees in baseball. Upon Cousy's retirement, they added five more titles in the ensuing six years to bring their total to 11 championships in a 13-year span. By the end of Boston's remarkable run, the NBA had overcome its early doldrums and established a foothold on the national sports scene.

The 1970s began with great promise for the NBA. The rivalry between Bill Russell and the league's other dominant center, Wilt Chamberlain of the Los Angeles Lakers, gave professional basketball the first of the compelling *mano a mano* matchups it would successfully market over the ensuing decades. The New York Knicks teams that won the NBA championship in 1970 and again in 1973 attracted many new fans with their cerebral, team-oriented style of play. Passing and shooting became the order of the day, as the league's highly skilled black players came increasingly to dominate the action.

But there were warning signs on the game's horizon as well. A rival league, the American Basketball Association (ABA), seduced away some of the pro game's best young players, including Rick Barry, George "the Iceman" Gervin, and Julius Erving, known popularly as "Dr. J." Though financially unstable, the ABA offered a

freewheeling brand of basketball—symbolized by its use of a red-white-and-blue ball—that held some appeal for fans in the 1970s. Unwilling to change its own game to emulate the upstart league, the NBA instead entered into prolonged negotiations for a merger that was finally consummated in 1976. Four ABA teams were allowed to join the NBA, and a special draft was arranged to disperse ABA players throughout the consolidated league. Once again, the NBA had established itself as America's sole professional basketball association.

While the merger relieved some of the NBA's financial difficulties, it did not address the league's most pressing underlying problems. A series of violent incidents, capped by Kermit Washington's life-threatening assault on Rudy Tomjanovich, severely tarnished the image of professional basketball. Increasingly, there was talk that substance abuse was rampant around the league. While the NBA implemented programs to remedy this problem, the image of the NBA as a "drug league" persisted into the 1980s.

The NBA hit its nadir in the early part of that decade. A paucity of compelling players or intriguing rivalries, coupled with the negative press coverage engendered by the drug and violence scandals, prompted many league sponsors to back away from television advertising. As a consequence, the deciding game of the 1980 finals was not even aired live but relegated to late-night tape delay. By 1981, a majority of NBA teams were losing money, and the league itself seemed at a loss for a solution to the crisis.

Salvation came in the form of two young players, Larry Bird and Earvin "Magic" Johnson, who would go on to dominate the game during the 1980s. Rivals in college, they continued their competition in the pros, as the focal points of the NBA's two most prestigious franchises, the Boston Celtics and the Los Angeles Lakers, respectively. When they met in the finals for the first time in 1984, it marked an important step in the NBA's return to prominence. The series went seven games and attracted the largest viewing audience in NBA history. To the delight of the league, championship rematches were staged in 1985 and 1987, with the high-flying Lakers winning two out of three from the bruising Bostonians.

A second factor in the NBA's revival was the appointment of a new commissioner, David Stern, in 1984. A league attorney who had helped negotiate the NBA/ABA merger, Stern brought a strong marketing orientation to his new post. Building on the Magic/Bird rivalry, he negotiated a new television contract with NBC prior to the 1990-91 season, with instructions to the network to promote the league's emerging stars. The result was a decade of expansion in the NBA's popularity fueled by the rise of its brightest star, Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls. Once just another prolific scorer, Jordan became an international symbol of competitive fire after capturing three straight championships between 1991 and 1993.

Jordan's ascension to international icon status helped turn NBA basketball into one of the most profitable entertainment properties in the world. Merchandising of team and player logos exceeded the one billion dollar mark, while the worth of the average franchise increased by threefold from the dark days of the early 1980s. New teams were added in Florida and Canada, allowing the NBA to enter new markets and disperse lucrative franchise fees to the other clubs. While Jordan's departure from the league to pursue a baseball career briefly derailed the NBA juggernaut in 1993, his return two years later only seemed to raise his mystique to another level. The Bulls set an all-time single-season record for wins in 1995-96, en route to the first of three consecutive world championships. Not since the Celtics of the 1960s had one team so dominated the world of professional basketball—to

the delight of the game's fans and the consternation of the other 28 teams.

In 1998, Jordan retired for a second, and presumably final, time. His departure from the scene raised the obvious questions about the NBA's ability to sustain its growth absent its most compelling international star. Even more troublesome was the public relations disaster engendered by a lengthy labor dispute that cut short the 1998-1999 season. Most of the public ire was directed at the NBA players, who made a series of bafflingly intemperate public statements and inexplicably failed to point out that the league was locking them out of the arenas. A new collective bargaining agreement ponderously favorable to the league was signed in January of 1999, further solidifying Commissioner Stern's status with league owners and paving the way for sustained profits ad infinitum. It remained unclear, however, whether the league would be able to maintain its popular cachet without the emergence of a new star to shepherd the game into the next millennium.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA)

One of the world's most influential governing bodies for intercollegiate sports was founded in America when President Theodore Roosevelt set out to find a way to regulate football, with its dangerous, sometimes fatal, formation called the Flying Wedge. Now, as the twentieth century comes to a close, more than 860 American educational institutions hold membership in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA), an organization which sets the rules for the recruiting and eligibility of student athletes, governs the organization of athletic conferences, sets the playing rules for 20 intercollegiate sports, and conducts 80 national championships in three competitive divisions.

In 1905 the primary offensive weapon in football was the kick return, with the ball carrier protected behind a fast-moving, wedge-shaped formation of his teammates. Blocking and gang-tackling resulted in many injuries and even some deaths, causing many

colleges and universities to discontinue the sport. President Theodore Roosevelt invited college athletics leaders to two White House conferences in 1905 to discuss possible reforms, resulting in a meeting of 13 institutions in early December 1905, to make changes in the rules of football. To enforce the new rules, the Intercollegiate Athletic Association of the United States was founded later that month, with 62 members. Five years later, the name of the association was shortened to the National Collegiate Athletic Association.

For several early years the NCAA was primarily a discussion group and rule-making body, but in 1921 it organized its first national championship, in track and field. Gradually, more championships were held, more legislative bodies formed, and more institutions admitted. To be an active member of the NCAA, a college or university must be accredited academically, must maintain at least four intercollegiate sports for men and four for women (except for single-gender institutions), agree to comply with the association's rules concerning financial aid, recruiting, playing seasons, and post-season competition, as well as respecting the penalties imposed by infractions of those rules.

When World War II ended, there was a renewed interest in sports competition, and college athletics became a lucrative business on campuses throughout the country. Reports of rule violations involving the recruiting of student athletes led the NCAA to adopt a "sanity code," with guidelines to regulate practices in financial aid as well as recruitment. The association was also concerned with the proliferation of post-season football games and with the effects of unrestricted television on college athletics, particularly football. With membership increasing and the problems becoming more complex, the NCAA recognized the need for a full-time professional staff, and in 1951 Walter Byers was named executive director.

Abuses of recruiting rules continued, however, and in 1952 the NCAA recognized the need for a mechanism to implement the regulations. The enforcement program voted in by the membership called for cooperation among the athletic conferences, institutions, and the NCAA to delve into reports of violations and determine appropriate penalties. A staff was employed by the association to investigate allegations and determine whether an official inquiry was necessary. Institutions found guilty of inappropriate payoffs to student athletes were heard before the Committee on Infractions, and the resulting penalties ranged from a reduction in the number of athletic scholarships to an institution's being banned from post-season competition. That same year a national headquarters was established in Kansas City, Missouri, and the membership voted at its annual convention to control the televising of football games, also passing legislation to govern post-season bowl games.

In 1973, in the first Special Convention of the NCAA ever held, member institutions were divided into three legislative and competitive divisions. Division I—made up of the sports programs in the major colleges and universities—and Division II were allowed to offer scholarship grants to athletes, and Division III, made up of smaller institutions, would operate without such grants. Further classification occurred five years later when Division I members voted to create subdivisions I-A and I-AA in the sport of football.

Women became a part of the NCAA sports activities in 1980 when ten championships for female athletics were established for 1981-82 in Divisions II and III. The historic 75th NCAA Convention in 1981 adopted an all-encompassing governance plan to include women's sports programs, service, and representation. The delegates also expanded the women's national championship program by adding 19 events. Women athletes now participate in basketball, cross

country, fencing, field hockey, golf, gymnastics, indoor and outdoor track, lacrosse, rifle, rowing, skiing, soccer, softball, swimming and diving, tennis, and volleyball.

The Presidents Commission was created in 1984, and in 1985 that body called a landmark special Convention to address continuing problems in the areas of compliance and enforcement, and members took decisive action to strengthen the association's efforts. Another special Convention was called in June 1987, to launch an 18 month National Forum on critical problems in college athletics. In the late 1990s the national staff of more than 200 NCAA employees, based in Overland Park, Kansas, was led by President Cedric W. Dempsey.

The phenomenal success of sports in America—both at the box office and in television ratings—has created problems for the NCAA in its attempts to uphold the integrity of college athletics. The most popular series of sports events on television is March Madness, the NCAA basketball tournament for Division I. This tournament began in 1939 with a crowd of 5,500 at Evanston, Illinois, but crowds have grown to a top of 64,959 at the 1987 final four competition at the New Orleans Superdome, and television ratings have rivaled those of the National Football League's Super Bowl. March Madness has also attracted illegal sports wagering, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation has estimated that \$2.5 billion was illegally bet on the 1995 Division I basketball championship.

The breadth of the problem has been shown by a University of Cincinnati study involving Division I basketball and football players. There were 648 respondents to the survey, indicating that 25.5 percent had gambled on other college sporting events, with 3.7 percent having bet on a game in which they played, and that 0.5 percent had received payment for not playing well in a game. Because wagering on sports has the potential of undermining the integrity of athletic events, the NCAA opposes all forms of legal and illegal betting on sports and has taken steps to declare athletes ineligible for competition if found guilty of participating in any gambling activity. Some institutions have discontinued their participation in basketball because of this problem.

The NCAA has also provided a service to athletics by keeping statistics on the competitions in baseball, basketball, and football in all divisions. An important museum for fans interested in sports history is the NCAA Hall of Champions, which includes photographic and video salutes to all its sports and championships. Since its creation in 1990, thousands of sports enthusiasts have toured the facility. A new Hall of Champions is scheduled to open in conjunction with the 2000 Final Four basketball games in Indianapolis in March of that year. The new Hall will feature interactive, technologically enhanced video displays and hands-on exhibits to bring alive the college sports experience.

One of the latest problems which the NCAA has addressed is devising a method of declaring the national championship in Division I-A football. In Division I-AA, Division II, and Division III, the championship is won in a post-season playoff, but scheduling, as well as post-season bowl bids, have made it difficult to use the same method in the major division. In 1999 Tennessee was named the number one team after defeating Florida State in the Fiesta Bowl; a complicated formula had determined that they were the two strongest teams, based on difficulty of schedule, season's records, polls, and other factors. The NCAA will continue to set the selection rules and alternate among the major bowl sites in assigning the important game between the two top contenders.

—Benjamin Griffith

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The National Enquirer

As re-invented by Generoso Pope in 1952, and then again in 1968, the *National Enquirer* became the archetype and model of the "supermarket tabloids" of the 1980s and 1990s. The *Enquirer*, with regular sales in excess of four million copies, has the largest circulation of any weekly serial publication in the United States. In the late 1990s it was owned by MacFadden Holdings, Inc., which also publishes the tabloids the *Weekly World News* and the *Star* (while the other three principal tabloids—the *Globe*, the *Sun*, and the *National Examiner*—are all owned by Globe Communications). Although, in fact, the *Star's* coverage led the tabloid pack in some of the sex-and-politics scandals of the 1990s, it was the *National Enquirer's* photo spread of the Gary Hart/Donna Rice embroglio (June 2, 1987) which



Donna Rice and Gary Hart on the cover of a 1987 issue of the *National Enquirer*.

shaped all future coverage. To talk about the *National Enquirer* is to talk about American popular culture at the end of the twentieth century.

To call a newspaper a “tabloid” is, in the first place, only to say that it is, as Donald Paneth puts it, “half the size of a standard newspaper, therefore easier to carry and read on subway and bus in the big-city rush hour. It is plentifully illustrated. News is presented tersely, compactly.” But, for most people in the 1990s, the word “tabloid” implies a qualitative, as well as quantitative, judgement, as Paneth goes on to explain: “The tabloid’s style usually runs to sensationalism, a ‘stoop to conquer’ technique—crime and sex, exploitation of piety, sentiment and patriotism, money contests, comic strips, heart-stopping headlines.” So far, Paneth is right on the money. But then, writing in 1982, he makes the foolish mistake of fixing too rigidly the parameters of a popular cultural phenomenon: he defines an “age of the tabloids”—basically, the 1920s—and then says that it is over (an erroneous prediction echoed in 1984 by Edwin and Michael Emery in their book, *The Press and America*). How they must have cringed at the title of a *Newsweek* feature by Jonathan Alter, published December 26, 1994: “America Goes Tabloid.” Had he quit while he was ahead, had he not tried to trim his story, arbitrarily, into a discrete historical “period,” Paneth might have answered Alter, with a sneer: “America went ‘Tabloid’ in 1919, with the founding of the New York *Daily News*!”

Launched smack in the middle of the first great “age of the tabloids,” the original *Enquirer* bore no resemblance to the super-market weekly of today (or to the mutilation-and-weird-romance rag of the 1950s and 1960s). It was not, at first, even a tabloid, but a full-sized paper, although it was published from the first as a weekly, on Sunday afternoon. William Griffin, a former advertising executive of the Hearst papers, started the *Enquirer* in 1926 on money he borrowed from William Randolph Hearst. The loan had certain conditions: Hearst was to try out new ideas in the *Enquirer*. This worked out fine for Hearst, since according to an unsigned piece in *Newsweek* (September 8, 1969), “the good ideas carried over into Hearst’s own papers; the *Enquirer* was stuck with the bad ones.” Still, Griffin continued to publish the *Enquirer* for 26 years of eroding circulation. He opposed America’s entry into World War II, and used his paper to attack President Roosevelt’s foreign policy. The attacks became so violent that Griffin was indicted for undermining troop morale. The charges were later dropped but his assaults on Franklin Delano Roosevelt lost him yet more readers. By the time the Hearst Corporation sold the *Enquirer* to Generoso Pope for \$75,000 in 1952, its circulation had dwindled to 17,000. Except for consistently and flamboyantly backing the wrong horses, the paper had made no impression on American journalism.

All that was about to change. Generoso Pope was 27 when he bought the moribund *Enquirer*, but he had grown up in the newspaper business (his father had founded the New York-published Italian language daily, *Il Progresso*). He also knew a thing or two about mass psychology, having served for a year in the Central Intelligence Agency as an officer in their psychological warfare unit. Nevertheless, Pope did not immediately plunge his new paper into the murky depths of sensationalism. He tried out several formats. Then, “I noticed how auto accidents drew crowds,” he told *Time Magazine*, in 1972, “and I decided that if it was blood that interested people, I’d give it to them.” It was not long after this decision that headlines such as “MOM USES SON’S FACE FOR AN ASHTRAY,” “MADMAN CUT UP HIS DATE AND PUT HER BODY IN HIS FREEZER,” and “STABS GIRL 55 TIMES” began to grab the attention of people passing by newsstands, and the circulation began to edge

upward for the first time in decades—helped a lot, Pope claimed, by a 1958 newspaper strike which removed many of his competitors from the stands for a crucial period of time. Murder was the mainstay of this version of the *Enquirer*, murder mixed with sex and mutilation, although the sex was never explicit. Some of the stories approach the surrealist nuttiness of the “black humor” novelists of the 1960s: “Eva Fedorchuk battered her husband’s face to a bloody pulp with a pop bottle. Then she told the police he’d cut himself while shaving.”

Another staple of this *Enquirer* was the “consumer” story, which was almost always slanted towards a latent sadism in the reader, an horrific tale, posing as a warning, of an over-the-counter product causing mayhem—as in “HAIR DYE HAS MADE ME BALD FOR LIFE.” Celebrity gossip was featured as well, but seldom the sexual gossip of the late 1990s, and it was always a relatively small part of each issue. Typically, there would be a snickering report of the spectacular public drunkenness of a famous rich person, or a movie star who stripped themselves naked, or crashed their car into a swimming pool, or beat up their date. These reports, according to *Enquirer* insiders who have since come clean, were generally made up out of whole cloth. If a celebrity had ever misbehaved in public—all it took was one incident, no matter how remote from the present—that celebrity was considered fair game for the *Enquirer* gossips and they would report some similar, though entirely fictional, embarrassment, as if the one true incident had established a pattern of behavior and, for the rest of the hapless famous person’s life, any remotely similar faux pas could be legitimately and plausibly attributed to them. But most people who bought the *Enquirer* in the years 1955 to 1965—and there is still considerable controversy as to who those people were—seemed to have been attracted by the lurid accounts of violent death and perverse mutilation. During this period, in any case, Pope’s formatting innovations built up the *Enquirer*’s circulation from 17,000 to over a million—a formidable achievement, especially since the tabloids, unlike other newspapers, make the bulk of their income from sales of copies, rather than advertising. To the many media pundits and professional scolds who found the *Enquirer* too disgusting to contemplate, Pope shrugged and replied, “Every publication starts out by being sensational.”

After 1965, however, *National Enquirer* sales leveled off around 1.2 million and would not budge further. Pope was hardly the sort of publisher who would let a bad trend develop very far before attending to it. Making a study, he concluded that his death-and-dismemberment format had reached some kind of saturation point. “There are only so many libertines and neurotics,” he said. More to the point, he noted a precipitous decline in the number of newsstands—the essential platform from which the *Enquirer*’s grisly headlines trolled for “libertines and neurotics.” At the same time, he followed with intense interest the success of *Woman’s Day* magazine in moving into the then-uncharted territory of the United States’ 50,000 supermarkets. Pope made up his mind to follow where *Woman’s Day* had led. As Elizabeth Bird noted, he had his eye on a readership which was “more direct and consistent through national supermarket and drug-store chains than through conventional newsstands and other publishing outlets.”

At the same time, it seemed obvious to Pope that headlines on the order of “PASSION PILLS FAN RAPE WAVE” and “DIGS UP WIFE’S ROTTING CORPSE AND RIPS IT APART” would not work quite the same magic on grocery shoppers as they had on newsstand passersby. So, he decided to make over the *National Enquirer* once again, as radically as he had in the early 1950s, only

this time the tabloid would emerge as wholesome and golly-gee clean as the *Reader's Digest* of the 1930s (reportedly his model). Gore was gone, as were the kinky "personals," and in their place, Bird says, "features on household repair, pop psychology, unusual human-interest stories, and frequently flattering celebrity stories." The paper also began to cater to the burgeoning interest in the occult and mystical, with predictions by noted psychics and regular contributions from astrologers. Pope hired a public relations firm to repackage the public image of his tabloid, and to establish the transition in his writers' minds, he moved the *Enquirer's* offices from the urban pressure-cooker of New York City to the sleepy tropicality of southern Florida. At first, according to Pope, the circulation dropped by a quarter million, but it soon picked up, and by 1983 it was one of the ten most profitable supermarket items.

When the *National Enquirer* began to publish in color, in 1980, Pope founded the *Weekly World News*, so he would not have to sell his one-color press, and the *News* revived some of the outrageousness of the old *Enquirer*—although lunatic headlines such as "MAN CUTS OFF OWN HEAD WITH CHAINSAW—AND LIVES" no longer referred to actual bloody incidents, but now sprang from the vivid imagination of staff members. The *News*, too, has found a niche, and has become a cult in college dormitories, with circulation in excess of a million. The *News* has also enabled the *Enquirer* to devote more space to celebrity stories—very much a contested area in the 1970s duel between Pope and Rupert Murdoch, who founded the *Star* in 1974. The duel was resolved after Pope died, in 1988, when McFadden Holdings, Inc., bought both the *National Enquirer* and the *Weekly World News* (\$412 million), and the *Star* (\$400 million). This was also the year in which the tabloids began to have a material influence on the political process. The story of Gary Hart's dalliance with Donna Rice aboard the S.S. *Monkey Business* was broken by a mainstream daily, the *Miami Herald*, but it was the *Enquirer's* full-color cover photo of Rice—sporting a "Monkey Business" t-shirt—sitting on Hart's lap which inaugurated the new era of "gotcha!" political reportage.

It is, perhaps, more than sheer coincidence that tabloid revelations of political sexcapades have mainly benefitted conservative politicians. The *Enquirer* and its competitors are deeply conservative in their reinforcement of every kind of social and psychological norm. They are like Cecil B. DeMille movies, allowing readers/viewers to ogle every sort of lascivious behavior while maintaining an attitude of shocked disapproval. It is entirely appropriate that D. Keith Mano, writing in the February 18, 1977 *National Review*, should propose that, "Given its circulation, the *National Enquirer* is probably the second most important conservative publication in America" (the most important being the *National Review* itself).

—Gerald Carpenter

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National Football League (NFL)

Professional football in America dates back to 1892, the year that Yale's All-America guard—William "Pudge" Heffelfinger—accepted \$500 to appear in a game for the Allegheny Athletic Association. Despite betting and recruitment scandals, the game enjoyed robust growth during the early decades of the pay-for-play era. But there was no organized league until George Halas and a group of forward-thinking gridiron scions convened in Canton, Ohio, in 1920 to form the American Professional Football Association (APFA). Within two years, this fledgling alliance officially changed its name to the National Football League (NFL).

As public relations director for the new league, Halas was charged with the unenviable task of convincing the public of professional football's legitimacy. Few believed the NFL would succeed given the competition of the "purer" and more tradition-driven college game. Halas' solution to the problem of legitimacy came down to two words: Red Grange. The "Galloping Ghost" was a college legend whose signature on a professional contract would give instant credibility to the pay-for-play enterprise. A shrewd businessman, Grange made sure to ask for a portion of the gate receipts in case the league took off. He made his NFL debut on Thanksgiving Day of 1925, inaugurating an association of football and drumsticks that continues to this day.

The Grange-led Chicago Bears became the marquee attraction in the early years of the NFL. Some 73,000 spectators crowded into the Polo Grounds that first season to watch the Galloping Ghost lead his compatriots into battle against the New York Giants. Doubts that the NFL could make it outside football's traditional hotbeds in the east and midwest were soon quashed when the barnstorming Bears played to a house of 75,000 fans at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum. And though many expected the NFL to fold when Grange briefly left to join a rival league in 1926, it remained viable and even developed some new stars to replace him. By the time the Galloping Ghost retired in 1934, the league had expanded to 10 clubs and was unchallenged as the national forum for professional football.

The 1930s saw the emergence of the Green Bay Packers as the NFL's dominant team. Led by coach Earl "Curly" Lambeau, the Wisconsin-based franchise won three straight league titles to open the decade. A series of rules changes adopted in league meetings helped systematize the pro game and differentiate it from the college variety. Further enhancing the NFL's popularity was a 1934 exhibition game between the Chicago Bears and a team of college all-stars. The event drew 79,432 fans to Chicago's Soldier Field and resulted in a scoreless tie. Later that year, the NFL took another huge step in its development into a national institution when the CBS radio network broadcast the Thanksgiving Day game between the Bears and the Detroit Lions to a national audience.

The innovation of a national championship game, begun in 1933, resulted the following season in one of the NFL's first legendary games. In the so-called "sneaker game," the New York Giants donned basketball sneakers at halftime to gain an edge over the Bears in a game played on icy turf at the Polo Grounds. The switch from spikes to sneaks spurred a second-half rally that propelled New York to a 30-13 victory.

Perhaps sensing that large market clubs like the Bears and the Giants were gaining an unfair competitive advantage through their ability to recruit college players, the NFL instituted a draft system the following season. Under the rules, teams with poor records would select first from the available pool of undergraduate talent. University of Chicago halfback Jay Berwanger became the first man chosen in the first-ever NFL draft on February 8, 1936—though he eventually declined to join the league entirely.

Pro football attendance surpassed the one million mark in 1939, the same year that a contest between the Brooklyn Dodgers and the Philadelphia Eagles was telecast in New York City by NBC. The NFL thus entered the 1940s primed for a decade of growth. Manpower shortages brought on by American involvement in World War II, however, forced a number of teams to merge and others to suspend operations entirely. The Washington Redskins emerged as one of the league's elite teams of the war years, though the Chicago Bears remained the class of the pro circuit. Their 73-0 drubbing of the Redskins in the 1940 championship game is remembered as one of the signature routs in sports history.

In 1950, the NFL took in three teams from a now-defunct rival league, the All-America Football Conference (AAFC), establishing a pattern of "ignore and absorb" that it would follow with subsequent challengers to its hegemony. The Cleveland Browns, perennial champions of the AAFC, went on to become one of the dominant NFL teams of the 1950s. The decade also saw the debut of a new all-star "Pro Bowl" played at the end of the season. In 1951, the DuMont Network broadcast the first nationally televised NFL game, between the Browns and the Los Angeles Rams. In a further sign of the league's growth—and the expectation that there was more money to be made—the National Football League Players Association formed in 1955 to represent the players' interests.

By 1958, the NFL's popularity was at an all-time high. The championship game that season, pitting the New York Giants against the Baltimore Colts, attracted a record number of television viewers, reaching more American households than any other sporting event to date; nor did the contest disappoint, as the Colts won a thrilling 23-17 victory in sudden-death overtime in what many consider the greatest game ever played. The pro football landscape looked so promising as the 1960s dawned that yet another rival league, the American Football League (AFL), was formed for the new decade.

To keep the league on course and meet the challenge of the AFL, the NFL selected a new commissioner, Pete Rozelle, in 1960. He was to be the architect of the league's greatest growth and expansion of popularity. His signal achievement of the 1960s was the negotiation of a merger between the NFL and AFL in 1966. The two leagues maintained separate schedules for the first three years of the arrangement, though they agreed to meet in an annual championship game (not called the Super Bowl until 1969) beginning in 1967. Green Bay won the first two such contests, reinforcing the prejudice that the AFL upstarts did not belong on the same field as the "real" NFL pros. But Super Bowl III saw New York Jets quarterback Joe Namath—a college standout whose decision to join the AFL had been a major coup for the fledgling league—boldly predict an upset win over the heavily favored Baltimore Colts. The Jets' remarkable 16-7 victory helped legitimize the merger, solidify the primacy of the Super Bowl as sports' pre-eminent championship, and spur the NFL on to even greater national prominence.

In the 1970s professional football became a national powerhouse. Rozelle negotiated new national television contracts favorable to the league, including a deal with ABC to televise a Monday night "game of the week" during the regular season. *Monday Night Football* became an instant ratings hit and a venerable weekly showcase for the NFL's best teams. The AFL merger swelled the league to 26 teams, but business was so good it expanded even further in 1976 with new franchises in Tampa Bay and Seattle. The Pittsburgh Steelers became the decade's dominant team, winning four Super Bowls in six years. The World Football League (WFL) briefly flourished, then folded. Nothing, it seemed, could compete with the allure of the NFL.

In the 1980s, it became increasingly clear that the only threat to the NFL's golden goose came from the NFL itself. Player's strikes in 1982 and 1987 forced the league to cancel games and briefly experiment with replacement players, to the consternation of fans who now paid high prices for tickets. The United States Football League (USFL), a spring/summer alternative to the NFL, lasted only three seasons but managed to drain away some high-profile players. It filed an anti-trust lawsuit against the NFL and won, but was awarded only one dollar in damages. More damaging to the league's prestige was the ongoing feud between Commissioner Rozelle and Oakland Raiders owner Al Davis, who sued successfully for the right to move his team to Los Angeles, where an NFL team already existed; he later moved it back to Oakland.

Despite these distractions, the NFL continued to flourish throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The San Francisco 49ers, and later the Dallas Cowboys, inherited the mantle of Super Bowl dominance from the Steelers. The league expanded globally, first with the World League and later with the more discretely focused NFL Europe. "Super Bowl Sunday" became an unofficial national holiday, with advertising fees for 30-second commercials during its telecast ranging into the millions of dollars. Even the 1989 retirement of Pete Rozelle, the league's highly effective leader for almost 30 years, could not slow the NFL juggernaut. New commissioner Paul Tagliabue quickly established his authority and continued along Rozelle's expansionist path.

In 1993, pro football entered the age of free agency, as players won the right to negotiate for their services on the open market. But this change, which had proved so problematic for Major League Baseball, caused little disruption for the NFL because of wise fiscal guidelines agreed to by the league and its players. In a way, this lack of rancor is emblematic of the NFL's success. From its beginnings, the NFL has benefitted greatly from the astute management of a

handful of visionaries, from George Halas to Pete Rozelle. This sound stewardship has enabled a league once derided by purists and largely ignored by the masses to expand exponentially, decade by decade, until it stood as the pre-eminent sports league in America.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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National Geographic

For more than a century, the words “National Geographic” have conjured up images of natural wonders, bold exploration, and fascinating foreign cultures. Generations of Americans have looked to the National Geographic Society for information about the wider world, and millions of readers have paged through the familiar yellow-clad *National Geographic Magazine* to make contact with a world far beyond their immediate experience. Likewise, the editorial choices of the magazine have shaped the American vision of the outside world, whether via the exhibits in the Explorers’ Hall at the Society’s museum in Washington, D.C., or through its colorful magazine or its countless books and television documentaries.

The National Geographic Society was founded in January, 1888, when thirty-three members of the elite Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C. gathered there with the goal of founding a “society for the increase and diffusion of geographical knowledge.” The end of the nineteenth century was a dynamic period of industrial revolution, immigration, discovery, and change. Curiosity about the world was much in evidence, and the founders of the National Geographic Society sought to feed that hunger for knowledge.

Though the men themselves were from the upper classes—lawyers, bankers, educators, and military officers—the society they formed was more democratic in philosophy than similar Royal Societies in Europe. Rather than posing restrictive requirements for members, the founders wished to attract a broad base of supporters. The first president of the Society, Gardiner Greene Hubbard, was a lawyer and financier who felt that his leadership would demonstrate to the public that membership in the Society was not limited to scientists or explorers.

Within the year, the Society published the first issue of *National Geographic Magazine*. Supporting the effort to gain a broad base of subscriber-members, the magazine was a departure from the dry, academic journals of other scientific societies in that it used dramatic

color photographs to illustrate its stories. *National Geographic* became a pioneer in color photography techniques, and eventually became the first U.S. magazine to use an all-color format. For the first time in a scientific journal, photographs of bare-breasted native women were printed in an 1896 issue of *National Geographic*. For decades to follow, youngsters would seek the pages of *National Geographic* for titillation and sex education as well as maps and exploration. Never a purely geographical publication, the magazine offered a sweeping view of the world’s wonders, whether geological, plant, animal, or human.

The Society also campaigned to attract public interest by funding several high-profile expeditions, which were then extensively reported in the magazine. In 1909, the Society funded Commodore Robert Peary’s exploration of the North Pole and Hiram Bingham’s expedition to Machu Pichu. In later years, the National Geographic Society would fund thousands of expeditions, including the work of such famous naturalists as Jacques Cousteau, Dian Fossey, and Jane Goodall, as well as anthropologists like Louis Leakey. Lavishly illustrated articles in *National Geographic Magazine* and, in more recent years, television shows and documentary films, have documented each study and exploration.

Though the years, *National Geographic* has been accused by social critics of portraying a romanticized view of the world, free of controversy and conflict. The journal has been slow to respond to such criticism, but in the socially aware era of the 1970s, it finally began to offer reportage on some of the less savory aspects of the world and its people by covering such issues as war, poverty, and pollution.

Founded by an elite group of philanthropists, the National Geographic Society has remained very much a family affair. G. G. Hubbard’s successor as president was his son-in-law, Alexander Graham Bell, whose own son-in-law, Gilbert Grosvenor, likewise succeeded him. The next three presidents through the 1990s, have also been Grosvenors, sons following fathers, including Gil Grosvenor, who was serving at the turn of the century. Continuing the tradition of a popular rather than a scientific control over the society, the Board of Directors largely consists of corporate executives, educators, lawyers, and environmentalists. From its roots as a broad-based society to encourage geographical study, the Society has expanded to become the largest non-profit scientific and educational society in the world. With a subscriber-membership of more than nine million, it is one of the three largest membership organizations in the United States, the other two being the American Association of Retired Persons and the Roman Catholic Church.

The Society has also expanded its publications far beyond a little monthly journal with beautiful pictures. It is one of the world’s largest producers of atlases and maps, turning out maps that were used by the military in both world wars as well as Viet Nam. The Society is the second largest producer, after the British Broadcasting Corporation, of documentary films for television, and has its own cable channel, as well as the National Geographic Kids Network, a closed-circuit network for use in schools. Along with *National Geographic*, which is also published in Spanish and Japanese editions, the Society publishes *World Magazine* for children and *Traveler Magazine*. It also produces a large variety of educational and teaching aids, and offers CD-ROM computer programs on many nature-related topics. In the 1990s it began to publish geographical books and children’s books, plus the first fiction release in its history.

In the late 1980s, the leadership of the National Geographic Society was horrified to learn that adult Americans had little practical

knowledge of geography. Inspired by statistics showing that seventeen percent of U.S. citizens could not locate the United States on a world map and a full twenty-five percent could not find the Pacific Ocean, Society executives created the National Geographic Society Education Foundation, with the aim of improving geography education. Called the Society's "100th anniversary present to the American people," by Society president Grosvenor, the Foundation sponsored local geography organizations, offered inservice training for teachers, and promoted geography in the schools through a National Geography Bee and Geography Awareness Week.

Notwithstanding such philanthropic gestures, the Society is an extremely wealthy organization. Its many projects generate a gross income of around five hundred million dollars a year, which produces approximately thirty-five million dollars in profit. Because of the organization's non-profit status, none of this income is taxable, and the same is true for the roughly one hundred and sixty million dollars worth of real estate owned by the Society in the nation's capital. The Society's competitors in the cartographical and educational publishing fields have frequently protested, challenging its legitimacy as a non-profit organization. However, the Society is a venerable Washington institution, well-connected in the very government circles that make the decisions about its status, and so far, its tax-free designation is secure.

Alexander Graham Bell, the second president of the National Geographic Society once wrote, "The world and all that is in it is our theme." True to Bell's vision, the Society and its many publications and productions have made every aspect of the earth and its inhabitants a legitimate subject of study, wonder, and appreciation. From military cartography to computer atlas programs that play the language and music of different regions, National Geographic has mapped the planet. From the tops of the highest mountains to the sea floor, scientists funded by National Geographic have explored it. Even the cosmos has come under scrutiny as the Society has funded and reported on expeditions into the universe that surrounds us. The National Geographic Society and its publications are beloved American institutions because they have allowed many explorers who may never get far from their hometowns to savor the whole world.

—Tina Gianoulis

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National Hockey League (NHL)

When the National Hockey League (NHL) formed in 1917, the game was dominated by Canadians and they were the greatest players in the world. NHL'ers hailed from the Canadian Prairies, Quebec and Ontario, and most of the franchises were housed in Canada and the

northern United States. This trend of Canadian predominance continued until the 1950s, when the Soviets emerged as a postwar powerhouse. Their speed and brilliant passing revolutionized the game on a world level. And with the Soviets leading the way, the rest of Europe, especially Czechoslovakia and Sweden, had to keep pace, developing faster, more skillful players. In America, the growth of the U.S. college program in the 1970s, a gold medal in 1980, and NHL expansion into several American cities converted the U.S. into an elite hockey power. Moreover, with the fall of communism, and the accompanying blurring of amateur and professional status, the NHL had come to represent a confluence of superstars from all over the world by the 1990s. When the Olympics were held in Nagano (1998), there wasn't one super "dream team" but five dream teams laced with NHL talent.

But the NHL's beginnings were more humble. From 1917-41, the NHL went through a series of growing pains. The rival Pacific Coast Hockey Association, run by Frank and Lester Patrick, was actually much more progressive and innovative. The PCHA was the first league to allow goalies to flop to the ice to make saves, to allow forwards to pass the puck ahead in the offensive zone, to tabulate assists on goals, to place bluelines on the ice, and to put numbers on players' jerseys. The PCHA folded in 1926, but the league's innovations and the Patricks crossed over to the NHL. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Patricks led the New York Rangers to three cups with the help of Bill and Bun Cook and Frank Boucher. And there were other stars of the period, including tough, hard-nosed Boston Bruin defenseman, Eddie Shore, flashy Montreal Maroons forward Howie Morenz, better known as the "Babe Ruth of hockey" or the "Stratford Streak," and Fred "Cyclone Taylor," winner of five PCHA scoring titles. But despite the excitement and grit of the game, franchises in this period struggled to survive. By 1938-39 three of ten NHL franchises were claimed by the Depression. And following the 1941-42 season, and the death of the New York Americans, the NHL became a six-team league for the next twenty-five years.

From 1942-67 the National Hockey League took on a deeply Canadian texture, as the league was dominated by the Montreal Canadiens and the Toronto Maple Leafs. Each franchise won ten Stanley Cups in that span. And the "two solitudes" of Canada were divided around these two rivals, as French-Canadian Catholics rooted for the Habs and the Presbyterian Scots and other Anglophones cheered on the Leafs. The two teams represented Canada's culture clash: the Leafs played a reserved, defensive style of hockey: a tight-checking, clutch and grab game of grit. The Habs played a wide open brand of "fire-wagon hockey" that was fast-skating, crisp and explosive. The battles between these two proud rivals were always bitter and intense. The Leafs were lead by such stalwart defensive players as Syl Apps, Teeder Kennedy, George "Chief" Armstrong, slick-skating Davey Keon and the "China wall," Johnny Bower. The Canadiens had the fiery Maurice "Rocket" Richard, the innovator Jacques Plante (the first goalie to roam from his crease, play the puck behind the net, and don a mask), gentleman Jean Beliveau (hockey's classy Joe DiMaggio), and perennial Norris Trophy winner Doug Harvey.

The conflict between English and French Canada was most fully realized in 1955. That year, Maurice "Rocket" Richard, who had never won a scoring title, was leading the league with a few games remaining. But following a scrap with the Bruins' Hal Laycoe in which Richard slugged a linesman, NHL President Clarence Campbell suspended the superstar for the remainder of the season and post-season. Canadiens' fans regarded Campbell's actions as unjust, and

yet another form of oppression from Anglo-Canada. And in late March, when the President attended a Canadiens game, he was slapped by a fan, and then a tear gas bomb exploded in the Forum. The Habs forfeited the contest, and the "Richard riot" ensued on St. Catherine's Street. Rocket Richard went on radio asking for the riot to be quelled, and it was, but the great right winger eventually lost the scoring title, and the Habs, without him, lost the Cup to Gordie Howe, Red Kelly, Terry Sawchuck, and the Detroit Red Wings.

Following the 1966-67 season, the NHL expanded from six teams to twelve and by the late nineties had twenty-seven. Boston Bruin Bobby Orr was a dominant figure in this transition period. A fast-skating, rushing defenseman, Orr revolutionized the position, making the defenseman the quarterback of the offense. His play brought the Bruins two cups and helped further expand the game in the U.S. Wayne Gretzky also helped hockey expand its markets. His trade from Edmonton to Los Angeles in 1988 was a major turning point, bringing the league's greatest player to the West Coast.

But the NHL's huge expansion in thirty years was largely brought about by a host of corporate synergies: the rapid growth in marketing and advertising, the five-team merger with the World Hockey Association in 1979, the signing of major television contracts with ESPN and ABC, and the rise in hockey's popularity in the United States. In 1980 there were only 100,000 U.S. youngsters playing organized hockey compared to 400,000 Canadians. By the mid-nineties that gap had lessened as 400,000 Americans to 500,000 Canadians played the game. Part of hockey's growing appeal lies in its combination of football violence and balletic speed and nuanced skill. Hockey players across Canada and the U.S. are admired for their toughness. Often, a player will get slashed in one period, stitched up and return in a later period, because as the sports broadcasters joke, "he's a hockey player." Perhaps an oft-seen bumper sticker best defines the sport's absurdly rugged appeal: "Give Blood. Play Hockey."

The NHL also is noteworthy for being the most crosscultural of the major sports leagues. In 1967, 97 percent of hockey players were Canadians. By the mid-nineties, 60 percent were Canadian, 20 percent were American and another 20 percent hailed from the other dominant hockey cultures, including Finland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Sweden, and Russia. This growth in exported European talent came about through the Summit series between Canada and Russia in 1972. Since the late 1950s, Canadians complained that their amateurs weren't their best players and they should be able to send NHL talent to the Olympics. The IOC refused, and Canadians begrudgingly complained that the Soviets were really professionals disguised as amateurs. The Summit series, showcasing NHL-Canadian superstars, was supposed to give Canadians the chance to reclaim their hockey supremacy, but what happened instead changed hockey for the next twenty years.

The Summit series was watched by over 12 million Canadians, as school children were marched to the gyms and libraries to watch the afternoon games from Moscow. The Canadians led by the timely heroics of Phil Esposito and a series of clutch goals by Paul Henderson won the final game, 6-5, and the series 4-3-1. Although victorious, the NHL and Canadians were impressed by the Soviet game, a brand of tactical fire-wagon hockey, with forwards playing a series of set, positional systems and firing the puck with tic-tac-toe passing, and slashing through the offensive zone with blazing speed and cracker-jack shooting. Following the series, power skating lessons popped up all across the U.S. and Canada, and the NHL's dump and chase, brutal style of play became one of greater finesse and speed.

The WHA's Winnipeg Jets, were actually the first North American team to evolve out of the Soviet model. Bobby Hull and the Swedes Ulf Nilsson and Anders Hedberg, with their speed and passing, helped the Jets win three Avco cups. Later in the NHL, the Edmonton Oilers perfected the Soviet model, bringing speed, style, and a deadly offensive game to the ice with the likes of Wayne Gretzky, Mark Messier, Jari Kurri, and Paul Coffey. The Oilers won five cups in the 1980s.

NHL contracts went up 400 percent in the 1970s because of the rival WHA. And as the players and the game got richer through the growth of expansion and major television contracts, hockey seemed headed into a golden period in which it might even supplant baseball, basketball, or football for market share. But all of this corporate synergy wasn't enough to allow the fan base to grow as fast as it should have. In the late 1990s the game still needed to change as fans were bored with 3-1 games and desired the wide-open scoring of the Oilers era. Unfortunately, the Soviet speed game had disappeared as teams employed a series of defensive systems, including neutral zone traps that bottle up the ice surface and halt cross-ice passes. The players, too, were bigger. In 1967 the average hockey player was 5' 11" and weighed 175 lbs. In 1994, the average hockey player was 6' 2" and weighed 204 lbs. This difference in size created less room on the ice for plays to develop and offensive stars to make moves. And with all the clutching and grabbing allowed by referees, a superstar such as Mario Lemieux, prematurely retired. Furthermore, the rapid growth of expansion has improved revenues but hurt the talent pool, spreading the skilled players across several teams, instead of congregating them within four or five. In the 1940s, Hall-of-Famer Max Bentley was a third-line center with the Maple Leafs. In the 1990s it was hard to find much second line depth on any team, let alone first line depth on most.

And too, hockey which started in Halifax, and the NHL which formed in Windsor, Ontario, was originally Canada's game, but by the turn of the twentieth century Canadians felt alienated by the NHL's treatment of their national pastime. NHL president Gary Bettman, the first American to serve in that capacity, wasn't trusted north of the 49th parallel because he allowed Canadian franchises, such as the Quebec Nordiques and the Winnipeg Jets, to move south (becoming respectively the Colorado Avalanche and Phoenix Coyotes). In the richer U.S., owners received breaks on taxes, cities agreed to pay stadium leases, and the American dollar was a lot stronger than the Canadian dollar. If Canadian markets are to survive and remain competitive, the NHL, Bettman, and the Canadian government will have to create some kind of compensation for the differences between the two dollars and find a revenue sharing plan to benefit all of the league's franchises, or else the country that first gave the game its passion will not be there to benefit from its rewards.

—Grant Tracey

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National Lampoon

Although Britain has enjoyed a long tradition of looking to its colleges for humor, the crossover from collegiate to professional humorist in America has for the most part been much less conspicuous. A notable exception, however, was a group of students at Harvard in the late 1960s who went on in 1970 to found the *National Lampoon*, which enjoyed two decades of circulation before effectively ceasing publication in April of 1992.

It is quite possible that the *National Lampoon* might never have come into existence but for the astonishing success of some undergraduate collaborations by Henry Beard and Douglas Kenney while they were on the staff of the venerable *Harvard Lampoon*, the

college's century-old humor magazine: parodies of *Time* and *Life*, which went into national distribution and sold well, followed by a J. R. R. Tolkien spoof, *Bored of the Rings*, which ran to numerous printings after its publication by Signet in 1969.

After graduation Beard and Kenney found a backer for their proposal for a national humor magazine in Matty Simmons, fresh from 17 years as executive vice president of the pioneering credit card company Diner's Club and eager to find new areas of investment. In 1967 Simmons had created a company called 21st Century Communications which later became National Lampoon, Inc., with Simmons as its chairman of the board and Leonard Mogel, from Simmons' *Weight Watchers Magazine*, as its publisher. Beard was installed in the magazine's midtown Manhattan office as executive editor, Kenney as editor-in-chief, and Robert Hoffman as managing editor. The art department was run by Peter Bramley, a cartoonist fresh from Massachusetts College of Art, who had moved to Manhattan from Boston in the late 1960s, and Bill Skurski, Bramley's partner in Cloud Studio, which was located in a storefront on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Collaborating with them was photographer Mike Sullivan, an emigrant to Manhattan from Montana's cattle country, who set up and shot the pictures for Cloud Studio's photo-novellas.



Chevy Chase (right) and Anthony-Michael Hall in a scene from the film *National Lampoon's Vacation*.

The first issue rolled off the press in April of 1970. It was irreverent and funny, appealing to the burgeoning baby-boom market of college-educated youth now old enough to be entry-level professionals. It was also a magnet for emerging talent: Beard and Kenney were soon joined by their friends and fellow *Harvard Lampoon* alumni Christopher Cerf and George Trow, as well as a host of New York humorists including Chris Miller, a former advertising copywriter who had also written material for Al Goldstein's unabashedly sexually oriented magazine, *Screw*, and Mike O'Donoghue, whose previous credits included contributions to the *East Village Other* and the *Evergreen Review*.

The freewheeling informality of the early days made for some cliffhanger administration, in no small part due to the erratic lifestyles (and recreational drug habits) of key players. Kenney once simply disappeared for over a month; Beard, running the whole show in his absence, was under such stress that during an interview with one of his art directors he bit his pipestem clean through. Burnout and management shakeups were frequent: Hoffman left as managing editor after a year, his job being given to former associate editor Mary Martello. Bramley and Skurski were replaced in 1971 by an in-house art editor, Michael Gross, who in turn lasted only a year. Kenney and Beard were reshuffled into new positions in 1972.

But though staff volatility was a way of life at the company in its early days, it was all of a piece with the exuberant creativity of the enterprise. O'Donoghue and Tony Hendra, Martello's successor in the managing editor's slot, collaborated on National Lampoon's first comedy album, *Radio Dinner*, issued in 1972 and a commercial success—it included the classic "Deteriorata" parody, as well as withering spoofs of Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, former Beatles Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and John Lennon, mostly composed by Christopher Guest. Hendra followed in 1973 with a National Lampoon off-Broadway stage review, *Lemmings*, also with music by Guest, and a cast featuring John Belushi and Chevy Chase; it too turned a respectable profit.

That same year O'Donoghue and P. J. O'Rourke, now the magazine's executive editor, put together *The National Lampoon Encyclopedia of Humor*; the first issue of the magazine devoted entirely to new material and without any advertisements, it included pieces by Beard, Kenney, and O'Donoghue himself, plus cartoons and writing by Ann Beatts, Vaughn Bode, Frank Frazetta, Edward Gorey, B. Kliban, Brian McConnachie, Charles Rodrigues, Ed Subitzky, and a dozen other contributors.

Not everything the National Lampoon team touched turned to gold, however. Flushed with the success of *Radio Dinner* and *Lemmings* (the first of several profitable *National Lampoon* stage shows), Simmons bankrolled a weekly syndicated radio show called *The National Lampoon Comedy Hour*, which first aired in December of 1973. It was cut from an hour to a half-hour after seven episodes and withdrawn altogether the following June, having lost money almost from the start, but it provided the material for an album of excerpts, called *National Lampoon/Gold Turkey (Radio Hour/Greatest Hits)*, released in 1975. By this time O'Donoghue had left *National Lampoon* to begin seven years as the chief writer for a new NBC television comedy show called *Saturday Night Live*, which premiered in 1975 with much of the flavor (and several key cast members, notably Chevy Chase and John Belushi) from the earlier National Lampoon reviews.

When negotiating their original contract with Simmons, Kenney, Beard, and Hoffman had agreed to a five year buyout option which

they exercised at the end of 1974, receiving a total of \$7 million among them. Beard departed immediately (Hoffman had already left to return to graduate school when he ceased to be managing editor in 1971), resurfacing after several years as a prolific writer of less unconventional humor, sometimes in partnership with Christopher Cerf—the two were co-authors of several books including *The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook*. Kenney remained until 1977 and was one of the three scriptwriters (the other two were Chris Miller and Harold Ramis) for *National Lampoon's Animal House*, starring John Belushi—the highest-grossing (probably in both senses) comedy film of the twentieth century.

With the release of *Animal House* in 1978, Simmons began to concentrate more on film production and less on publishing. Other *National Lampoon* films followed, including *National Lampoon's Vacation* (1983), which starred Chevy Chase as the paterfamilias of the feckless Griswold household, and its sequels *National Lampoon's European Vacation* (1985), *National Lampoon's Christmas Vacation* (1989), and *National Lampoon's Vegas Vacation* (1997).

Meanwhile, the magazine began a long, slow decline—punctuated by occasional book releases—to its last scheduled issue in May of 1992, though it continued thereafter to appear in an annual edition, produced by a subcontractor of the new owners of National Lampoon, Inc.—J2 Communications—whose president was former Disney executive James P. Jimirro, and which bought what was left of the company in 1990, primarily for its film rights. Indeed, the yearly publication of *National Lampoon* was not for profit in its own right but rather dictated by the founders' original contract, which stipulated that unless the magazine were published at least once a year in a run of at least 50,000 copies, all rights to the National Lampoon name would revert to the *Harvard Lampoon*. Although J2's modest staffing (three full-time and three part-time workers as of the end of 1997) precluded any in-house production, the firm continued throughout the 1990s to license independent producers making *National Lampoon* films, and to distribute them to theaters and through cable television channels such as Showtime and the Movie Channel.

Tony Hendra, in his book *Going Too Far*, chronicles the rise and fall of so-called "boomer humor" as beginning with "sick" comic Mort Sahl in the early 1960s and ending with *Saturday Night Live*. *National Lampoon* rode the crest of the wave, and during its 1970s heyday was the training school and laboratory for many humorists, whether stars such as Beard, Kenney, Belushi, and O'Donoghue or the host of lesser lights whose work graced the magazine's pages. That the *National Lampoon* name retained considerable cachet at the end of the twentieth century, enough to be a major selling point for movies to a generation of viewers unborn at the time *Animal House* was released, is a testimony to the durability of its contributors' iconoclastic brand of humor in the American popular consciousness.

—Nick Humez

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National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)

Established in 1966, the National Organization for Women (N.O.W.), was born out of frustration at the lack of progress on women's issues in the wake of John F. Kennedy's 1961 establishment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in the United States. Similar commissions had been set up in all 50 states, but their failure to achieve their goals provoked a core group of activists at a national convention in 1966. Gathering in Betty Friedan's hotel room and writing their guidelines on a paper napkin, the activists laid the groundwork for N.O.W., which was formally launched that October at a convention that attracted 300 men and women. Friedan was elected the group's president. By the end of the twentieth century, N.O.W. had grown into the largest and most organized of the women's groups. It boasts more than 600 local chapters in all 50 states and more than 250,000 active members.

In the early days of the organization, Friedan continued to be the motivating force and is considered to be the "mother" of the modern women's movement. She was a logical choice for the first president since she had almost single-handedly aroused the nation's consciousness with her landmark book, *The Feminine Mystique*, in 1963. Pointing out that existing institutions had perpetuated "the problem that has no name," Friedan demanded that women be treated as equals and be allowed to develop their talents while pursuing their own individual goals. She was also instrumental in the formation of the National Women's Political Caucus NWPC, a bipartisan support group that promoted the election of women to public office. Friedan insisted that, as the movement grew and attracted media and public attention, she was ousted in favor of more photogenic leaders such as Gloria Steinem.

On October 29, 1966, the National Organization for Women issued its Statement of Purpose, detailing its agenda and establishing itself as the voice of the women's movement. The chief points of that statement were:

A recognition that the time had come for women to take full partnership in American society; a call to action to claim inherent rights; the insistence that women not be forced to choose between marriage and motherhood or careers; a continuation of the revolution started at Seneca Falls in 1848; and a commitment to use the powers

of education, the law, and political office to attain these goals.

Throughout its history, N.O.W. has continued to promote a group of core issues: abortion and reproductive rights, economic equality, women in political office, and an end to discrimination against women. In response to the changing environment, other issues have been added: affirmative action, an end to sexual harassment and domestic violence, fighting the political right, advancing global and young feminism, and advancement of women in the military. The issue of lesbian rights has long been controversial for N.O.W. A bitter break occurred in the early 1970s; but by the 1980s, promoting lesbian rights was a permanent part of N.O.W.'s agenda. Controversy still continues over the issue since many moderates believe that this championship has hurt the women's movement. The early days of that movement was centered around the needs of white, middle-class women. In an effort to broaden its base of support and be more responsive to the position of minorities, N.O.W. has also reached out to minority women and pledged support for racial and ethnic diversity. To achieve its political goal, N.O.W. has successfully engaged in such activities as mass mailouts and the picketing of offending businesses and politicians. It has been most effective in its class-action suits, public demonstrations, promoting legislation favorable to women, and simply calling attention to the concerns of women around the world.

Less than three decades after the birth of the modern women's movement, many women believed that the battle had been won, and support for N.O.W. began to wane. This trend was abruptly halted in 1989 when the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services* that curtailed access to abortion. Membership in N.O.W. rose dramatically. Susan Faludi noted that a 1989 poll revealed that women as a group believed that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans were responsive to their needs. The three groups most responsive, they insisted, were N.O.W., the leaders of the women's movement, and feminists. Women were instrumental in the election of Democrat Bill Clinton to the White House in 1992.

Despite a claim by *Time* magazine in 1998 that the success of the popular television show *Ally McBeal* signaled the end of feminism, the continued presence of the National Organism for Women indicates that women remain aware of the ongoing need for an advocacy group of their own.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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National Parks

America's national park system includes hundreds of areas covering millions of acres in nearly every state and U.S. possession. The national parks include natural wonders, historical and cultural



Mesa Verde National Park

landmarks, and recreational areas as varied as Massachusetts' Cape Cod National Seashore, Hawaii's Volcanoes National Park, New York's Statue of Liberty, and Pennsylvania's Gettysburg National Battlefield. The National Park Service has designed the parks so that they interlock to tell the natural and cultural history of the United States of America and of man's presence there. The National Park Service functions as the parks' primary custodian, guiding their natural and historic preservation as well as the continued growth of tourism and public education. The idea of establishing natural and historical areas as national parks developed in the United States during the nineteenth century evolved to fulfill a perceived cultural need for a strong national identity that could be found in America's monumental scenery. The popular media was essential in the drive to sustain this idea in a country largely dedicated to material progress at any expense. Magazines, newspapers, and paintings promoted the parks as places where any citizen could grow mentally, physically, and spiritually through communion with nature. The parks came to exemplify America's democratic ideal through their ownership by all citizens and they remain national symbols of pride. The rise of the environmental movement in the mid to late twentieth century has also made the national parks symbols of American environmental consciousness.

Alfred Runte's *National Parks: The American Experience* states that "gentlemen adventurers, artists, and explorers" had created the

national park idea by the second half of nineteenth century. Soon after the American Revolutionary War of the late eighteenth century, intellectuals in the newly created United States were hurt by comments implying that they had no sense of patriotism or appreciation for the past. A new country of limited cultural achievements forced these men to turn to nature to find unique national symbols that they could proudly proclaim to the world. Runte believes that this cultural desire to break with Europe, rather than a deep commitment to ecological preservation, was the catalyst for the development of America's national park system. The founders of the idea of the national park were also spurred by the example of the privately owned land around Niagara Falls on which promoters, souvenir stands, and ugly fences joined with admission charges to create a national embarrassment. The world's first national park system began with the 1864 designation of the Yosemite area in California and the 1872 designation of the Yellowstone area in Wyoming to the Department of the Interior. Yellowstone was the world's first area to be officially designated as a national park.

Private citizen Stephen T. Mather had an idea for a specialized park service to properly manage the new parks around the year 1915, and enlisted the head of the influential National Geographic Society to help him promote the cause. This was the beginning of an invaluable friendship between the society and the park system that aided in park promotion. Renowned environmentalist John Muir and

renowned Central Park designer Frederick Law Olmsted also lent their prominent voices to the national park idea. The popular press, however, was the most instrumental voice in the public promotion of the national parks, as it had the power to attract the public support and attendance so essential to the park system's survival. Popular magazines such as Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*, *National Geographic*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Harper's Weekly* played on the public's patriotic sentiment to help raise support. Stephen Mather's efforts met with success in 1916 when then President Woodrow Wilson created the National Park Service as a bureau within the Department of the Interior with the stated goals of conserving park resources while providing for the public's enjoyment. The Park Service would quickly discover the difficulties inherent in managing the fine balance between preservation of America's finite natural resources and catering to the needs of tourists whose revenues helped support the new agency.

Until the early nineteenth century, the national parks existed mainly among the spectacular scenery of the American West, as the United States government created the early parks from lands in the public domain, few of which existed in the East. The West's grand and monumental scenery also served as a primary catalyst for the national park movement, as popular culture glorified the area in magazines, paintings, and dime novels. A move for eastward expansion did not begin until the 1920s due to the major obstacle of obtaining land. Congress would not use taxpayer money to purchase the necessary private lands, forcing the Park Service to rely on private donors to gain eastern parklands. Donors such as the wealthy Rockefeller family provided for the creation of eastern parks like the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, and the Appalachian Trail. The Park Service acquired over fifty additional sites in 1933, including those areas previously controlled by the War Department and the Forest Service as well as the Washington, D.C., National Capital Parks. The 1960s saw the addition of wild and scenic free-flowing rivers, national lakeshores, national trails, and urban national recreation areas; the 1980 Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act more than doubled the system's size. The Park Service also branched out into other areas of public education when it greatly increased its participation in historical interpretation in the late twentieth century, making it one of the country's leading educators in the areas of American history and environmental values as they related to the development of the nation's parks.

A third of the areas that comprise the national park system are primarily scenic in nature. Americans prize these areas for their clean air and natural beauty as well as their abundance of bears and other exotic wildlife. Famous examples of scenic national parks include Arizona's Grand Canyon and Petrified Forest, South Dakota's Badlands, and Wyoming's Grand Tetons. The magnificent natural features of these areas are what first spurred the idea of creating national parks to promote American culture and preserve its natural beauty. The Park Service has attempted to recreate all of the parks under their care to their primitive appearance before the European settlers' arrival. These areas' popular image is that of a place where the urbanite can go to escape noisy, crowded, industrial city life in nature's tranquillity. The parks dedicated to preserving natural and monumental scenery increased in popularity and importance with the mid to late twentieth-century rise of environmental awareness in the United States. The 1963 Leopold Report, which evaluated the National Park Service's environmental policies, led directly to the restructuring of natural resource management to be more in line with ecological preservation. The Park Service continued to face pressures

for resort-like development with the late twentieth-century's increasing popularity of outdoor recreation activities.

The Park System also preserves areas of national historic interest. These parks represent a link to the country's past and exemplify the continuity between past and present. They promote the values of American history and are highly patriotic, often drawing comparisons to shrines. Famous examples include Philadelphia's Independence National Historic Park, as well as many famous battlefields of the American Revolutionary and Civil Wars. The government's interest in the preservation of historic areas began in the late nineteenth century with the decision to protect prehistoric Native American areas from plundering scavenger hunters. Among the first areas to be so preserved were the Casa Grande Ruin in Arizona and Mesa Verde National Park in New Mexico and Colorado. The 1906 Antiquities Act marked a great step forward in the National Park Service's move into historic preservation. This act gave presidents the power to set aside areas of historic interest by designating them National Monuments. President Theodore Roosevelt effectively utilized this act and remained closely associated with the park movement well into the twentieth century. The National Park Service moved into historic preservation in the 1920s as the park system expanded eastward. The Park Service received control over nearly fifty sites that included many popular Revolutionary War and Civil War battlefields. The National Park Service increased their role in historical interpretation when it entered the increasingly popular "living history" movement of the late twentieth century.

One of the national park system's main ideological goals has been the promotion of national enthusiasm for America's cultural heritage. The national parks symbolize the virtues that the United States promotes and with which it wishes to be associated. Park service guidebooks and publications inform readers of how the various parks embody these cultural values. The early parks represented America and effectively served as cultural exemplars to which Americans could point with great pride. The existence of national parks epitomized the American ideals of altruism, statesmanship, and philanthropy at their best. The parks also functioned in the nineteenth century as popular moral and religious affirmations of America's manifest destiny to the ownership of this great land, an ownership seemingly sanctioned by nature and nature's God. Promoters also thought that the national parks would help promote robust health and good citizenship through the rigors of outdoor life. Freeman Tilden, quoted in former Park Service head Conrad Wirth's introduction to *America's Wonderlands*, vividly captures these beliefs when he avowed that "a consummate expression of this ultimate wealth of the human spirit . . . is to be found in the National Park system. . . . Many a man has come to find merely serenity or scenic pictures—and has unexpectedly found a renewal and affirmation of himself." Quiet contemplation among nature's grandeur would both soothe the weary city resident as well as boost his love of the country.

The National Park Service's initial founding mission was to hold America's natural wonders in public trust for all Americans, past, present, and future. This mission expanded in the mid to late twentieth century as the Park Service adopted a more ecological focus with the rise of the environmental movement. The national parks and environmental preservation have become synonymous in the United States. Intense debates over the ecological future of the parks mirror the environmental debates rife in American society. An ongoing debate over utilitarian versus preservationist aims began with the very inception of the national park movement. The famous nineteenth-century environmentalist, John Muir, valued the country's natural

beauty as an asset and national treasure but realized that the general public ranked scenery instead by its size and grandeur. The visiting public also wished to see these great wonders in relative comfort. Concessions to tourists were necessary to increase needed popular support of the parks. Total preservation was therefore an impractical idea. The National Park Service instead marketed its scenery through a "See America First" campaign. In 1956, "Mission 66" demonstrated the Park Service's realization of the public's role in its creation and continued success with the largest budget allotment for improvement in its history. This money provided for the construction and renovation of roads, trails, hotels, campgrounds, and visitor centers to add to the public's comfort and enjoyment. The late twentieth-century growth of environmental awareness, however, also encouraged public support of parks that represented sound ecological units such as the Florida Everglades, even if the scenery was not as spectacular. Twentieth-century interest groups formed for park preservation and protection, as urban and suburbanites took up the environmental cause and used the popular press to gain support as had their nineteenth-century predecessors.

The national park movement's proponents heavily marketed the national parks in the popular media in order to attract a variety of visitors. Railroads were the most influential early promoters and played a large role in early development, building rustic hotels to house the guests their trains carried to the parks. The 1916 creation of the National Park Service was inextricably linked with changes designed to increase badly needed tourist revenues. Popular magazine articles promoted the idea of the national parks as economically valuable tourist destinations. The decision to allow automobiles to enter the parks for the first time provided the biggest boost to tourist numbers. While "sagebrushing" became a popular 1920s term for those visitors who chose to do without creature comforts as they camped amidst nature's spectacular scenery, automobiles were most instrumental in raising public support. The majority of the American people desired inexpensive and comfortable vacations, an observation not lost on park promoters. The parks were now more physically and monetarily accessible. Publicity stunts such as tunneling roadways through huge redwood trees and staging bear feeding shows also attracted an increasing number of visitors. The National Park Service also branched out into other avenues of public interest with the addition of museums, publications, and other educational activities designed to aid the visiting public.

Popular images of the national parks remain that of breathtaking beauty amidst a quiet, almost spiritual atmosphere. Popular images of Park Service employees continue to picture them as rugged "men's men" who roam the great outdoors and come to the dramatic rescue of stranded visitors. Most Americans cherish fond memories of vacations spent hiking in the sweet air, glimpsing a moose or a bear from the car window, or marveling at the timely eruption of Yellowstone's famous Old Faithful geyser. The next generation of park visitors can add a trip to a museum or a talk with a costumed living history interpreter to the list of things to do at a national park. All of the National Park Service's activities combine with the national parks' reputation as monumental tributes to the American spirit to make them powerful cultural and educational forces. The parks have also enjoyed a steadily increasing popularity among the American public since their nineteenth-century inception. The National Park Service has consistently ranked among the most popular federal agencies in public opinion surveys even late in the twentieth century when Americans became ever more distrustful of their government. The parks and their employees will carry an enduring reputation for

excellence into the new millennium. America's national parks are truly a unique and monumental cultural legacy.

—Marcella Bush Trevino

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The Natural

Bernard Malamud's acclaimed first novel, *The Natural* (1952), retells the Grail story of Arthurian legend as a modern baseball tale and metaphor for contemporary life. Malamud's middle-aged protagonist Roy Hobbs, both a Percival-like Grail knight and a Fisher King figure (as his name suggests), recovers from his near-fatal groin injury, joins the last place New York Knights, and brings new life to the team, its manager Pops Fisher (another Fisher King), and even the baseball field itself. Although he has the Grail (pennant) within his reach, Roy accepts a bribe and loses the final game. Predictably, the Hollywood version of *The Natural* (1984), directed by Barry Levinson and starring Robert Redford, turns Malamud's darkly comic tale into entertaining but standard cinematic fare. Roy refuses the bribe and—although gravely wounded—bangs a home run out of the park, knocking out the stadium lights, which burst like fireworks. Afterwards, Roy, his beloved Iris (Glenn Close), and their adolescent son return to live—presumably happily ever after—on Roy's family farm.

—Barbara Tapa Lupack

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Natural Born Killers

The \$34 million film *Natural Born Killers*, directed by Oliver Stone, was released in August of 1994 amidst expectations that its storyline, about a serial-killing young couple named Mickey and Mallory Knox, would create another media furor similar to or even greater than the one that centered around Stone's 1991 conspiracy epic, *JFK*. Critics and opinion-page writers proved, rather unexpectedly, to be less antagonistic toward *Natural Born Killers* than *JFK*.

Nevertheless, the former managed to spark a lively critical debate over the merits of its boldly experimental visual design, as well as a series of high-profile condemnations from public figures such as Senator Bob Dole and popular writer John Grisham regarding its high level of on-screen violence. Several "copycat" murders in at least two different countries were also blamed on the film's supposed detrimental influence on unstable viewers. The controversy was nothing new or intimidating to director Stone, who had demonstrated in the past his willingness to tackle politically and culturally volatile material in films such as *Salvador*, *Platoon*, *Wall Street*, *Talk Radio*, *Born on the Fourth of July*, *The Doors*, *JFK*, and *Heaven and Earth*. Undaunted, Stone would go on from *Natural Born Killers* to direct *Nixon*—another political thriller which landed Stone back in many pundits' ill graces. Though not as overtly political as most of Stone's work, *Natural Born Killers* does illustrate once more that Stone, unlike many of his big-name Hollywood contemporaries, is more interested in antagonizing his mainstream audiences than comforting them.

The plot of *Natural Born Killers* is divided into two main parts. Part one of the film opens in a southwestern diner, where Mickey and Mallory Knox, in the midst of a cross-country murder spree, massacre all of the employees and patrons except one, who is left behind "to tell the tale of Mickey and Mallory" to investigators. A lengthy



Woody Harrelson in a scene from the film *Natural Born Killers*.

flashback then follows, wherein details of Mallory's incestuous abuse by her father and Mallory's first meeting with delivery-boy Mickey are revealed in a segment entitled "I Love Mallory," patterned after a situation comedy. It is further revealed that Mickey was arrested and imprisoned for grand theft auto but then escaped from prison via what seems like the divine intervention of a desert cyclone. He next returned to Mallory's home to rescue her by killing her parents. The couple took to the road, killing randomly as they went and attracting the frenzied attention of the media and the law. Having established this backstory, the film introduces tabloid television reporter Wayne Gale and serial-killer expert Jack Scagnetti, both of whose destinies are intertwined with Mickey and Mallory's. As these two men chase them down, Mickey and Mallory are sidetracked into the desert, where they encounter a Native American medicine man who sees their true demonic natures and at least temporarily compels Mickey to confront his traumatic past. Terrified, Mickey kills the medicine man—an act that seemingly brings forth the desert rattlesnakes to strike and poison Mickey and Mallory. Desperately fleeing the desert to search for antivenom in a small-town drugstore, the couple are finally apprehended and beaten into submission by a police force led by celebrity-cop Scagnetti.

Part two of the film resumes a year later, after Mickey and Mallory have been tried, convicted, and then imprisoned in separate wings of the same facility. To forestall execution, Mickey has been finding ways to kill prisoners and guards, necessitating further trials. Frustrated by Mickey's strategy, the prison warden, a petty tyrant named McClusky, conspires with Scagnetti to transport Mickey and Mallory away from the prison where they can then be "shot while trying to escape." Before their plan can take effect, however, Mickey agrees to a post-Super Bowl live television interview with Wayne Gale. Mickey's dynamic interview drives his fellow inmates into a spontaneous riot, which in turn allows Mickey to kill his captors and take Gale hostage. Mickey then uses the chaos of the prison riot to rescue (again) Mallory from her cell, where Scagnetti, revealing his true intentions, has been attempting to seduce her. Mickey and Mallory kill Scagnetti and use Gale, now a willing accomplice in Mickey's acts of murder, as a human shield to leave the prison grounds; the prisoners kill and dismember McClusky. Safely away from the prison and re-united, Mickey and Mallory kill Wayne Gale and then resume their lives as outlaws.

The film evolved out of an original script written by a then-obscure Quentin Tarantino, now famous as writer/director of *Reservoir Dogs* and *Pulp Fiction*. The script had been reviewed but rejected by many Hollywood studios by the time in 1991 when producers Don Murphy and Jane Hamsher read the script, talked to Tarantino, and agreed to develop it as a project. Murphy and Hamsher then met with Stone. Stone, though unsatisfied with the sketchy development of the Mickey/Mallory relationship, liked parts of the script well enough to commit to the project. Along with screenwriter Dave Veloz, Stone began to rework Tarantino's script to provide more background for the serial-killing lovers. Another screenwriter, Richard Rutowski, added a more metaphysical component (the recurrent "demon" imagery and dialogue) to the story. Even with the additional writers and revisions, however, most of the finished film's highlights were present in Tarantino's script, such as the opening slaughter of the patrons of a roadside diner, the killer-couple-on-the-road central plot, and the law enforcement and tabloid journalism obsessive pursuit of

Mickey and Mallory. Some of Tarantino's other scenes, such as one where Mickey—acting as his own lawyer at his trial—kills a witness against him, were filmed but never included in the film's theatrical release version; some of these excised scenes are included at the end of the director's cut video.

Woody Harrelson, best known up until that point for his role as the dense but kind-hearted bartender Woody on television's long-running series *Cheers*, was cast as Mickey, while Juliette Lewis, a young stand-out in the 1992 remake of *Cape Fear*, was cast as Mallory. In other key roles, Robert Downey, Jr. was chosen for Wayne Gale, Tom Sizemore for Jack Scagnetti, and Tommy Lee Jones for Warden McClusky. All of the main actors (especially Tommy Lee Jones) played their roles as over-the-top as possible in order to match the extreme, often cartoonish nature of the film itself. According to co-producer Jane Hamsher's behind-the-scenes account, the shooting of the film in its desert and prison locales over 53 days was a nerve-jangling process. Director Stone drove his actors to ever more excessive performances and made many artistic and technical decisions spontaneously on-set. If the film's prison scenes seem more authentic than many, that is because the scenes were shot in Stateville Prison in Illinois, using real-life prisoners as extras under stringent security precautions. The Hollywood actors and production crew mingled with hundreds of hard-time prisoners to film a make-believe riot that, at times, seemed to be a little too realistic for the comfort of the guards and non-prisoners.

When principal photography was finished, editing the film took almost a full year. The end result is flashy, disorienting, and almost unheard of in mainstream Hollywood cinema. Stone, director of photography Robert Richardson, and editors Hank Corwin and Brian Berdan create in *Natural Born Killers* a hyperkinetic and avant garde visual style. No one camera angle is maintained for more than a few seconds, and most are much shorter. The film is a feature-length exaggeration of the destabilizing cinematic techniques Stone employed in certain scenes in *Platoon*, *Born on the Fourth of July*, and *JFK*. Different film formats (color, black-and-white, video, Super 8) and camera lenses, unusual lighting (particularly the use of neon green), deliberately obvious rear projection, variable film rate, jarring and nearly subliminal inserts of main characters transformed into demons and monsters—all contributed to the film's dizzying rush of nearly 3,000 separate images. Ironically enough, in light of the controversy surrounding the film's violence, several violent scenes were dropped during the editing process so that *Natural Born Killers* would receive an R and not an NC-17 rating from the Motion Picture Association. The film became a modest hit upon its release, in spite or probably because of the controversy, knocking that summer's long-running box-office champion *Forrest Gump* from the number one position the opening weekend. *Natural Born Killers* remains an interesting if flawed experimental film in Stone's canon of work.

—Philip Simpson

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Nava, Gregory (1949—)

In the mid-1980s, Gregory Nava emerged as the leading Hispanic film writer and director. His third feature film, *El Norte* (1984), was highly acclaimed and resulted in Nava becoming the first Hispanic to be nominated for an Academy Award in screen writing. Like all of Nava's subsequent films, the subject was specifically Hispanic: the story of young peasants, a brother and sister, who immigrate from rural Guatemala to the United States. Nava's next film, *My Family* (1995), was also acclaimed and had the highest per screen average revenue (\$5,375) for all movies released on the weekend of May 5 through 7. The importance of this figure is that it brought Hollywood a step further toward recognizing the value of producing Hispanic-content films with real Hispanic actors. In 1997, Nava followed up with another box-office smash hit, *Selena*, the screen biography of the Tejano music star who had recently died.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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Navratilova, Martina (1956—)

With her unrivaled athleticism, aggressive style, and emotional intensity, Martina Navratilova transformed women's tennis into a power sport. Born and raised in Prague, Navratilova became the Czech national champion at fifteen. In 1975, as an eighteen-year-old, Navratilova made international headlines when she defected to the United States. She quickly became one of the top players in the world. But it wasn't until she radically changed her appearance and style of play—becoming the most physically fit and athletically aggressive woman on the tour—that she began to dominate the sport. A multiple winner of the four major tournaments, Navratilova reigned at Wimbledon, winning nine singles and six doubles championships. By the end of her career, she had won more single titles than any other tennis player, male or female. At the peak of her success, through a naïve belief in "American honesty," she shocked the world by coming out as a lesbian. She is considered by many to be the greatest woman tennis player of all time.

—Victoria Price

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Naylor, Gloria (1950—)

Gloria Naylor, one of the most influential African American women writers of the late twentieth century, came to prominence in 1982 when she published *The Women of Brewster Place*, a novel that won her the American Book Award and was later adapted to television. Critic Henry Louis Gates has noted that the book boldly returns to and rejuvenates "naturalism as a mode of narration and plot development." A story of seven women, the novel depicts Brewster Place as a dead-end environment where the seven women are forced to come and stay. Yet through bonding, love, and humor the seven women of Brewster Place refuse to end their lives and stay resilient. Gifted with an innovative mind, Gloria Naylor is also known in American literary circles because of her relentless search for her own female voice; she pursues the search by rewriting canonical writers such as Shakespeare, Dante, and Geoffrey Chaucer in novels like *Linden Hills*, *Mama Day*, and *Bailey's Cafe*. *The Men of Brewster Place* (1998), is a response to her first novel from a black male perspective.

—Pierre-Damien Mvuyekure

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Neckties

As an essential accessory of male business and formal wear, a sign of social connections and status, the necktie has been in general use since the 1830s. Its earliest origins, however, are to be found in the more practical neck-warming and face-protecting scarves worn by Croatian troops, dubbed cravats by the French in the 1630s. Adapted into voluminous swatches of lace or linen, these gained popularity with the expansion of Parisian fashion influence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and by the mid-nineteenth century, cravats had become largely ornamental.

During conservative and conventional times such as the first two decades of the twentieth century, the 1950s, and the 1980s, neckties have often been among the few sources of color and pattern in men's wardrobes. They have allowed their wearers to express individual tastes and even whimsy, but they have also reflected contemporary cultural and regional influences. In the American South and West during the late nineteenth century, the earlier neck-cloth evolved into the vestigial string or ribbon tie, while the bandanna soon diverged to serve practical ends for cowboys and other manual workers, and became the Boy Scout uniform's neckerchief in the early twentieth century. Finally, the leather-thonged bola emerged in 1949 to become the emblematic male neckwear of choice in at least the traditionally minded areas of the Southwest.

After the Civil War, throughout most of the rest of the United States, a "four-in-hand" style of knotting ever-narrowing neck



A customer shows off a bold patterned paisley necktie at a Buckhead men's store in Atlanta.

scarves became the enduring standard until the 1930s when it found competition from the Windsor knot. A fuller variation with a triangular knot, intended for wide-collar shirts, it was introduced by the Duke of Windsor and won some loyal adherents, beginning in the 1930s. Neckties—a term accepted by the fashion industry circa 1912—came to vary in width, design, and fabric according to the vogue. Made exclusively of natural materials, primarily silk and wool, and relatively understated before the 1930s, ties then began to appear in cotton as well as the newer synthetics of rayon, acetate, polyester, and even plastic. The 1930s also witnessed wider ties that complemented the larger lapels of double-breasted jackets.

Countess Mara, one of the first exclusive designers of limited quantity neckties for men who wished to distinguish themselves from the crowd, found the market viable enough to set up her first shop in 1938. Another sign that wearing the correct necktie might bode well for one's chances of upward mobility, was the preference of some twentieth-century American men for British club or regimental neckwear. The original intention of this tie was to identify the wearer as an alumnus of an exclusive educational or social establishment or a military veteran. After the rationing of the World War II years ended, a "bold look" characterized by "loud" neckties took hold from

approximately 1945-1952. Neckwear was often colorful and whimsical, adorned with animals, geometric patterns, or sporting motifs. They were sometimes also idiosyncratic, with artists such as Salvador Dali hand-painting designs on individual ties (although silk-screening mass-produced a similar look.) Novelty ties such as those whose designs glowed in the dark also burst forth in the 1940s, and found cultural echoes in the fish tie motifs of the late 1980s.

The more conservative Cold War decade of the 1950s saw a regression to skinny ties with relatively little space for elaborate decorations. Lasting until the mid-1960s, ties designed to meet this trend became so minuscule that it was hardly a surprise when they literally disappeared from the majority of male necks at that decade's conclusion. They were replaced, even on formal occasions, by turtlenecks and accompanying medallions. But the counter-culture's sensibilities during that era also stigmatized neckties as representations of the social conformity espoused by prep school students, establishment politicians and businessmen.

The subsequent Peacock Revolution in men's fashions, however, ushered neckwear back into style. The British Carnaby Street influence even popularized fleeting returns to the lace neckwear of previous centuries. By the mid-1970s, ties were again wide enough (at

a regulation five inches compared to an average width of two inches at one point during the previous decade) that they could sport many of the design elements that had appeared during the 1940s.

The return to a conservative, business-like temperament during the 1980s witnessed the advent of the entrepreneur's "power tie." This was first solid yellow, then red, and later of intricate designs from exclusive European fashion houses such as Gucci, Versace, Ferragamo, Hermes, or Sulka. Finally, the post-modern eclecticism that emerged in the 1990s saw the resurgence of several competing "retro" looks as young men in particular returned to the late Art Deco styles of the 1930s or to the skinny ties of the later 1950s. Tastes in clothing seemed to be dictated considerably less by the sense of the current era than by a nostalgic desire to return to a favorite decade of the past.

Throughout 150 years leading to the end of the twentieth century, long neckties occasionally appeared on women, especially as accessories of sporty female apparel during the 1890s, and in the "Annie Hall" look of the 1970s, popularized by Diane Keaton in the Woody Allen film of that name. Usually, however, women were more inclined to wear variations of a bow-tie rather than a necktie. The bow-tie has been an alternative for men as well, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. Although larger versions made their mark in the 1970s, John Malloy, touting fashion advice in *Dress For Success*, advised against them lest one not be taken seriously or be thought not quite honest.

—Frederick J. Augustyn, Jr.

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Negro Leagues

When Jackie Robinson and Branch Rickey brought about the integration of Major League baseball in 1947, they sounded the death knell of the Negro Leagues. Like many players in the old Negro Leagues, Kansas City Monarchs first baseman Buck O'Neil was too old to play in the majors in 1947, and thus the demise of black baseball shortened his playing career. But no one was happier with baseball integration than Buck O'Neil, who later recalled: "as to the demise of the Negro Leagues—it never should have been, a Negro League. Shouldn't have been." Given the history of race relations in the United States in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Buck

O'Neil is sadly wrong—racial segregation in baseball probably could not have been avoided.

On September 18, 1869, the Pythian Baseball Club of Philadelphia became the first recorded all-black team to play an exhibition game against an all-white team, the City Items. Although they defeated the City Items, the National Association of Base Ball Players rejected the Pythian Club's bid for membership, declaring itself against the admission of any clubs composed of, or even including, African Americans. But despite official and unofficial opposition to integrated play, more than 50 African Americans played alongside whites in organized baseball during the 1870s and 1880s.

The year 1887 signaled the beginning of the end for blacks in organized white baseball. First, the St. Louis Browns refused to play an exhibition game against an all-black club. Then when Cap Anson, then the most powerful player in the game, discovered that the New York Giants were about to hire an African American ballplayer, he made it clear that neither he nor any of his white teammates would ever play a team with black players. The late nineteenth century saw the passage of the "Jim Crow" segregation laws in the South, and at the end of the century in the landmark *Plessey vs. Ferguson* case, the Supreme Court accepted the notion of separate but equal public facilities. In the face of a growing player's revolt against integrated play, the Major League owners made a "gentleman's agreement" to sign no more blacks. The Minor Leagues soon followed suit, and soon thereafter African Americans disappeared from organized white baseball.

African American baseball fans could still follow a number of independent professional teams such as the Chicago Unions, the Louisville Fall Cities, the Cuban X-Giants, the Indianapolis ABCs, and the New York Lincoln Giants. The best team at the turn of the twentieth century black baseball was the Chicago American Giants, who compiled a remarkable 123-6 record in one barnstorming season, led by their massively built pitcher-manager Andrew "Rube" Foster.

After World War I, black nationalist Marcus Garvey urged African Americans to adopt self-help as their watchword, to build up their own cultural institutions and their own business enterprises. "Rube" Foster heard Garvey's call, and in 1919 he began putting together the Negro National League in an effort to provide the North's new black citizens, products of the black migration from the South, with professional baseball of their own. Foster's league had eight teams, including the Kansas City Monarchs, the Detroit Stars, the Dayton Marcos, the Indianapolis ABCs, the Chicago and St. Louis Giants, the Chicago American Giants, and the barnstorming Cuban Giants. By 1923 the league was a huge success, drawing a season's total of some 400,000 fans.

White businessmen, drawn by the potential profits of black baseball, formed a rival organization, the Eastern Colored League. This white-owned Negro League had six teams, including the Brooklyn Royal Giants, the Baltimore Black Sox, the Philadelphia Hilldales, the New York Lincoln Giants, the Atlantic City Bacharach Giants, and the barnstorming Cuban Stars. With the establishment of bifurcated black baseball, a Black World Series was played in 1924 between the Kansas City Monarchs and the Philadelphia Hilldales. While Major League baseball turned toward the home run and Babe Ruth inspired "fence-ball" in the 1920s, the Negro Leagues kept alive the type of "scientific baseball" inspired by Ty Cobb, with an emphasis on base hits, stolen bases, defensive strategies, and guile.

The Great Depression hit black baseball even harder than the white Major Leagues. The white-owned Eastern League collapsed in



A Negro League baseball game between the New York Black Yankees and the Chicago American Giants.

1929, and the Negro National League went bankrupt in 1931. Black baseball relied on barnstorming to survive after 1931. The strongest of the barnstorming teams was the Homestead Grays, an all-star team owned by Cumberland “Cum” Posey. His rival Gus Greenlee, who ran the numbers racket in Pittsburgh’s black neighborhoods, bought a semipro team, the Crawford Colored Giants, in 1930, and began raiding Posey’s roster with offers of better pay.

Crawford’s roster included James “Cool Papa” Bell, a smooth fielding center fielder who may have been the fastest man in baseball history and later made the Hall of Fame. But Crawford’s greatest star, and black baseball’s biggest home run hitter, was catcher Josh Gibson. Gibson hit 70 home runs in the Negro National League’s final season of 1931, and his lifetime total may have approached 1,000. Legend tells us that on one afternoon in Pittsburgh, Gibson hit one ball so hard that it never came down. The next day in Philadelphia a ball dropped from the sky into an outfielder’s glove and the umpire pointed to Gibson and yelled, “You’re out—yesterday, in Pittsburgh!” Legends aside, Major League scouts who saw Gibson play referred to him as “the black Babe Ruth,” while fans of the Negro League thought that Ruth should have been called “the white Josh Gibson.”

Gibson was a product of the Black Migration to the North. His father was a sharecropper’s son from rural Georgia, who moved to Pittsburgh to work in the steel mills. Gibson had initially trained to be an electrician, but he went into baseball when he realized that he could earn more money. Unlike Ruth and the other power hitters of the “rabbit-ball” era, Gibson had a short, compact swing at the plate, relying on his massive arms and torso for his power, making it difficult to slip a breaking pitch by him. In 1943 the Pittsburgh Pirates sought permission from the commissioner’s office to sign Gibson to a Major League contract, but Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis refused. Gibson, perhaps baseball’s greatest home run hitter, died a broken man.

Gus Greenlee built a \$60,000 stadium for the Crawfords, and in 1933 he took steps to revive the defunct Negro National League. The league now contained six teams, all of them under the control of his fellow racketeers—among the only members of the black community with enough capital in the midst of the Great Depression to finance a league.

The most popular star in black baseball was a tall, gangly pitcher named Leroy “Satchell” Paige. Anytime a team got into financial trouble, they would hire Paige to pitch for them, and the crowds would

pour in. Paige was born in the rural south, just outside Mobile, Alabama. He began in the Southern Negro League, playing for the New Orleans Pelicans, the Birmingham Black Barons, the Nashville Elite Giants, and the Cleveland Cubs, always searching for the best money, a pattern he would follow in the Negro National League.

Because black baseball was played in so many places and under so many auspices, no one knows precisely how many games Paige won. But Paige once struck out Rogers Hornsby five times in a barnstorming game, and after he beat the Dizzy Dean All-Stars in 1934, Dean pronounced him the greatest pitcher he had ever seen. Paige became best known for his humorous aphorisms, such as his prescription for "How to Stay Young": "avoid fried meats, which angry up the blood; if your stomach disputes you, lie down and pacify it with cool thoughts; keep the juices flowing by jangling around gently as you move; don't look back—something might be gaining on you." Despite his sleepy appearance, Paige had a shrewd sense of how to sell himself. His showmanship kept the Negro Leagues alive during the hard times of the 1930s.

By the late 1930s there was growing pressure to integrate baseball. At the 1936 Olympics in Berlin, Jessie Owens triumphed in track and field, winning four gold medals and representing American defiance of Nazi racial theories. In 1937, Joe Louis knocked out Jim Braddock to win the heavyweight championship, leading a small number of black sportswriters to begin actively campaigning for baseball's integration. The Congress for Industrial Organization (CIO) and the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) also began to advocate integration in their official publications.

But America's participation in World War II did the most to advance the cause of baseball's integration. In 1941 A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, warned that he would lead 50,000 blacks in a march on Washington if defense industries were not immediately opened to blacks as well as whites. President Franklin Roosevelt issued executive order 8802, making racial discrimination in federal hiring illegal. Black workers migrated in ever-greater numbers to northern cities seeking employment in the defense industries, causing a boom in attendance at Negro League games. But at the same time the hypocrisy of the United States fighting Nazi racism abroad, while "America's Pastime" practiced an overt racism at home, became more and more self-evident.

For 25 years Judge Landis had worked ceaselessly to enforce the old "gentleman's agreement" against the hiring of blacks by major league teams, but he died in 1944. Landis' replacement, Albert Benjamin "Happy" Chandler, was quoted as saying: "If a black boy can make it on Okinawa and Guadalcanal, hell, he can make it in baseball." Branch Rickey, the president and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, had long believed that both fair play and big profits argued in favor of integration: "The greatest untapped reservoir of raw material in the history of the game is the black race. The Negroes will make us winners for years to come, and for that I will happily bear being called a bleeding heart and a do-gooder and all that humanitarian rot." Rickey only needed the right man to break the color line.

Jack Roosevelt Robinson was that man. The grandson of a slave, he had been born in Cairo, Georgia in 1919. His family moved to California, where at Pasadena Junior College and the University of California, Los Angeles Robinson excelled at every sport. In 1944 when Robinson left the Army he joined the Kansas City Monarchs, playing shortstop for \$400 per month. Robinson hit .387 for the Monarchs his first season, and he had a tryout with the Boston Red Sox. Although Boston manager Joe Cronin was impressed with

Robinson, the Red Sox passed on the opportunity to be the first team to integrate (instead they would be the last team). Instead it was Branch Rickey's Dodgers, on October 23, 1945, who announced that Jackie Robinson had been signed to play for their AAA team in Montreal.

Just as 1887 had signaled the beginning of the end for blacks in organized white baseball, 1945 signaled the beginning of the end for the Negro Leagues. But few mourned its final official passing in 1955. After Robinson's debut with the Dodgers in 1947, at the beginning of the civil rights movement, African Americans took their rightful place in the national game, redeeming America's pastime.

—Todd Anthony Rosa

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Neighborhood Watch

Neighborhood Watch programs began as a citizen-based response to a rise in crime during the late 1960s. By 1972, it won approval from the National Sheriffs Association as an important crime prevention method. Presently, there are about 20,000 organized groups who work in conjunction with local police stations to help report suspicious behavior in neighborhoods. Perhaps best known for suburban street signs which depict a sinister-looking thief and the word "WARNING" in big letters, Neighborhood Watch represents a long-held faith in local neighborhoods as the cradle of community and safety among middle-class Americans.

—Kevin Mattson

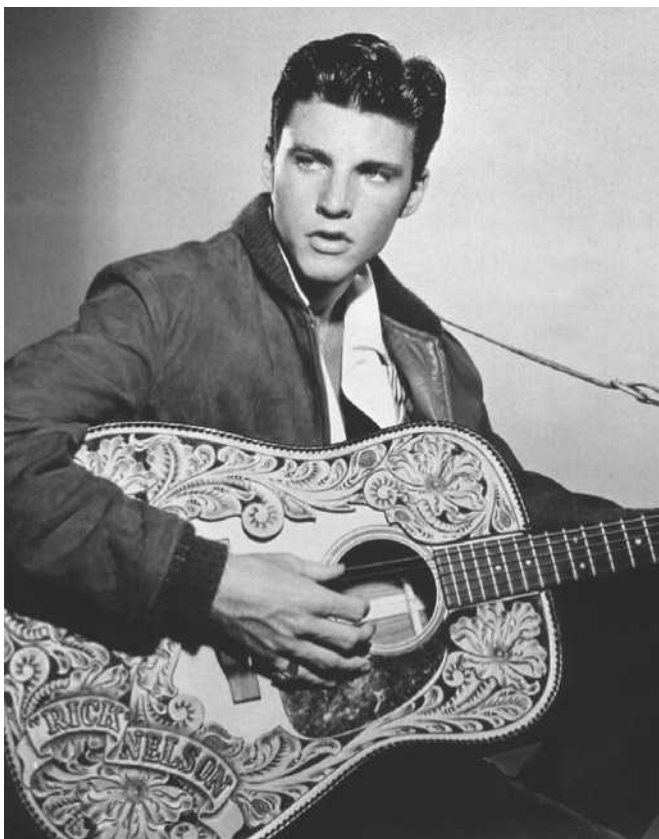
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Nelson, Ricky (1940-1985)

Decades before MTV (Music Television), the synergy between television and the music industry was manifested by the career of Ricky Nelson. The first rock 'n' roll star created by television, Nelson was the youngest and most precocious member of the Nelsons, on the



Ricky Nelson

long-running *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. For 14 years, “Ricky” virtually grew up in front of America. To viewers coast-to-coast, he was a surrogate son, brother, and friend. When he began to sing, he became a fantasy boyfriend and one of the leading teenage idols of the 1950s and early 1960s. But if being a member of “America’s favorite family” had made possible his music career, it also became a burden—as did the teen idol designation. As a result, Nelson’s artistry and status as a musical innovator has long been overlooked.

In fact, he was startlingly versatile, equally at home with rock ‘n’ roll, rockabilly, rhythm and blues, ballads, and country western music. A devotee of the break-through sounds that emanated from Sam Phillips’ Sun Records, he aggressively sought to collaborate with the era’s most creative talents. Early on, he worked with rockabilly greats Johnny and Dorsey Burnette and with legendary guitarist James Burton. Later, Nelson assembled the Stone Canyon Band; their country-rock helped pave the way for what came to be known as the “California sound.” Not coincidentally, Stone Canyon member Randy Meisner went on to found the group that perfected that sound—the Eagles.

Born Eric Hilliard Nelson, Ricky grew up in a musical family. Father Ozzie was a former band leader. Wife Harriet Hilliard Nelson had been the band’s singer. During the 1940s, their married life became impetus for the radio show *The Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet*. Ricky was just nine when he and his older brother, David, joined the cast, playing themselves. They moved onto the big screen with the 1952 movie *Here Come the Nelsons*. It inspired the television series, which debuted on ABC on October 3, 1952.

As depicted by the Nelsons, Eisenhower-era family life was one of quiet complacency. Ozzie had no discernible job, Harriet was usually in the kitchen, and the boys’ most frequent line of dialogue was “Hi, Pop. Hi, Mom.” As a youngster, Ricky was known for his bristly crew-cut, wise-cracks, and panache with punch lines. As a teenager, he became known for his good looks, including heavy-lidded blue eyes, and pouty mouth.

Ozzie helped arrange the session that resulted in Ricky’s first record, a rendition of Fats Domino’s “I’m Walkin.’” Nelson performed the song in an April 1957 *Ozzie and Harriet* episode entitled “Ricky the Drummer.” Released two weeks later on Verve Records, it went Top Ten and became a million-seller. Ozzie liked to point out that *Ozzie and Harriet* helped to make rock ‘n’ roll respectable. The elder Nelson also recognized the potential of a television-music tie-in. At the time, the series was being watched by an estimated ten million teenagers a week; Ricky’s performances became powerful marketing tools—as did Ricky, who became a favorite of teenage fan magazines.

Under contract by Imperial Records, he also became a consistent hit-maker. Over a five-year period he had more than 35 songs on the charts, 15 of them Top Ten—among his most recognizable tunes: “Poor Little Fool,” “Lonesome Town,” “It’s Late,” “Teenage Idol,” “Hello Mary Lou,” and “Travelin’ Man.” The last, Nelson’s biggest hit, sold six million copies. As presented on *Ozzie and Harriet*, it also pre-dated the music videos of the MTV-era. Conceived by Ozzie, it was performed in a segment in which the singing Ricky was superimposed over travelogue footage. As Nelson grew older, he understandably attempted to discard his teen idol image, dropping the “y” from his name to become Rick Nelson and appearing in non-musical movies, such as the Howard Hawks-directed *Rio Bravo*. He also became less interested in the family series.

When the series ended in 1966, Rick attempted new musical directions. Exploring the Nashville sound, he cut a pair of critically-lauded albums. In 1969, his interest in literary-oriented artists like Bob Dylan and Tim Hardin, and Los Angeles’ country-folk movement, led to his formation of the Stone Canyon Band, with whom he delivered an evocative version of Dylan’s “She Belongs to Me.”

But he could not shake his past. At a 1971 Madison Square Garden revival concert, his changed look—including long hair—caught the audience off-guard. When he moved from vintage tunes to newer ones, the crowd erupted in boos. A visibly shaken Nelson later wrote and recorded “Garden Party,” in which he declared that he would rather drive a truck than perpetually sing his old songs. Nelson’s final Top Ten hit ironically revived interest in his teen idol past.

The consummate performer eventually returned to singing golden oldies. And by 1983 he was again being booked as “Ricky Nelson.” His final performance took place at P.J.’s Alley, a small, dark bar in Guntersville, Alabama, on December 30, 1985. Nelson was killed in a plane crash on December 31, while travelling to a New Year’s Eve show. The death of America’s favorite television son made front page headlines.

Today, a third generation of Nelsons continues in show business. During his marriage to Kris Harmon, daughter of football great Tom Harmon, Nelson fathered four children. Daughter Tracy Nelson is an actress. Twin sons Matthew and Gunnar, billed as Nelson, enjoyed a number one hit in 1990. Meanwhile, Ricky Nelson continues to enjoy rediscovery, as a musician and as a man. At the time of his death it was discovered that Nelson’s system contained traces of cocaine and other drugs. Fans were startled. What had happened to the perfect son from

the perfect family? Friends and relations have since come forward to admit that there were numerous discrepancies between the television and the real-life Nelsons. In truth, they were just as dysfunctional as most families. Far from being perfect, Ricky was just as human as the rest of us.

—Pat H. Broeske

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Nelson, Willie (1933—)

A legendary name in U.S. country music, and promoter of the more eclectic "Texas sound" that draws liberally on rock, blues, and folk motifs, Nelson in the early 1970s helped lead the revolt against Nashville's domination of orthodox country music. In a career that began in the 1950s, Nelson has recorded more than 100 albums and many hit singles in a wide variety of genres and styles, making him a significant crossover artist. He has also starred in several motion pictures and is known as the founder of Farm Aid, an annual outdoor music festival to benefit struggling farm owners.

Nelson has been surrounded by music his entire life. He was born in 1933 in Abbott, Texas, a small farming community near Waco, to poor parents who had recently migrated from Arkansas in search of work. The Nelsons were migrant farmers, and Willie spent much of his youth picking cotton alongside sharecroppers during the Great Depression. Both of his parents grew weary of their meager existence and left Willie and his sister Bobbi to be raised by their grandparents, who surrounded the children with music. When Willie was six, his grandfather bought him his first guitar, and by the time he was in high school he was playing in a band alongside his sister. His early musical hero was Bob Wills, whose "western swing" was sweeping the Southwest in the 1940s; elements of the upbeat dance music of Wills and his Texas Playboys have often found their way into Nelson's music, then and now. After a short and unsuccessful attempt at college, and after a brief stint in the military during the Korean War, Nelson traveled throughout the American West looking for work in the music business.

While Nelson had always planned to become a performer, his entry into the industry came through his songwriting talents. He had begun writing songs, both lyrics and melodies, as a child, and in the early 1950s sold his first song, "Family Bible," which became a hit when recorded by Pappy Daily. The success of the song brought him to Nashville, where fellow Texan Ray Price hired Nelson to write for

Pamper Music. Soon thereafter he began to churn out a series of hits for several singers. In 1961, his song "Crazy," recorded by Patsy Cline, reached number one on the country charts and helped to vault Cline into the national spotlight. Other successes followed, including Ralph Emery's recording of "Hello Fool" and Faron Young's renditions of "Hello Walls" and "Three Days." Songwriting achievements opened the door for a recording contract with Liberty Records; his first album produced one hit, "Touch Me," but his own recordings failed to have the success that covers of his songs by other singers were enjoying. Beginning in the mid-1960s, Nelson started appearing on the Grand Ole Opry regularly, and continued to write and record. He signed a contract with Victor and recorded hits "The Party's Over," and "Little Things," and wrote "Night Life," a successful song recorded by Ray Price.

By the late 1960s, Nelson was an established figure in Nashville, but his career seemed to be stagnating. On a fateful day in 1971, his Nashville house burned down, and Willie saw the disaster as an omen to head back to Texas. He had, over the past few years, begun to associate with new writers and performers, including Kris Kristofferson, Billy Joe Shaver, and Waylon Jennings, who were outside the country music establishment. Back in Texas, Nelson began to cultivate a new style of country that borrowed from these outsiders and played upon the image of "outlaws" in the industry—a style with a harsh, edgy style more reminiscent of the "honky-tonk" style of Bakersfield, California, singers such as Merle Haggard. In 1972, Nelson organized an outdoor music festival in Dripping Springs, Texas, just outside of Austin, where he promoted new artists—Kristofferson, Jennings, and Tom T. Hall—along with established Nashville figures such as Tex Ritter and Roy Acuff. The festival, which became an annual event, drew on Austin's substantial counterculture and became legendary for its combination of country, rock, and folk music, also combined with drugs and alcohol. Nelson and others used the festivals to promote their "outlaw" image, with long hair, shaggy beards, and a rough edge that appealed to rock enthusiasts as much as country music fans. While most country artists who had crossover success did so in either pop or gospel, Nelson's 1975 album *Red Headed Stranger* performed well on the rock charts. The following year, Nelson and others of the outlaw group recorded *Wanted: The Outlaws!*, which stressed its departure from the Nashville sound even more. Several songs from this album became hits, including Jennings's "Suspicious Minds" and Nelson's "Good-Hearted Woman." The album went platinum, an unprecedented feat for a country album.

At the same time, Nelson continued to release a wave of hits. His albums *Shotgun Willie* (1973) and *Phases and Stages* (1974), recorded on the Atlantic label, met with great success, and his ballad "Blue Eyes Crying in the Rain" (1975) was a hit on the pop and country charts. In the late 1970s, he recorded an album of pop songs, *Stardust*, that spent several years on the country charts, blurring the lines between musical genres even more. His recording success allowed Nelson to launch yet another career, that of a motion picture star. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, he starred in several films, including *The Electric Horseman*, *Red Headed Stranger*, *Honeysuckle Rose*, and *Barbarosa*. He also began recording with other stars in a wide variety of musical genres, including Bob Dylan, Ray Charles, Neil Young, and Julio Iglesias. Yet at the same time Nelson never forgot his roots, and recorded with county music legends such as Faron Young and Webb Pierce, and has recorded several albums that herald back to Bob Wills's western swing. As one of The Highwaymen (the others were Jennings, Kristofferson, and Johnny Cash),



Willie Nelson

Nelson released two more albums that reinforced the outlaw image that had brought so much success in the 1970s.

In the mid-1980s, Nelson revived the spirit of his outdoor festivals to help generate financial support for struggling American farmers. These Farm Aid gatherings, which attract scores of musicians and thousands of fans, continue to be a regular part of Nelson's work, along with his busy recording and touring schedule. Nelson continues to entertain fans of all stripes, having overcome highly publicized legal problems, including a huge debt to the Internal Revenue Service and a drug possession arrest. His album *Spirit* (1996), recorded by Island Records, features veteran performers such as Texas Playboys fiddler Johnny Gimble on a recording that offers tunes drawn from pop, rock, swing, and gospel. After more than four decades, Willie Nelson's eclecticism continues to make him a country-music sensation.

—Jeffrey W. Coker

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Nerd Look

The nerd, a distillation of awkward male characteristics of the 1950s, was a social victim and outcast, if probably brainy. In 1985, *Life* magazine listed nerd traits as including adhesive-tape repaired glasses, high-waisted and high-water “geezer” pants, goofy smile, nerdpak (plastic pocket protector with pencils, pens, slide rule or calculator, etc.). Well equipped, but vulnerable, the nerd manifested physical awkwardness and adolescence. The hapless figure is portrayed by Jerry Lewis in *The Patsy* (1964). By the 1980s, the nerd has turned into an unlikely hero. *Revenge of the Nerds* (1984) and sequels

and the Broadway play *The Nerd* (1987), as well as Woody Allen films, and perhaps even the triumph and acceptance of the computer and its young entrepreneurs, valorized the nerd. He was the hero in Italian menswear magazines and assumed television *persona* in Urkel on the long-running *Family Matters*. The nerd's triumph is an endearing brain-over-brawn tortoise-over-hare victory.

—Richard Martin

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Network

The black comedy film *Network* (1977) explored a brief period of populist indignation presided by President Jimmy Carter during which distrust of big government and multinational corporations pervaded America's post-Watergate consciousness. A crazed television talk show commentator's weekly battle cry that he's "mad as hell and not going to take it anymore" captured a crisis of public confidence in American business and political leaders that was fueled by economic recession, Arab oil cartel price-fixing, and poor health and safety standards in industry.

Written by television industry veteran Paddy Chayefsky and directed by socially conscious filmmaker Sidney Lumet, the film also indicted the television news business as a profit-driven enterprise that compromised the public interest by sacrificing prestige-driven, hard news reporting for ratings-driven, lurid tabloid sensationalism. Far ahead of their time, the creators of *Network* anticipated the negative impact television's role as an entertainment medium had on the quality of news reporting and public discourse in an age of "reality" television and "personality-driven" political salesmanship.

The parallel themes of how corporate profiteering can subvert the public service potential of a powerful mass communication technology and how a gullible public can be seduced by pseudo-populist personalities were also explored in earlier Hollywood offerings like *Meet John Doe* (1933) and *A Face in the Crowd* (1957). Both films are cautionary tales about the mass media's co-optation by power-hungry corporate magnates and about the American public's willingness to vest faith in barefoot political messiahs (a Will Rogers-inspired radio personality in the former, a guitar-strumming folk musician in the latter). However, both films' endings also suggested that the mass media's political integrity remained intact and that the American public was capable of distinguishing a celebrity from a hero.

Anticipating the rise of a 200-channel cable universe as the public's window to the world, *Network* jettisoned from its outset any residual faith in television news's integrity and the people's ability to distinguish between reality and televisual fiction. Veteran television news anchorman Howard Beale (Peter Finch) appears on-camera drunk during his final six o'clock newscast after being told he had been fired for poor ratings. Denouncing the state of the world as "bullshit" while bordering on a nervous breakdown, the aging journalist's overnight ratings soared. The following week, the new chairman of the network (Robert Duvall) transfers control over its news programming from an Edward R. Murrow-inspired network news executive (William Holden) to a baby-boomer entertainment executive raised on television (Faye Dunaway).

The latter performs a makeover of the newscast, transforming it into a three-ring circus featuring Sybil the Soothsayer, the gossip Mata Hari "and her skeletons in the closet," and a "Vox Populi" segment starring the "mad prophet of the airwaves" himself, Howard Beale. As "The Howard Beale Show" takes off in overnight ratings, the network follows it up with "The Mao-Tse Tung Hour," during which it broadcasts home movies of a communist "revolutionary" group's (modeled on the Symbionese Liberation Army) weekly bank robberies and kidnappings. A particularly hilarious send-up of television network dealmaking occurs when the Afro-coiffed leader of the group warns network lawyers during negotiations not to "fuck with my distribution costs."

Ironically, "The Howard Beale Show's" weekly mantra (announcer cue: "How do you feel?" Audience: "I'm mad as hell!") became a real-life bumper sticker slogan in 1978 for supporters of Jimmy Carter's successor, California Governor Ronald Reagan. In many ways, Reagan's election to the presidency proved a watershed in television's evolution as an entertainment medium. His deregulation of the television industry hastened the rise of ratings-driven news and talk show programming. A former television actor, Reagan also successfully sold himself as a "little guy" railing against the system while drawing support from wealthy, politically powerful Southern California business leaders.

—Chris Jordan

Networks

Communications media networks were born with the 1926 radio sign-on of the National Broadcasting Company (NBC), signaling the dawn of a new era of both communications and culture in America. The network concept is purely abstract—even in its practical form nothing but a series of wires or satellite connections. Yet the history and influence of the broadcast networks is one of the great stories of the twentieth century, for though they did not create it, the networks did cement the process of homogenizing American culture. By 1930, for the first time America was whistling to the same tunes, laughing at the same comedians, hearing the same politicians' speeches—instantaneously. The taste and judgement of a relative few urban, Northeastern network executives set national standards of everything from dialect and language to fashion and behavior. Only when the influence of the old-line networks had faded, by the end of the century, was it truly possible to grasp the power they held over the nation for so long.

Though the number of networks has grown exponentially over the decades, with the technology of their distribution methods improving by light-years, the concept has remained the same. A network is simply a set of affiliate stations that receive programming from one central source, then beam that programming by some method, either broadcast wave or cable wire, into the eyes and ears of a waiting public.

The first major radio network, the National Broadcasting Company, debuted in November 1926 with a glittering, distinctly high-brow, multi-city broadcast. Parent company RCA announced that the new network would "provide the best program available for broadcasting in the United States." In those early days, network broadcasting wore the cloak of dignity—announcers in nightclothes and no commercials; only "indirect" advertising was allowed on the air—shrouding its very definite for-profit intentions. A rousing success,

NBC was soon running two separate chains, the “Red network” and the “Blue network.” Each carried its own programs to its own set of affiliate stations, though the networks sometimes combined efforts to carry an important speech or news event. Meanwhile, the “indirect” advertising rule quickly gave way to the now-familiar “commercial announcement.”

By late 1927, NBC faced some competition. William Paley was the restless but ambitious 27-year-old heir to his family’s cigar fortune. Having already seen radio’s potential as a medium for advertising cigars, Paley jumped at the chance to enter the exciting new business of broadcasting. He bought out the struggling Columbia Broadcasting System (previously known as the United Independent Broadcasters chain, then the Columbia Phonograph Broadcasting System when that company invested heavily), signed up affiliates—and soon, NBC had itself some real, albeit impoverished competition in CBS.

The first genuine fad of the network age hit in 1929, when a pair of Chicago radio performers came to the NBC airwaves in a 15-minute nightly comedy serial called *Amos and Andy*. The series had been a smash in Chicago and in syndication, but it took national exposure on the NBC network to propel the series’ popularity into the stratosphere. Volumes have been written about *Amos and Andy*: stores and theatres piped in the broadcast to keep customers from fleeing homeward at the appointed hour; you could walk down any street on a warm night and hear the broadcast wafting out open windows at every house and store; most Americans could do their own imitations of such *Amos and Andy* catchphrases as “I’se regusted” and “Ooh Wah! Ooh Wah!”; both local and national leaders debated whether the program was harmless comedy or racial bigotry. That such scenes were playing themselves out simultaneously in every city, village, and hamlet across the land was the first real testament to the power of this new cultural force, the broadcast network.

By 1930, the old notion of radio as a purely local force was gone forever. Network programming soon stretched from morning ’til midnight, the networks assuming ironclad contractual control over much of their affiliates’ airtime. This practice guaranteed maximum “clearance” for advertisers’ commercials; it coincidentally ensured that Americans would share a collective common experience each time they sat before their radios.

When vaudevillians like Jack Benny and Eddie Cantor debuted on the networks in the early 1930s, they found themselves playing to a bigger audience in a single half-hour than they would have faced in a lifetime of stage work. Likewise, listeners in Idaho or Alabama who would never have been able to see Benny or Cantor perform soon took for granted a free show—in their own homes yet—each week. When President Franklin Roosevelt took to the network air upon his inauguration in 1933, his efforts at calming a Depression-panicked populace succeeded in large measure because his words were heard instantaneously by millions of Americans.

The Mutual Broadcasting System came next, formed in 1934 as a loosely organized co-op of major independent stations like WGN in Chicago and WOR in New York. Though it eventually found itself with the most affiliates of any of the networks, Mutual never really competed with NBC or CBS in terms of ratings or budget. Attempts at launching new national chains—like comedian Ed Wynn’s Amalgamated network in 1934—were notorious failures, though several smaller regional networks did operate successfully: Intercity on the east coast, Don Lee on the west.

The “big boys” continued to thrive, settling into the routines and traditions that exist to this day. The broadcast schedule consisted

of news in the morning; soaps and talk shows in the daytime; more news in the evening; then big-time, big-budget entertainment at night. The September to May broadcast “season” became a tradition. Tired shows fell by the wayside; new favorites quickly took their places. A “next wave” of popular entertainers and programs—*Fibber McGee and Molly*, Bob Hope, Red Skelton, Edgar Bergen—took hold in the late 1930s. But it was an incident that occurred on the night of October 30, 1938 that provided the clearest demonstration yet of the broadcast networks’ power over the populace.

It was only a dramatization, but later estimates report more than one million people believed it—and panicked—when Orson Welles and his *Mercury Theatre on the Air* presented a modern-day version of H.G. Wells’ *War of the Worlds*, told partly through a series of staged but authentic-sounding news bulletins. People ran for their lives; police and radio station switchboards were flooded with frantic calls; at CBS headquarters, armed guards surrounded Welles’ studio even as the broadcast proceeded. “War of the Worlds” was a sensation; the panic was front-page news. Ironically, it was CBS’ own recent coverage of the European war crisis that had conditioned the radio audience to respond when somebody said, “We interrupt this program.” By the time the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in December 1941, radio’s real-time news capability was commonplace.

It would be impossible to overstate the effect the radio networks had on America’s wartime psyche. Entertainment programs never doubted the righteousness of America’s cause or the skill of its leaders; indeed, wartime events served as a creative jump-start for many series. Meanwhile, the broadcast journalism of the period successfully walked a fine line between patriotism and jingoism. True, Americans heard scant criticism of war aims or military leadership; but in terms of simple reporting of facts, the networks’ news departments were in top form, managed by dedicated professionals who vowed to treat their audience equally seriously. The notion that the entire nation could gather round its radios and hear a status report on the latest battle or campaign—this was an incredible innovation, a revolution of both journalism and its public consumption.

By this time there was a “new” national network, after a government anti-trust decision forced NBC to sell one of its two chains. The network had been accused of using its decidedly second-string Blue network to stifle competition in cities that were just getting their second or third radio station. The Blue was sold to LifeSavers candy magnate Edward Noble, becoming the Blue Network of the American Broadcasting Company, then simply the American Broadcasting Company, or ABC, by September 1945.

Those early post-war years were some of the grandest in network history; prime-time entertainment programs were at their slickest, big-budget best. CBS chief William Paley returned from wartime service determined to take his chain to number one; the results would resound for decades. Whereas previously advertising agencies had complete control over the programs broadcast on the network air, CBS began producing many of its own shows, then selling the advertising time. The result was a set of series (*Our Miss Brooks*, *My Friend Irma*, *My Favorite Husband*) that invented the modern-day sitcom. Meanwhile, having apparently despaired of developing his own big-name talent, Paley also managed to steal away many NBC favorites in the legendary 1948-49 talent raids known as “Paley’s Comet.” Jack Benny, Amos and Andy, Bing Crosby, Burns and Allen, Groucho Marx, Edgar Bergen, and others all defected during this period, for various reasons. CBS ruled the ratings chart for the first time in its history. And while NBC managed to hang on to Bob

Hope, *Fibber McGee and Molly*, *One Man's Family*, and others, the damage was done. CBS, purposely or not, had also managed to put itself into the best competitive position in that new medium—television.

The networks' TV experimentation had started in earnest nearly a decade-and-a-half earlier; NBC had even begun a pattern of "regular broadcasts" with an extravaganza from the 1939 New York World's Fair. There was not much of an available audience and the war put a halt to most of the experimenting. By 1947, however, the networks were back at full steam. Although initially CBS stubbornly held out for color TV, featuring a system that would have rendered every current black-and-white set useless, the network finally relented when consumers proved unwilling to abandon their existing sets. Meanwhile, the fledgling DuMont network—founded and managed by the electronics manufacturer of the same name—seemed to be in a good position to overtake ABC as the "third network" in the new medium. Without its own radio chain to provide talent and financial support, however, that goal proved unattainable.

None of the big radio stars were willing to take the plunge at this early date, but advertisers were testing the television waters. Even as the papers were full of stories about Jack Benny's switch of radio networks, a definite trend developed: in cities where viewers could choose, TV became the favorite. NBC television found its first bonafide hit in Milton Berle's *Texaco Star Theater* in 1948. Viewing outpaced radio listening in city after city by 1949.

Radio ratings didn't collapse all at once; instead, the sun set agonizingly slowly over the networks' glory days. A Korean War freeze on some manufacturing put the brakes on the spread of television during the early 1950s, to interesting effect: even as television ruled the nation's cities, the outlying areas were still totally dependent on radio. Jack Benny, Bob Hope, Burns and Allen, Red Skelton, and others made the jump to television early in the new decade; Jackie Gleason and Lucille Ball joined Milton Berle as the first genuine sensations the new medium had produced on its own. To be sure, network radio was enjoying a creative resurgence during this period; daring new series like *Dragnet* and *Gunsmoke* were a breath of fresh air to viewers.

The radio advertising market had collapsed. The city audience had deserted the medium in droves; most remaining listeners joined the exodus when mass manufacturing resumed in 1953. By 1955, of the legendary comedians who had ruled the airwaves for 25 years, only Edgar Bergen remained on the radio. Nighttime drama was all but dead; NBC, in particular, began experimenting with the long-form news/talk format; network "news on the hour" was an innovation during this period. November 25, 1960 is often referred to as "the last day of network radio": on that Friday after Thanksgiving, CBS broadcast the final installments of everything from *Ma Perkins* to *Amos and Andy*. The last two network dramas came to an end in 1962. (The long-running detective opus *Yours Truly, Johnny Dollar* was the last radio network drama). Network television was now the unchallenged king of America's living rooms, a position it would hold for another two decades.

The era was a remarkably stable one for the industry. The DuMont network folded in 1956, but NBC, CBS, and ABC thrived. Their access into the nation's homes—and consciousness—during this period was unparalleled. The networks and their product influenced fashion—everything from coon-skin caps to Capri pants and bouffant hairdos; language—expressions as familiar as "And away we go" and "Here comes the judge" began as TV catchphrases; and politics—television news led the way in questioning America's

involvement in Vietnam, and while few Americans had access to the *Washington Post*, the networks' coverage of Watergate made it into every home in the nation. As NBC and CBS spent the decades fighting it out for first place in the ratings, the networks became adept at turning public fancy into inescapable fad: Westerns gave way to the rural comedies of the early 1960s; series such as *The Beverly Hillbillies* in turn surrendered to the popularity of *All in the Family* and other socially relevant comedies of the early 1970s. ABC (which for decades had been nicknamed "Almost a Broadcasting Company") was catapulted to its first-ever reign at the top on the strength of series like *Charlie's Angels* and *Three's Company* in the mid-1970s. As late as 1979, the networks could manage to draw nearly 100 percent of the available viewing audience on any single night.

In 1975 the Home Box Office pay channel took to the air via satellite, its signal beamed into homes via the local cable systems whose previous service had been providing clearer signals of faraway broadcast stations. The idea of receiving unedited, recent theatrical films via cable—even for a small fee—proved popular and profitable; other entrepreneurs quickly took the hint. Atlanta businessman Ted Turner was soon uplinking the signal of his UHF independent station; with characteristic modesty, Turner called his baby the "Superstation"—and it soon found a coast-to-coast audience. Turner's Cable News Network debuted in 1980. Although the broadcast networks sneered, their contempt soon turned to outright fear.

By the mid-1980s, dozens of cable networks had carved profitable niches for themselves. The television audience that had contented itself for decades with three or four channels suddenly had ten times that many from which to choose: everything from evangelist Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network to the all-sports ESPN to the all-music MTV—perhaps the first cable network to spark its own generational and cultural revolution.

To be sure, the audience for each of these cable networks was tiny, the barest fraction of the audience for even the lowest-rated traditional network program. But the combined weight of cable viewership sent the old-line networks' ratings into an irreversible downward spiral by the mid-1980s. Their consignment to irrelevance was neither immediate nor quick; like the radio networks before them, the television chains found themselves dying slow, lingering deaths, with few options for salvation. A 1990s cable series, *South Park*, was considered a smash—featured on the cover of *Newsweek*, the talk of its generation, and a merchandising bonanza. Yet it drew barely two million viewers per week. True, they were the young, affluent viewers advertisers craved; yet there simply were not enough of them to make the program a success on a traditional broadcast network. It was the great paradox: the old networks' audience was still vast; yet by continuing to program for a mass, homogenous audience in the age of niches and demographic targeting, the networks had effectively ceded their long-standing role as a guiding cultural force. The addition of several new broadcast networks—Fox in the 1980s, UPN, WB, and Pax in the 1990s—served to further disperse the former mass audience.

The networks' decline had no lesser consequences than their rise. The audience became so fragmented, the number of viewing choices so great, that the concept of the great national audience simply vanished: no more universally understood catchphrases, no more monster-hit series, at least not in the old sense. The youngest generation didn't even remember the day of three or four channels; by the end of the twentieth century, even the network concept itself was permanently endangered.

Cable, too, was threatened by rapidly advancing technology. Suddenly, it was possible for consumers to bypass the network setup

entirely, and have their own individual choice of program services beamed directly into their homes by satellite. The technology had existed for years, in bulkier and more expensive form, but the direct-satellite industry exploded in the late 1990s. Suddenly there were 500 or more channel choices, a development that served to further fragment the viewing audience. Many cable networks even launched second (or third or fourth) satellite-carried program services, carving their audience niches into even smaller pieces. Meanwhile, the booming satellite industry was the greatest threat yet to the traditional broadcast networks. Most satellite systems bypassed the local network affiliates entirely, in the process rendering the broadcast network apparatus, completely irrelevant.

Indeed, at the end of the century, the once-miraculous notion of radio or TV signals wafting through the air into American homes seemed superfluous, even foreign, to the youngest generation of television viewers. Truly, the era of the networks' cultural dominance was over. However, the era's legacy will live on as long as radio or television, in whatever form, continues to be a factor in American cultural life.

—Chris Chandler

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New Age Music

The genre of calm, tranquil music known as New Age emerged from several conflicting trends in popular music in the 1960s and 1970s. It originated on one level from the electronic music (sometimes referred to as "space music") of the late 1960s. Itself a nascent musical form, electronic music was embraced by groups like Tangerine Dream, and incorporated into the music of progressive rock groups such as Pink Floyd and Yes. On another level, and slightly after the popularization of electronic music, New Age music grew out of the dissatisfaction of some musicians with the pervasive influence of technology in contemporary music. These musicians made an attempt to return to simpler ways of making music, and began writing and recording peaceful, unobtrusive pieces, mainly for acoustic guitar and piano. These two trends, paradoxically, combined to form what

would be known as New Age music; in addition, the style was informed by other established genres like jazz and classical music, and by various forms of ethnic music, particularly Celtic. As a result of New Age's disparate roots, listeners, fans, and critics have always had difficulty in defining it, and record company executives have had similar difficulties in labeling and merchandising New Age recordings. Nevertheless, New Age music became very popular in the final two decades of the twentieth century, with many successful record labels devoted solely to releasing New Age music.

Much of the draw of New Age music lies in its functionality; it may be the only form of music to have a purpose beyond that of the enjoyment of the music itself. With the advent of all manner of self-awareness and higher-consciousness trends and fads floating about in the 1970s, and the increasing popularity of non-traditional ideas regarding health and well-being, this music, because of its characteristic placidity and lack of dissonance, became the soundtrack for the emerging "New Age" lifestyle. By the 1980s, New Age shops were quite common, and customers could buy healing crystals as well as books on diverse topics relating to concepts like "inner harmony" and "cosmic consciousness." Cassette tapes of relaxing music were also offered in these stores as aural companions for whatever New Age program the browser had embarked upon. This function, then, was what provided New Age music with its single unifying aspect: the ability to provide an appropriate relaxing soundscape for meditation or other restful, pensive pursuits.

The initial thrust of New Age was electronic, and the interest in it was mostly due to pioneering FM radio shows like *Inner Visions* and *Music from the Hearts of Space*, which began in 1967 and 1973, respectively. These programs showcased the synthesized music known then as "space music" and only later dubbed "New Age." In the mid-1970s, the confusion began when guitarist Will Ackerman started the infamous Windham Hill record label as a means of distributing his own music. Ackerman, and the other artists who were signed to his label, felt their music had little in common with the highly produced, highly synthesized music being recorded in the late 1970s, and sought to bring about a revival of acoustic music. It is ironic that Windham Hill, a record label with an aesthetic so opposed to that of the "space" and electronic music movement, ended up sharing the same shelf and record bin space with that very genre. Music released on Windham Hill albums was homogeneous in structure, if not instrumentation, and the strikingly austere cover art was always identifiable as a "Windham Hill cover." This meant that, when Windham Hill was widely recognized as a New Age label, all the artists who recorded with the label were considered, by extension, New Age artists, regardless of their classical, jazz, folk, or bluegrass backgrounds. New Age recordings became very commercially lucrative, even if consumers and marketers were unsure of what actually constituted "New Age music."

The profit margins and confusion increased with the introduction of ethnic music into the equation, a process that began to take place in the late 1980s. Celtic music (itself a very broad and vague category) was the most successful ethnic music to be affiliated with the New Age genre, an assimilation made possible by the success of Irish pop musicians Enya and Clannad, the group she occasionally performed with, who specialized in a breezy, ethereal type of music. The particular instruments used in traditional Celtic folk music appealed to the Windham Hill acoustic aesthetic and the mythology associated with the Celtic culture and history fit well with the mystical and spiritual characteristics of New Age music. Windham

Hill and other New Age record labels like Narada and Hearts of Space started releasing albums with "Celtic" in the title with the (well-founded) assumption that sales would increase even more. Other ethnic music that found a home under the New Age firmament included Native American and Indian music, highlighted respectively by Douglas Spotted Eagle and U. Srinivas.

By the mid-1990s, the category of "New Age music" had exploded in countless different directions, making a once-confusing genre now impossible to define. British singer/songwriter Peter Gabriel's Realworld record label specialized in bringing together musicians from disparate cultures; more often than not, the results were similar to what had become known as traditional New Age music, but without the underlying ethos that initially defined it. Another parallel genre, spearheaded by Brian Eno, was ambient music, which also had its roots in early 1970s electronic experimentation. The difference between ambient and New Age was more subtle and, perhaps, academic. Ambient did not necessarily share New Age's lofty ideals, and had no extra-musical function. By the late 1990s, however, New Age music had changed from a musical genre whose practitioners saw themselves as part of a larger spiritual movement, to a marketing and merchandising tool for record company executives and music store owners who were not sure where to place recordings by artists who defied easy categorization.

Critics were generally dismissive of New Age music, calling it "aural wallpaper" and claiming that it was devoid of content. Nevertheless, fans of the genre, mainly people who had bought into the corresponding New Age lifestyle, were undeterred in their appreciation of the music. While record stores, bookstores, and spas were airing the music frequently, many other people responded less than enthusiastically to it. By the 1990s, the music became the butt of many widely circulated jokes, to the extent that the genre began to gain significance not only as an artistic expression of the entire New Age phenomenon, but also as a cultural barometer indicative of the opinions shared by people who were not part of this group.

Due to the ambiguous marketing of New Age music, and the haphazard labeling of musicians as "New Age," many performers resisted the tag. The popular keyboardist Suzanne Ciani told *Billboard* magazine in a 1995 article that she prefers to be recognized "as a contemporary classical composer and performer," instead of a New Age artist, because "there was so much debris attached to the term, and I didn't want to spend half my day explaining what I wasn't." Many Celtic and other ethnic musicians are also unhappy with the tendency for their music to be viewed as "New Age," which they feel devalues the tradition and importance of their work. Others, however, such as ex-Jefferson Starship guitarist Craig Chaquico, are perfectly content to be acknowledged as New Age artists. The trend towards disavowal of the New Age genre extends to record company executives as well. Will Ackerman, the founder of Windham Hill, was never comfortable with the label's "New Age" image and preferred terms like "Contemporary Impressionism" or "New Acoustic Music." Neither of these, apparently, were as catchy as "New Age" and the term, with all its cultural implications, stuck.

Towards the end of the 1990s, New Age music became a victim of its own cannibalization of other forms of music, to the extent that the term no longer had any relevance in contemporary culture. All the styles that had been co-opted by New Age music, and its marketers, had grown and progressed beyond that genre. The role that New Age music played in massage therapy offices, clinics, and in meditation was still being filled by the same type of music, but it was now called

any number of other names ranging from the aforementioned Celtic and Ambient to electroacoustic music. The term "New Age music" came to signify the aimlessness and blandness with which much of the music was identified.

—Dan Coffey

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New Age Spirituality

New Age spirituality blended ancient occult practices with a religious eclecticism made possible by the global village and the information age. California historian of religions Robert Ellwood described the movement as a "build-your-own-religion kit," where attractive ideas old and new come together in creative patterns designed by each individual. New Age unveiled a kaleidoscope of devotional exercises from East and West, alternative medicines from traditional societies and urban healing cults, psychotherapeutic techniques from the self-realization movement, science fiction fantasies, witchcraft, and earth worship.

While numerous practices of New Age spirituality claimed origins in antiquity, the end-of-century movement sprang from the youth revolutions of the 1960s. The alternative culture's experiments, particularly the use of mind altering drugs to attain higher states of awareness, gave character to the lifestyle and arts of even the broader culture. As the twentieth century was coming to an end, the customary *fin de siècle* mood was intensified by the awareness that the end of a millennium was also approaching. Even within the lives of the maturing flower children of the 1960s, enormous changes had taken place. Computers had become essential tools of work and personal management in what was often referred to as the third industrial revolution. Old fears of nuclear holocaust had been replaced by threats of global warming, the destruction of the ozone layer, and the claustrophobic crowding from overpopulation. Popular entertainment fed the apprehensions with its tales of microbes and meteorites attacking Earth. New Age spirituality addressed these fears.

The liberation movements of the last half of the twentieth century also had their impact on New Age spirituality. Feminism was attentive to a revival of goddess worship, Wicca cults, and gender

blending ceremonies. The shaman or witch doctor of traditional societies was sought out for his ancient wisdom. Aboriginal Australian and Native American religions were studied for what they could reveal about dream states and natural harmonies. While the white Anglo-Saxon ethos was denigrated, any practice or art form labeled “Celtic” was heralded. With the ease of travel and swiftness of communication that the twentieth century brought, the wise and mysterious East seemed suddenly accessible. New Agers were skeptical of Western religions but open to the ancient faiths of India, China, and Japan. Zen meditation, Taoist doctrines of Yin and Yang, Buddhist quietism and nonviolence, and Hindu beliefs in karma and reincarnation were freely adapted.

The high priest of New Age was the guru, the meditation master, and the healer. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, Indian born teacher of Transcendental meditation, attracted attention in the West in the 1960s, when the Beatles became his followers. Science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard was the guru of Scientology, though in his later years he became an elusive figure, traveling the seven seas in his private vessel and communicating only through his writings. New Age gurus included Philadelphia activist Ira Einhorn, widely known as the Unicorn, who operated a communication network financed by AT&T. He sought to save the world from destruction through love and the evolution of superior consciousness, even as he came to speak more and more about negative influences coming from the CIA, KGB, and UFOs. After the mummified body of his paramour was discovered in his closet, he fled to Europe to escape trial. A more benign guru, respected worldwide for his political courage and humanitarianism, was the Dalai Lama.

A flourishing market in books by New Age teachers emerged in the last decades of the century. In many bookstores the shelves devoted to New Age outnumbered those given over to established religion. Some of the most successful writers were Shakti Gawain, M. Scott Peck, Louise Hay, Clarissa Pinkola Estes, and, possibly the most celebrated of all, Deepak Chopra. Even the books of orthodox Christians such as C. S. Lewis and J. R. R. Tolkien were appropriated by the New Age, their fantasies taken much more literally than the two authors intended.

Ecological concern was a central focus of New Agers. The Earth deserved to be cherished; her rain forests and oceans were to be protected; animals were entitled to respect. Earth, perceived as a female force, remained the best mother, teacher, and healer; ecofeminist theology reached even established theological seminaries. Personified, even deified as Gaia, the Earth was attended with animistic ceremonies, affirming the spirits in all creatures. Healing from Earth’s natural herbs, crystals, and aromas was preferred to the ministrations of high tech medicine.

Monotheistic religions were linked in many minds with the despoiling of Earth, while devotion to a multiplicity of gods, it was believed, would reawaken forces that restore equilibrium. Even a venerable institution such as the Unitarian church, with its origins in New England Puritanism, found itself debating the admission of practicing pagans into its fellowship in the last decade of the century.

The New Age was an arts and crafts as well as a spiritual movement. Weaving, pottery, jewelry making, and quilting experienced revivals, along with traditional methods of preparing organically grown foods. Carpentry, a craft often associated with divinity in ancient times, was especially honored by the New Age. The artistic expression of even Western mysticism was welcome. Jewish Hasidic and Sufi dervish dances and chants intrigued New Agers. Gregorian chants by monks and electronic adaptations of the music of Abbess

Hildegard Von Bingen were commercially recorded and outsold the compact discs of Native American and Tibetan musicians.

Inevitably, the excesses of New Age spirituality sparked satire. The Reformed Druids of North America (RDNA) organized as a joke and soon had serious inquirers. The Hasidic Druids formed in 1976, also tongue in cheek. But New Age spirituality was a serious matter, delivering to its adherents the perpetual comforts and assurances of religion. It provided an outlet for those disenchanting with Christianity and Judaism but unready to accept the secular worldview. Moreover, its music, crafts, and the frequent joyfulness of the movement enriched the surrounding mainstream culture.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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New Deal

Initiated in 1933, just days after the inauguration of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), the New Deal encompassed a vast array of legislation designed to relieve the homelessness, unemployment, and failed economy of the Great Depression, to bring about recovery on America’s farms and industry, and to reform the economic and social problems which precipitated the depression. More than just an attempt to get the economy back on track, the New Deal also sought to reinvigorate American ideals, traditions, and expression through a series of cultural programs designed to elevate folk art and bring the elite arts to the masses. In doing so, the New Deal left a legacy of public art, literature, music, theater, and photography, while also influencing the popular media of radio and film.

Seeking to further aid in recovery in 1935, FDR established the Works Progress Administration (WPA, later called the Works Projects Administration). This vast and organizationally complex body sponsored the construction of roads, bridges, parks, sidewalks, airports, sewage systems, water systems, levies, and public buildings, such as post offices, schools, and hospitals. Like earlier relief efforts it was created to employ the unemployed, but in a departure from earlier relief employment programs, the WPA developed several projects designed to employ artists, writers, musicians, and actors. When asked why the government would concern itself with unemployed actors and artists, WPA administrator Harry Hopkins retorted: “Hell, they’ve got to eat just like other people.” The WPA arts projects grew out of a set of conditions unique to America of the 1930s. First and foremost, FDR believed that support of the arts by the government would not only employ starving artists but would help uplift the American spirit by creating beautiful art, plays, and music. Secondly, many artists (befitting their liberal, or even communistic tendencies) felt it was a public right to have access to good art, a “cultural right” as they put it. Thirdly, many in Roosevelt’s administration hoped their work would bring about “cultural democracy,” the logical sequel to

political and economic democracy. And finally, the depression had made Americans aware of their own uniqueness, even in the arts. Several of these projects were small and their accomplishments remain obscure, such as the WPA Dance Theater, with its accompanying Young Choreographers Laboratory, and the Composers Forum-Laboratory of the Federal Music Project. And while these various projects differed in direction and purpose, they all shared an overriding concern to discover America and define what is American.

To direct the Federal Art Project, Hopkins selected a museum curator, Holger Cahill. Cahill set out the project's objectives in an operating manual in which he argued that "through employment of creative artists, it is hoped to secure for the public outstanding examples of contemporary American art; through art teaching and recreational art activities to create a broader national art consciousness and work out constructive ways of using leisure time; through services in applied art to aid various campaigns of social value; and through research projects to clarify the native background in the arts." Cahill concluded that "the aim of the project will be toward an integration of the arts with the daily life of the community, and an integration of the fine arts and practical arts." To this end, approximately 9,000 artists and art teachers were employed by the art project, creating 2,566 murals and 17,744 sculptures for public schools, hospitals, libraries, and post offices. These murals, suggesting the works of great Mexican muralists such as Diego Rivera, followed the theme of hard working American men and women. They showed Americans at work and play utilizing native American art styles, some art deco, some copying regional artists such as Grant Wood and Thomas Hart Benton.

The result was 108,099 paintings and over 100 community art centers, many of which became permanent community fixtures. Another project, the Index of American Design, sought to catalogue and reproduce items illustrating a uniquely American style, such as weathervanes, decoys, ships' figureheads, cigar store Indians, and other regional and ethnic arts. By the mid-1960s it was estimated that the works created under this project were worth more than the project itself cost. Several artists who developed their talent in the arts project became famous later in their careers, such as Jackson Pollack and Willem de Kooning. For the most part, however, the products of the arts projects were not masterpieces, but rather locally unique arts and crafts projects, art classes for kids, and art appreciation lectures.

The director of the Federal Theater Project was Hallie Flanagan, from the Vassar College Experimental Theatre. She envisioned the creation of a vast new audience for the theater by sponsoring community theater groups. One way of creating this new audience was to write plays that were specifically of interest to its audience. The *Living Newspaper* became one attempt to mold theater to the documentary drama of everyday concerns by having actors recreate local events in a theater setting. The theater project also sponsored programs of everything from Shakespeare to modern farce, Gilbert and Sullivan, children's plays, and folk plays. The Federal Theater Project was perhaps the most controversial of the arts projects since many of the people involved were known to have radical and even communist sympathies. Secondly, the theater industry was centered in New York City and left many states outside of the project altogether—in total, 31 states saw the effects of the theater project. Roosevelt's adversaries in Congress used the radical tendency of the Theater Project as a way to attack the New Deal, and eventually they were able to shut down the project altogether in 1939, with arguments reminiscent of more recent battles over funding for the National Endowment for the Arts in the 1990s.

More utilitarian in its creations, the Federal Writers' Project employed over 10,000 people in various projects. Favoring non-fiction over poetry, novels, and short stories, the writers' project produced guides and pamphlets describing America. Under the direction of Henry Alsberg, a former editorial writer, the project produced the American Guide Series which generated guides for each state modeled after the European Baedeker guidebooks. The guides were composed of three parts: essays on a variety of subjects such as history, people, arts, economy, politics, and religions of each state; information on the state's cities; and motor tours of the state with descriptive information. The rationale for these guides was the desire to stimulate travel and tourism, encourage resources conservation by arousing local pride, and to broaden scholarly interests by making available more historical facts. In addition to the state guides there were regional and specific guides such as *The Berkshire Hills* and *U.S. Highway One: from Maine to Florida*. The Writers' Project also created the Life in America series with such volumes as *The Armenians in Massachusetts*, *The Hopi*, and *Who's Who in the Zoo*. Another project was a volume entitled *American Stuff*, which featured American short stories such as "Uncle Tom's Children" by Richard Wright. The Federal Writers' Project also concerned itself with the collection of folklore. Under the direction of America's two premier folklorists, John A. Lomax and Benjamin A. Botkin, the project recorded the stories of over 2,000 ex-slaves and collected stories of local customs and folklore.

While not a part of the WPA or any of the art projects, folk music collecting was also a concern of the government. Based out of the Library of Congress, the Archive of Folk Song (later renamed the Archive of Folk Culture), collected the songs of slaves, Appalachian mountain folk, cowboys, lumberjacks, sailors, and Dust Bowl migrant workers. Under the direction of John Lomax and his son Alan, the Archive of Folk Song "discovered" the music of Huddie Ledbetter, better known as Leadbelly, and Woody Guthrie, and recorded conversations with them and their songs. Two young folklorists, Charles Todd and Robert Sonkin, traveled to California to record the songs of the migrants in the Farm Security Administration camps.

Perhaps the most influential of the cultural projects of the New Deal was one which grew out of the Farm Security Administration (FSA). Headed by Roy Stryker, the photographic division of the FSA sought to document the living and working conditions of Americans during the Depression. Stryker was able to assemble the best photographers of the day into the photographic unit, including Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Ben Shahn, Russell Lee, Arthur Rothstein, and Margaret Bourke-White. Many of the photographers produced works of their own such as Margaret Bourke-White's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (with Erskine Caldwell), Dorothea Lange's *An American Exodus* (with Paul Taylor), and Walker Evans' *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men* (with James Agee). These photographers and their photographs publicized the plight of mainly rural people, from the Dust Bowl migrants to Southern tenant farmers and Cajuns in Acadiana.

The photo collection of the FSA also illustrates the main impulse behind the federally sponsored cultural activities of the New Deal: documentation. In all aspects of these various projects, New Deal reformers sought to document the lives of Americans in order to understand, and eventually change, their behavior. Utilizing the methods of social science, these reformers tried to both preserve and destroy regional, ethnic, occupational, and religious differences in the name of modernization and reform. Predominant in the works produced by these projects is the theme of rural life or work in the out of doors. Much of this is due to the idea that it was on the frontier of the

nineteenth century where Americans were most clearly American; or more precisely, the frontier created the American character. Writers as far back as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman felt that a uniquely American literature would have to come from areas where nature imposed itself on the everyday life of Americans. John and Alan Lomax felt they found an American art form in the songs of cowboys, lumberjacks, miners, and farmers, and photographers went to the rural areas of California, the South and the northern plains in search of the real America.

Yet for all of the cultural production that came out of the New Deal, most people's cultural activities were confined to listening to big bands play swing music on the radio or watching the newly developed sound films from Hollywood. Americans had discovered mass popular culture and in turn the mass culture industries of radio and motion pictures also discovered that they could benefit from mimicking the same themes of "searching for America" as the New Deal programs. Radio programs such as *America's Town Meeting of the Air*, and films such as *The Grapes of Wrath*, clearly exhibit the influences of government-sponsored art programs.

—Charles J. Shindo

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The New Kids on the Block

At the peak of their success, the New Kids on the Block became the most celebrated teenage pop musical act since Menudo and The Jackson Five. Modeled after these precursors, New Kids on the Block consisted of five young men from Boston who sported a squeaky clean image, and whose eclectic musical styles and slick dance routines borrowed heavily from black performance traditions. By 1989, the group was the most successful act of its kind in the United States, but their popularity seriously waned only two years later and the members disbanded in 1995 to pursue solo careers. New Kids on the Block still maintain a sizable fan base, and their long-lasting effect on popular music became evident in 1997 and 1998 when copycat groups like Hanson, The Backstreet Boys, N'Sync and 98½ Degrees ruled the pop charts.

The five young men who composed the group were all raised in Boston. Four of the five members, Donnie Wahlberg, Danny Knight,

and brothers Jonathan and Jordan Knight, grew up in the same neighborhood and attended elementary school together. The four friends became aware of each other's performing talents from talent shows and school chorus. By high school, Danny and Donny had even formed their own rap group, performing at local parties and events.

By 1985, the four young men had met producer Maurice Starr. A slightly off-the-wall but extremely gifted song composer, Starr, an African American, had already achieved success in the early 1980s by creating and producing the enormously popular black teen act, New Edition. New Edition had hit the charts with bubblegum pop tunes like "Candy Girl" and "Mr. Telephone Man." After this group's popularity waned by the mid-1980s, Starr walked away from his creation. The members of New Edition each went on to successful solo careers and the group eventually performed a reunion tour in 1995.

Vying for an even wider racial audience than the one he had generated for New Edition, Starr planned to promote New Kids on the Block as an all-white teen group modeled after earlier acts like The Osmonds. He signed the four friends from Boston and, for added effect, brought on board twelve-year old Joey McIntyre for his youthful tenor sound. The boys dressed in regular, non-descript styles, including tattered, ripped jeans, teased hairdos, and stylish hats. Sensing the potential to capitalize on an untapped adolescent and pre-adolescent female fan base, Columbia Records signed the group in January of 1986.

The group's first album, titled *New Kids on the Block*, spun off three singles that failed to ignite the charts. Apparently, the record company had promoted the group exclusively to black audiences. For its second album, Columbia focused on Maurice Starr's plan to promote the group to a larger, "Top 40" audience, more inclusive of whites. Even before the second album was released, the group tried to generate a supportive fan base by touring shopping malls and performing at local concert venues and telethons. In 1988, the group toured the country as the opening act for teenage star Tiffany, and in 1989 the group's second album, *Hangin' Tough*, was released. It went on to become a multi-platinum best-seller.

By 1990, the group was on a grueling touring schedule, traveling to seventy cities in five months. Songs like "The Right Stuff," "Please Don't Go Girl," and "I'll Be Loving You Forever" were firmly planted at the top of the charts. The group's success even spun off a cartoon series on ABC television. Although New Kids on the Block had secured a decidedly loyal teenybopper audience, the group was derided by many critics, especially because of its practice of lip-synching in live performance, and because of its attempts to promote itself as "street" in the style of black urban musical acts. Although its Christmas album *Merry Merry Christmas* helped sustain their already luminous success in 1990, its third release, *Step by Step* (1990), failed to generate the record sales of previous albums. A 1991 remix album, *No More Games*, similarly failed to gain radio airplay. Apparently, the female teen audience for New Kids on the Block had begun to mature, and other harder forms of music like gangsta rap were taking center stage, supplanting the formulaic quality of groups like The New Kids and Vanilla Ice.

In 1994, in order to bolster its waning street credibility, the quintet changed its name to the acronym NKOTB. After releasing a final album, *Face the Music*, to poor reviews, the group finally split up. Although its long-term impact on the popular music scene is not generally considered to have been significant, the blueprint of the group's success has become familiar: an entrepreneurial producer forms and manages a group of young white teenagers performing black musical and dance styles. This formula became a surefire



The New Kids on the Block: Jon Knight (bottom), (from left) Danny Wood, Joe McIntyre, Donnie Wahlberg, and Jordan Knight.

routine by the late 1990s, with hugely popular groups like The Backstreet Boys and N'Sync.

—Jason King

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New Left

A diverse international movement which sought to reformulate traditional left-wing politics in the 1960s, New Left activism culminated in the widespread upheavals of 1968, “the year of the barricades,” when political dissent erupted around the developed world against the backdrop of a major escalation of American activity in Vietnam, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert

Kennedy, and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The May 1968 demonstrations in France, which briefly united students and workers in a series of direct confrontations with French government authority, have acquired a near legendary status in popular historical assessments of the New Left. But it was the United States, largely because of the War in Vietnam and the struggle for black civil rights, which formed the epicenter of New Left politics throughout the decade.

Never a cohesive movement as such, the American New Left was a loose coalition of dissenting activist groups which was largely student-based, and was born out of the civil rights struggles of the early 1960s which had been led by SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee). The need for a new left-leaning politics seemed particularly acute in the United States, where a combination of the postwar economic boom, the threat of nuclear annihilation, and Stalin’s appropriation of Soviet politics, had convinced many that older models of Marxist class struggle were anachronistic. By the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 it had also become clear that moves to reform the Democratic Party into a mass left-liberal alliance had collapsed into wranglings over internal party procedures. The

year 1962 marked the emergence of a recognizably new left-wing agenda as a small cadre of student activists, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), convened at Port Huron, Michigan. If SNCC and southern civil rights provided the major catalyst for the 1960s movement, it was SDS and its initially northern, white middle-class student constituency which became the driving force behind the first generation of the New Left.

Directly influenced by the writings of 1950s intellectuals such as Paul Goodman and C. Wright Mills, SDS announced itself in the formative "Port Huron Statement" of 1962, a document which developed the political and intellectual precepts of Mills' "Letter to the New Left" (1960) into a broad and influential statement about the "values" and "goals" which would come to shape the early years of the movement. The statement's author, Tom Hayden, may have preserved some of the language of radical Marxism (not least in his emphasis upon the "alienation" of life lived in the advanced capitalist West), but the document as a whole distanced itself decisively from any analysis grounded exclusively in economics or the politics of class, a kind of analysis which Mills had denounced as "the labor metaphysic." Announcing proudly that SDS would have "no sure formulas, no closed theories," the "Port Huron Statement" stressed what would become a characteristic openness of the New Left to a diverse platform of oppositional politics extending well beyond class struggle.

Hayden's thinking about alienation, and New Left thinking in general, owed more to the influence of Sartre and Camus than it did to orthodox Marxism. The antidote offered was a politics based on "participatory democracy," an activism which sought personal fulfillment through civic participation. As an activist strategy, "participatory democracy" was most notably espoused in the ERAP (Economic Research and Action Project) of 1963-65, which sent students into the black ghettos and working class neighborhoods of nine northern cities, including Chicago, Newark, and Cleveland, and in the Northern Student Movement, which conducted literacy programs and assisted in the Harlem rent strikes of 1964-65. SDS was also instrumental in organizing a number of mass demonstrations, notably the first major protest against the Vietnam War, the April 1965 March on Washington, an event which in certain respects was to prove a watershed for New Left politics. American intervention in Vietnam had escalated dramatically in 1964, and when the United States introduced ground troops in late 1965 the ranks of SDS swelled with new members. SDS membership rose from around 1,000 in 1964 to around 4,300 in 1965, and to around 100,000 by 1969. There were also the countless thousands of non-members who participated in direct action and demonstrations across the country. In the days immediately following President Nixon's announcement of the invasion of Cambodia in 1970, more than 400 campuses were disrupted, most notoriously at Kent State University, where the National Guard killed four students, and at Jackson State in Mississippi, where two more students died.

As the stakes rose the climate became more militant, and the recruitment of so many to the campaign against the war increased the variety of dissenting positions accommodated within the New Left. Sooner or later it was inevitable that political discord would erupt within the ranks of SDS itself. When the organization was infiltrated by the Maoist PL (Progressive Labor party) in 1967, SDS was forced into a sharper definition of its own political agenda than the "Port Huron Statement" had ever intended should be the case—SDS had always been strong on what the statement called "values," but relatively short on what it termed "goals," or on practical steps which

might be taken to realize those goals. Holding together so diverse a movement with so unsystematic a political program proved impossible. By the end of the decade, with a Republican once more in the White House and the War still on, SDS had split into a number of competing factions, each with a different agenda, whilst others had drifted back toward the Democratic Party. New Left activism played an important part in bringing the conflict in Vietnam to a halt. But when the war ended in 1973, the one common cause which had bound so pluralist a "movement" together had vanished. Having drifted so far from Marxist orthodoxy, most of the movement lacked the economic analysis which might have turned the Oil Crisis of 1973 to its advantage, and the New Left soon subsided with the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam.

The existential flavor of early New Left thinking lent the movement a commitment to individual liberation which calls into question its "newness" as such. The specific relation between individual and society stressed in "participatory democracy" can be traced in a number of American political and intellectual traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and as 1960s activist Stanley Aronowitz has put it, the "Port Huron Statement" was "remarkable for its continuity with traditional American ideas of popular self-government, egalitarian ethics, and social justice." Traditional or not, a further consequence of these commitments was the rise of a countercultural wing of the "movement" (including the hippies, and from 1967/1968 the Yippies), which would increasingly represent the face of the New Left in the second half of the decade.

—David Holloway

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New Look

"The New Look is simply the feminine body which French designers beginning with Poiret have misrepresented," commented acclaimed designer Christian Dior. The international public sensation which greeted the New Look took place in the context of post-World War II European austerity. Dior launched his fashion house in 1947 with a spring collection that re-introduced exaggerated and extravagant femininity into a culture of utility. *Life* magazine is generally credited with christening the New Look and reported "shapely skirts, flowing to mid-calf with a myriad of hand pressed pleats [which]

brought sculpture back into fashion, moulding drapery around the figure and highlighting the body's natural curves." Although it had established itself by the 1950s, the style was originally controversial. The fashion world applauded the bold new design, but there was also dissent from women who felt this femininity was impractical for the work place. Furthermore, such full skirts required lengths of fabric publicly denied during the war and were viewed as wasteful in the immediate postwar period of rationing and reconstruction.

—Nickianne Moody

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New Orleans Rhythm and Blues

New Orleans is identified most vividly in the public mind with jazz, but its rhythm and blues tradition is no less distinctive, and has resulted in a unique and important body of work.

As rhythm and blues began to develop in the 1940s as a distinct American musical form, New Orleans musicians were listening to the records of musicians like Louis Jordan, but putting them into their own contexts. The style flowered in the rock 'n' roll era of the 1950s and into the soul era of the 1960s. The city's music scene then went through a period of commercial stagnation, overlooked for most of the 1970s, but skillful local promotion and the continuing vitality of New Orleans musicians restored it to prominence, if not to the top of the charts, by the end of the twentieth century.

By the 1940s, New Orleans had long since been passed by as a jazz center, but music was still a powerful force, especially in the black community. The jazz-flavored street bands were still a tradition, and they created the New Orleans phenomenon of the "second line," a disorganized but rhythmically dynamic group of dancers that would follow the bands.

The New Orleans style is piano-based, blues-oriented music. The music's emphasis on the piano can be linked to the influence of jazz pioneers in the 1920s like Jelly Roll Morton, who had been one of the first piano "professors"—originally a term used to describe conservatory-trained piano players, but used in jazz to describe any piano virtuoso. The style is marked by its "lazy" feel that comes from rhythms played slightly behind the beat to give the music a "sway." No matter what the subject of the song, the music conveys an easy, pleasant mood. Lyrics can be sung in a bluesy tradition or a raucous gospel shout, but the singing is softened by a contrastingly smooth backdrop of horn lines. The New Orleans style, like jazz, also incorporates Latin and Caribbean rhythmic influences which did not affect other blues traditions (all true jazz has a Latin tinge, according to Morton). Three figures dominated, and set the tone for, New Orleans rhythm and blues in the 1940s: Professor Longhair (Henry Roeland Byrd), Fats Domino, and Dave Bartholomew.

Longhair, born in 1918, became the godfather of rhythm and blues in New Orleans. His piano style was built on a mixture of boogie-woogie, New Orleans "second line," and Caribbean rhythms,

chiefly rumba and calypso. His loose, rolling beat has never been successfully imitated, but it is almost universally agreed to be the most profound influence on the New Orleans sound. Longhair was signed by Atlantic Records in 1950, but his style was too idiosyncratic to produce major national hits, although his songs like "Mardi Gras in New Orleans" and "Tipitina" have gone on to become classics. Longhair continued to perform in and around New Orleans, but was forced to give up music by the 1960s.

Bartholomew, born in 1920, was a trumpet player, bandleader, and producer who turned the New Orleans brass band sound into funky rhythm and blues. Bartholomew's band, which included master instrumentalists like Lee Allen, Herbert Hardesty, Alvin "Red" Tyler, Earl Palmer, and Frank Fields, provided the musical basis for the most popular R&B and rock 'n' roll of the 1940s and 1950s.

Domino, born in 1928, was the first big R&B star to come out of New Orleans. Influenced by the popular R&B sounds of Louis Jordan and by the country lilt of western swing, Domino was signed by the Los Angeles independent record label Imperial in 1949. His first record, "The Fat Man" (a reworking of blues great Champion Jack Dupree's "Junker's Blues") was a rhythm and blues hit, and by the mid-1950s, Domino was a rock 'n' roll superstar with hits like "Ain't That a Shame" and "Blueberry Hill." Domino brought national attention to New Orleans as a source for the emerging rock 'n' roll sound.

While Imperial also signed Roy Brown ("Good Rockin' Tonight") and Smiley Lewis ("I Hear You Knockin'"), another Los Angeles label, Specialty, came to New Orleans looking for talent. Specialty found Little Richard, who would electrify rock 'n' roll like no other performer, and others including Lloyd Price ("Lawdy Miss Clawdy," "Stagger Lee"). A vocal group, Shirley and Lee, brought sinuous New Orleans rhythms to doo-wop. Their "Let the Good Times Roll" became an anthem not only of the city, but of rock 'n' roll. So did "Rockin' Pneumonia and Boogie Woogie Flu," by Huey "Piano" Smith and the Clowns.

If Bartholomew was the master producer of the rock 'n' roll era, Allan Toussaint became the shaper of the soul sound of the 1960s. Toussaint, born in 1938, began his career playing piano on a Shirley and Lee road tour, then became part of Dave Bartholomew's studio group. His producing talent became evident when he was called in to supervise a hopelessly disorganized recording session, and came out of it with Lee Allen's national hit instrumental, "Walkin' With Mr. Lee." Toussaint's studio perfectionism, combined with his New Orleans honky tonk training, were behind the early 1960s hits that moved the sound from rough-and-ready 1950s R&B to funky but sophisticated 1960s soul: Ernie K-Doe's "Mother In Law," Jessie Hill's "Oo Poo Pa Doo," and Chris Kenner's "I Like It Like That." His masterpieces, though, came with one of the two greatest New Orleans soul singers: "It's Raining" and "I Done Got Over" by Irma Thomas. Thomas's voice was every bit the equal of her more famous contemporaries, Aretha Franklin and Gladys Knight, though she never achieved their fame; what might have been her breakout hit, "Time Is On My Side," was covered by the Rolling Stones, just as white American singers of the 1950s had stolen hits from the great early black rock 'n' rollers.

The last great New Orleans soul hit of the 1960s was "Tell It Like It Is," a breakout national hit in 1966 for Aaron Neville, the other great soul voice. By that time, however, the British Invasion was eroding the popularity of the New Orleans sound. Many soul greats, including Irma Thomas, lost careers to the British Invasion. The

domination of American music by British acts spelled the demise of many independent soul labels. By 1969, the recording scene in New Orleans was essentially over. Aaron Neville was working as a stevedore on the docks, Irma Thomas was a sales clerk at Montgomery Ward in Oakland, California, and most local musicians had left town.

Throughout the 1970s, New Orleans was almost a musical ghost town. But the seeds of revival were beginning. In 1970, the first New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival attracted an audience of only a few hundred. But its producers plucked Professor Longhair out of obscurity, and began the revival of his reputation. He continued to play and record to increasing critical acclaim and cult stardom until his death in 1980.

In 1976, George “Big Chief Jolley” Landry, a New Orleans folk legend for his leadership of the Wild Tchoupitoulas, a “Mardi Gras Indian” unit, recruited his nephews, Aaron, Charles, Art, and Cyril Neville, for a recording of the Caribbean-flavored rhythm and blues which was the hallmark of the black Mardi Gras sound. The brothers, all New Orleans musical veterans, were to become the internationally famous torchbearers for the revival of New Orleans R&B, as was Mac “Dr. John” Rebennack. With the growing popularity of Jazzfest (by the 1990s attendance for the six-day festival was measured in the hundreds of thousands) and the regained popularity of music tourism in New Orleans, the city had established world dominance as a center for archival rhythm and blues.

—Tad Richards

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New Republic

Heir to a long tradition in American magazines, the *New Republic* was born as a journal of “the collective opinion of the editors, mainly on the political, economic, and social problems” in 1914, even though those opinions were considered largely liberal and occasionally radical. The first editor, Herbert Croly, was a progressive reformer who used the *New Republic* to arouse in his readers “little insurrections.” The successes of the 1930s New Deal and the rise of communism induced his successors to adopt a more pragmatic political philosophy, but the magazine remained left of center. The conservatism of the 1950s, along with an acute financial problem, pulled the magazine from its pure philosophizing to criticism of the arts, books, and mass. However, its ultimate circulation success was grounded in aggressive national political journalism. From covering Watergate through the well tempered reports of John Osborne, the *New Republic* drifted to the center in the last two decades of the century under the editorship of Martin Peretz, much to the dismay of its traditional liberal readers. During most of the magazine’s history,

its “T.R.B.” column has been one of the most popular forecasters of the shifting political winds in the nation’s capitol.

Magazines have always been made for cultural minorities, especially the well educated and politically involved. The *North American Review* was the most influential intellectual journal for much of the nineteenth century, but it was pressed by newer productions such as *Harper’s*, *Scribner’s*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *The Nation* after the Civil War. The latter was founded by Irish journalist E. L. Godkin in 1865 and quickly became the country’s leading liberal weekly for its support of labor, African-American rights, and other liberal causes. The heady years of the early twentieth century produced a number of challengers to the *Nation*, including the socialist *Masses*, but the *New Republic* was the most endearing and successful.

Herbert Croly launched the weekly *New Republic* on November 7, 1914, as a “journal of opinion to meet the challenge of the new time.” A political philosopher who had edited *Architectural Digest*, Croly received encouragement and financial support from Willard D. and Dorothy Straight, who in turn had discovered Croly, as did many other liberals, through his 1909 *The Promise of American Life*, a book which argued that traditional economic individualism was no longer possible in the industrialized early twentieth-century United States. Joining Croly on the *New Republic’s* first editorial board were Walter Weyl, a prominent economist, and the brilliant Walter Lippmann, a scholar and author who would become the first nationally syndicated political columnist a decade later. The board featured other learned and articulate voices, but Croly predominated in their decisions through his position as editor and his sense of fair play. The Straights’ support for the *New Republic* was so strong that H. L. Mencken once referred to the editors as “kept idealists.”

The *New Republic* was decidedly intellectual and elitist. Croly explained his purpose was “less to inform and entertain readers than to start little insurrections in the realm of their convictions,” and he marketed the magazine for a group of readers roughly equivalent to W. E. B. Du Bois’s “Talented Tenth.” Under Croly, the magazine opposed monopolies, entry into World War I, and fascism and favored child labor laws and other workers’ reforms, civil liberties, and liberal third party movements. Circulation climbed from 875 for the first issue to 43,000 during the height of World War I, but settled in the range of 25,000 up to World War II. Willard D. Straight died in 1918, but his wife kept supporting the magazine’s cost overruns for the rest of her life. Croly died in 1930 and was replaced by Bruce Bliven, who remained as an influence on the publication until his death in 1952. In 1926, a new column, “T.R.B.,” first appeared, written by Frank Kent of the *Baltimore Sun*. The column’s political gossip and commentary came to be coveted by readers in part because it was written anonymously and it was used by politicians to test the popularity of new ideas. The title and pseudonym were adopted by subsequent writers and remained one of the best read features of the magazine.

The magazine survived the Great Depression, even though its circulation dropped to an all-time low of 10,000 in 1929. It faced an unprecedented financial challenge in 1953 when support from a trust fund set up by Willard and Dorothy Straight finally ended. The magazine attracted some advertising but could only boast of a paid circulation of 30,000 or less, which was not enough to support itself. It had first published original poetry in 1915, but turned to cartoons and serious criticism of literature and music as both it and the *Nation* struggled to survive in the 1950s political atmosphere. The *New Republic’s* circulation corner was not turned until it began featuring political journalism, however, “from shaping events to commenting

upon them'' as magazine historian Theodore Peterson explained. The circulation climbed to over 100,000 in the 1960s.

The *New Republic* continued to champion political idealism in the 1950s and promoted the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. It actively supported the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and began criticizing Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policies as early as 1965, especially for their detrimental effect on American liberalism. The magazine's John Osborne provided a humane portrait of Richard Nixon, counting himself as one of Nixon's "silent majority" at one point, in the 1970s. Ironically, Osborne's investigative reporting of Watergate helped bring about Nixon's resignation as president in 1975. The magazine abandoned Jimmy Carter and the Democratic party in 1980, supporting Congressman John Anderson's third party presidential candidacy, as it had backed earlier third party bids by Theodore Roosevelt, Robert La Follette, and Henry Wallace.

The *New Republic* found a renewed sense of leadership in Martin Peretz, a former Harvard University intellectual who with his wife bought the magazine in 1974. Peretz engineered what he termed a "politically balanced," pragmatic liberalism for the magazine, disillusioning many of its traditional readers. "The editors of *Nation* still thrill to the word revolution," Peretz commented in 1992, "and we don't. I don't mean to sound churlish, but I think that's the big difference." Peretz regained some credibility with liberals when he fired a new editor for being an "obsessive right winger" in 1997, but was criticized for his unfettered support of Vice President Al Gore, a former Harvard student, as the 2000 presidential campaign neared. The *New Republic* and the *Nation* were deadlocked in paid circulation at the turn of the century, both around 100,000, while their conservative rival, *The National Review*, had a circulation exceeding 150,000.

—Richard Digby-Junger

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New Wave Music

If one were to produce a soundtrack album of the 1980s, most of the tracks would probably be labeled "new wave." Much of what passed for new wave fit well with the overall cultural and political milieu of the 1980s. New wave was the type of music most popular among fans of MTV during its early years and musicians specializing in new wave are best remembered for their angular haircuts, brightly colored costumes, and heavy reliance on synthesizers. Moreover, new wave is the music of 1980s brat pack genre films, like *The Breakfast Club* (1985), *Valley Girl* (1983), and *Sixteen Candles* (1984).

Defining which artist or which song fits into a genre is always a difficult proposition, but new wave presents a particular challenge because of the multiple definitions and the music industry's response to new wave. Bands with a variety of sounds and visual styles have been lumped together under the general umbrella offered by new wave. Consider, for example, that both the rockabilly band The Stray Cats and the futuristic technogeek band Devo are both considered new wave. Part of the problem stems from the fact that punk rock, which was the "first wave," was very easily hybridized with other forms of music (reggae, rockabilly, disco, eurodisco) to produce many "second" or "new wave" varieties and styles. Complicating matters was the tendency of record companies during the post-disco recession to label virtually every newly signed act on their roster without long hair "new wave," regardless of their sound. Finally, the faddishness of new wave prompted many acts and their fans to rebel against the catch-all genre distinction. Dozens of genre names were invented to better segregate new wave acts, most of them also quickly becoming blurred. Alternative, post-punk, progressive, synth pop, power pop, alternarock, and eurobeat count among the names substituted for "new wave" and its various sub-genres.

The term new wave was first applied to acts that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Though their music may have had little in common, artists from Britain, the United States, and continental Europe were all tagged as new wave. On the continent, German groups, particularly Kraftwerk, were slowly forging a new style of music that was heavily reliant upon synthesizers. The danceable forms of European synthesizer music, along with the Philadelphia-sounds of Gamble and Huff, laid the twin foundations for disco in the 1980s. In England, rock music musicians and fans, fed up with the excesses of bands like hard rock Led Zeppelin and art rock bands like Pink Floyd, turned to simpler forms of rock 'n' roll. These bands have occasionally been referred to as "pub rock" bands. Counting among the most popular of this group of new wavers were Elvis Costello, Nick Lowe, and Dave Edmunds. Costello was signed by Columbia Records and became the first of the new wavers to make a significant chart impact in 1978.

In the United States, there was a similar backlash against the excesses of mainstream rock 'n' roll. In Manhattan, inspired by Lou Reed and the Velvet Underground, suburbanite Jonathan Richman founded the Modern Lovers. From the suburbs of Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, similar music began to emerge from other youths who had grown tired of the overblown nature of arena-rock. Pere Ubu and later Devo established a second new wave hearth in the industrial Midwest.

Sonically, the music of each of these new wave movements shared little, except that it could be played by those without great skill or extensive musical training. It was rock 'n' roll played by enthusiastic amateurs and produced by tiny record companies, often owned by

friends or by the band. As such, new wave music shared much of the “indie” ethos that propelled punk rock forward, but it was never committed to any particular political movement. New wave was not dangerous or anarchic; it was danceable, romantic, and fun.

When punk rock became popular in London in the mid-1970s it gave a new impetus to new wave music. Punk was too dangerous for most fans in Britain, and far too much for most Americans. But the visual style and spirit of punk was infectious and the democratization of punk rock generated thousands of new bands. Many of the bands established in the immediate aftermath of punk that did not share punk’s belligerence were labeled new wave. New wave bands found some favor among record companies, who recognized the potential market for bare bones rock music but feared the public relations disaster that might accompany “the next Sex Pistols.”

In England, the leading edge of post-punk, new wave was led by bands that borrowed the indie ethos, the musical simplicity, and some of the visual elements of punk rock with the sonic characteristics of other established genres of music. Perhaps the first of these hybrids to emerge was the reggae/punk of bands like The Clash and The Police. Other hybrids were forged that wedded punk to Beat revivalism, 1950s-style R&B, and rockabilly. The Pretenders, which featured Akron, Ohio-born singer Chrissie Hynde, was one of the more notable no-frills rock acts to be classified as new wave.

In the United States, where punk had less impact, there was not the explosion of do-it-yourself garage rock and indie record labels as there was in Great Britain in the late 1970s. In America, disco and arena rock continued to dominate the charts throughout much of the later 1970s. So when the market for disco collapsed in late 1978, there was little “in the pipeline” for record companies to fill the void. Many of the punk and new wave acts that were established on the East Coast and in the Midwest had disbanded during the disco era. The few surviving punk/new wave acts came to the fore and sparked American interest in this “new” genre. Out of the New York’s CBGB’s club scene came Blondie. Fronted by sexy lead singer Deborah Harry, Blondie was far more flexible politically than their punk brethren. Their flexibility permitted them to crossover into the pop and disco markets in 1979, the breakout year for new wave. That year, The Cars and The Talking Heads, both with ties to the New York punk scene, also entered the charts. Los Angeles’s beat revival act, The Knack, also made a big splash on the charts in 1979 with their hit single, “My Sharona.”

Gary Numan’s 1980 album *The Pleasure Principle* marked the arrival of British new wave on the North American pop charts. Numan’s synthesized dance music set down a template that would come to characterize one broad subgenre within new wave. The heavy reliance on synthesizers and the stark minimalism of Numan suggested influences ranging from Kraftwerk to Brian Eno to Mike Oldfield. Numan’s breakout album not only produced an eminently danceable cut, “In Cars,” but popularized synthesizer-produced dance music, which became known in some circles as “synthpop.” Some of the more notable synthpop acts following Numan onto the American charts include Ultravox, Orchestral Manoevers in the Dark, Depeche Mode, Human League, Howard Jones, A-ha, New Order, Soft Cell, and The Pet Shop Boys.

Numan’s rejection of arena rock musical traditions extended to his stage persona as well and many new wavers followed suit. These followers adopted Numan’s robotic, technological, futuristic persona, which echoed David Bowie’s Ziggy Stardust character. Gone was the ultra-macho hard rock poseur, and in its place was a character without definable gender characteristics, metallic and emotionally detached

from his audience. The futuristic motif was carried to extremes by bands like Devo and Flock of Seagulls, and contributed substantially to notions of fashion during the early 1980s. The stage persona of synthpop, with its cool detachment, also set it quite apart from punk music, whose purveyors were interested in destroying the boundary between audience and performer. U.S. audiences were only too happy to preserve the critical distance between themselves and their pop music gods.

New wave’s impact was increased significantly by the arrival of MTV into the mainstream during the early 1980s. Because many of the indie label new wave acts from Britain recognized the value of music videos early, they were better prepared to take advantage of the new medium than many American acts. The striking visual appeal of British new wave won over legions of MTV viewers to the genre. Music critics were quick to condemn many of these MTV bands on the grounds of their shallow musicality. Culture Club, featuring the outrageously androgynous Boy George, perhaps better than any act, utilized music videos to augment suspect musical talent. Other groups, particularly Duran Duran, who preferred the label “New Romantic” to new wave, were regularly accused of maintaining their popularity through videos. Despite the criticisms, fans loved new wave’s quirky fashion sense and the danceability of most of the hit songs produced during this time. The heavy emphasis on visual style, combined with their lack of musical depth, doomed the long-term careers of most of the MTV new wave bands. Though there were a number of one-hit-wonders during the first half of the 1980s, it stands nonetheless as one of the most democratic periods in the history of popular music. The clever use of MTV allowed many new wave bands, even those on the tiniest of labels and with the smallest of budgets, to upstage major label acts with massive marketing campaigns.

New wave as a cultural movement has been criticized and praised for its lack of an overt political stance. Compared to the musical politics of the late 1960s and of punk, new wave does seem to lack a political conscious. With few exceptions (U2, R.E.M., and The Clash stand out) new wave offered little rebuttal to the policies of Reaganism and Thatcherism. Many new wave acts were clean shaven, wore their hair short, and even wore ties and jackets. In addition, the more outlandish new wave acts, such as Culture Club, failed to be viewed as a serious threat to the status quo. Instead they were largely understood as campy but harmless self-parodic personas constructed to appeal to the MTV audience. For many, new wave was a hopelessly white, middle class, and safe. On the other hand, new wave acts did push the envelope of acceptability on several fronts. Certainly, the sexual ambiguity and overt homosexuality of many of the acts stand were unheard of in previous popular music. New wave’s indie label orientation also made many acts exempt from charges of co-optation by the corporate entertainment industry. Some new wave acts, particularly R.E.M., carried this “indie label ethos” to extremes, rejecting far more lucrative careers on major labels for many years.

While the MTV brand of new wave was a fleeting moment in popular music, the legacy of new wave itself is impressive. The synthesizer-heavy dance sounds of the English and European new wave influenced the development of many of the popular dance genres of the 1990s, including the Chicago-based “house” music, Detroit’s “techno,” and Europe’s various incarnations of “Eurodisco.” Latter day new wave acts, particularly R.E.M. and Hüsker Dü, have had a lasting impact on the musical climate in the United States. The indie rock ethos demonstrated by these acts proved a crucial component of the alternative or college rock era that bloomed during the later 1980s, which in turn gave way to the so-called “grunge” rock sound

that emerged in Seattle in the early 1990s and the splintering of the music market in the later 1990s.

—Steve Graves

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New York

See Big Apple, The

The New York Knickerbockers

New York's professional basketball team, known popularly as the Knicks, has been a vital part of the city's sports landscape since 1946. Winners of two NBA titles, the Knicks are one of basketball's best-known and most prestigious franchises.

An original member of the Basketball Association of America—forerunner of the NBA—the club played its first game in Canada against the Toronto Huskies on November 1, 1946. The first home game took place ten days later at Manhattan's Madison Square Garden. In those early years the Knicks fielded a team of mostly white Jewish and Catholic players, drawn from the city's public university system. That began to change in 1950 with the signing of Nat "Sweetwater" Clifton, one of the first black players in the NBA. The team enjoyed only mixed success through its first two decades, consistently making the playoffs but failing to capture even one world championship.

Knick fortunes took a turn for the better in 1968, when Red Holzman took over as head coach. The no-nonsense Holzman preached a philosophy of aggressive defense, fluid passing, and team-first self-abnegation. This approach would have produced results even with mediocre players, but Holzman was blessed with some of the great performers of his era. Center Willis Reed, guard Walt "Clyde" Frazier, and forwards Dave DeBusschere and Bill Bradley were all destined for the Hall of Fame. Together they led the team to a world

championship in 1970. The crowning moment came in the seventh game of the finals, when an injured Reed limped onto the court to the delight of the Madison Square Garden faithful.

Few teams have captured the imagination of the city in which they played quite like the Knicks of this period. The cerebral Bradley, a one-time Princeton stand-out who went by the somewhat unbecoming appellation "Dollar Bill," helped bring an intellectual patina to the pro game that appealed to the city's *New York Times*-reading cognoscenti. He would later cement his reputation as the world's smartest jock by being elected U.S. Senator from the state of New Jersey, where he served for eighteen years. By contrast, the high-living Frazier was the walking apotheosis of the sports star as man-about-town. With his luxurious afro, feathered hat, and long leather coat, "Clyde" was the embodiment of uptown cool. Like Joe Namath before him, he brought a style and sex appeal to his team that attracted the attention of many nonsports fans.

For the next several seasons, the Knicks remained one of the NBA's elite teams. The addition of sharpshooting guard Earl "the Pearl" Monroe in 1971 gave the squad an explosive backcourt complement to Frazier. Finalists in 1972, the New Yorkers won the NBA crown for the second time in 1973. Then the inevitable slide into dormancy began. The popular Frazier was traded to the Cleveland Cavaliers in 1977, and the team's other great players retired. Seeing the writing on the wall, Red Holzman himself gave up the coaching reins, signaling the end of an era in New York basketball.

A new era finally dawned in 1985, when now-general manager Dave DeBusschere drafted Patrick Ewing of Georgetown University to be the team's new franchise player. A towering, physically gifted center, Ewing battled injuries in his first few seasons but finally blossomed under head coach Rick Pitino, who stressed an up-tempo, pressing attack. The Knicks regularly made the playoffs, but the championship continued to elude them. When Pitino left to coach the University of Kentucky in 1990, the organization began to drift again. Only the hiring of former Los Angeles Laker coach Pat Riley in 1991 returned the club to marquee status.

The fiery, dictatorial Riley, recognized as much for his impeccably moussed coiffure as his coaching prowess, harnessed the mercurial talents of such temperamental players as Patrick Ewing, Anthony Mason, a former Turkish league cast-off, and John Starks, a super-market grocery bagger. Playing a suffocating brand of defense, the team made the Eastern Conference finals in 1993, and the NBA Finals the following year. There they fell by turns to the Chicago Bulls and I'm Walkthe Houston Rockets, establishing a precedent for falling short in the big games that was to infuriate the team's fans throughout the decade.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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The New York Mets

New York's National League baseball franchise, the New York Mets, rose from the ashes of two teams which departed for California

in the 1950s. Attired in blue and orange—colors borrowed from the Dodgers and Giants, respectively—the club began play in 1962 at the Polo Grounds in Manhattan. A new home in Queens, Shea Stadium, opened two years later. In contrast to the corporate-run Yankees, the Mets positioned themselves as scrappy, lovable underdogs, and their Keystone Kops style of play was excused as endearing ineptitude. When the team won its first world championship, improbably, in 1969, the “Miracle Mets” took blue-collar New York by storm. The stars of that era, particularly pitchers Tom Seaver and Tug McGraw, became folk heroes. The club fell on hard times in the late 1970s, but returned to baseball’s pinnacle in 1986 on the backs of a new generation of stars led by Dwight Gooden and Darryl Strawberry.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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The New York Times

Few family institutions have endured for more than a century and maintained themselves at as high a level of quality as has the *New York Times*. While other newspapers were wallowing in the muck of the day’s news in order to gain an audience, the *Times* was establishing high standards for journalism and creating for itself an audience of movers and shakers in governments all over the globe. If people wanted to know what their leaders were thinking, they turned to the *New York Times*.

When Adolph Ochs purchased the *New-York Daily Times* (as it was originally named when founded in 1851) on August 13, 1896, he promised to produce a newspaper without fear or favor, a newspaper of record, one that published, as the motto on page one has said since February 10, 1897, “All the News That’s Fit to Print.” So while the *Times* leads all newspapers with more than sixty-five Pulitzer prizes, it entered the 21st century still owned by the descendants of Adolph Ochs, which is one of the reasons it has maintained itself so well. The *Times* won its first Pulitzer prize in 1918 for public service. The Pulitzer records say that the *Times* won the award “for its public service in publishing in full so many official reports, documents and speeches by European statesmen relating to the progress and conduct of the war.” Fifty-four years later the *Times* would win another Pulitzer prize for publishing, in effect, official reports and documents relating to a war, but that Pulitzer would be for the publication of the “Pentagon Papers” and the *Times* had to go to the Supreme Court to maintain its right to publish.

The early *New York Times* avoided the yellow journalism of its day and invested heavily not just in reporting on the federal government, but also on international news. It was so thorough, such a paper of record, that one Department of Army official reportedly said that the *Times* was “too big to read, too important not to.” And a former U.S. Navy radioman recalls delivering the daily secret intelligence report and having one officer always say: “Ah, the front page of the *New York Times*.” The *Times*, for example, carried a story in 1961 that the United States was planning to invade Cuba. Much to the dismay of reporters and editors, the publisher at the time ordered that

the story be toned down so as not to give away government secrets. The story was toned down, the invasion was a failure, and President John Kennedy later said he wished the *Times* had published the entire story so he might have canceled the invasion and avoided embarrassment. Although it was not the last time that the *Times* took its cue from Washington, it did signal a shift in how the newspaper responded to government pressure.

The paper’s big break was the publication of the “Pentagon Papers,” but there were indications of the increasing depth of the *Times*’ reporting before that. One such signal came in 1966 when a *Times* reporter, Harrison Salisbury, who had won a Pulitzer prize in 1955 for his reporting on the Soviet Union, managed to report on the Vietnam War from behind the North Vietnamese lines. Salisbury reported, among other things, that U.S. bombs were hitting civilian targets, which until then had not been made clear by the U.S. government. Until then, most Americans had been led to believe that military targets were bearing the brunt of U.S. bombs.

The “Pentagon Papers” were another matter, and when the *Times* began publishing a series on the papers in 1971, few realized what a tremendous step it was for the paper as well as for the practice of journalism. A government-sponsored secret account of the Vietnam War, the papers showed that many of the war’s public supporters had private doubts about the involvement of U.S. troops. And while the papers showed the administration of President Lyndon Johnson in a bad light, the incumbent president, Richard Nixon, paranoid as he was about leaks in his own administration, ordered the Justice Department to seek an injunction keeping the *Times* from publishing more of the “Pentagon Papers.” Thus, for the first time in the history of the Republic did agents of the federal government attempt prior restraint, which constitutionally they are not allowed to do. The *Times*, joined by the *Washington Post*, needed to go to the Supreme Court to preserve the right to publish without censorship.

While winning the right to publish the “Pentagon Papers” was a historic legal victory, the *Times* has won other legal decisions that have strengthened the practice of journalism. Prominent among those was a case that became known as *Times vs. Sullivan*, also played out in the Supreme Court. This case was triggered when the *Times* published an advertisement that contained fourteen factual errors about public officials and police in Montgomery, Alabama. The *Times* lost the case in Alabama state court and appealed to the Supreme Court, which ruled that because the people mentioned in the advertisement were public officials, they would have to prove that the advertisement was published with a reckless disregard for the truth or with knowledge that it contained false statements. By establishing such a high standard for defamation of public officials, the court strengthened the atmosphere for robust debate on public matters necessary to democratic self-government. Thus the *Times*, because it forced the issue to the Supreme Court, helped establish a federal defamation standard, which created consistent ground rules for publications, particularly those that are distributed in thousands of different jurisdictions.

Not all of the gravitas of the *Times* comes in the news sections. The *Times* established, for example, a book review section that eventually became a Sunday magazine. During World War II, a list of best sellers was added. In the 1980s, one author, feeling slighted because his novel was not listed when he felt it should have been, sued the *Times* for \$3 million, but lost in state court and could not get the decision reversed in the U.S. Supreme Court.

Around the same time as the arrival of the list of best-selling books, the *Times* began publishing a crossword puzzle, one that would become so challenging that people would brag that they did it

Section 1

"All the News That's Fit to Print."

The New York Times.

THE WEATHER
Generally fair today and tomorrow.
Moderate to fresh southerly winds.
Temperature maximum 62, minimum 44.
8:30 P.M. weather report on Page 2.

Section 2

VOL. LXXVI... No. 26,220

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, MAY 22, 1927.

FIVE CENTS

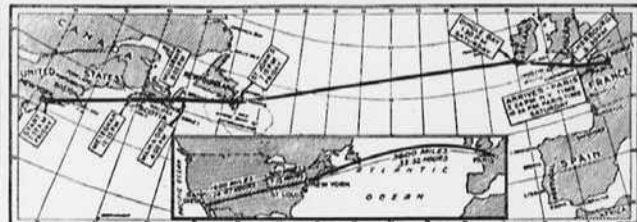
LINDBERGH DOES IT! TO PARIS IN 33½ HOURS; FLIES 1,000 MILES THROUGH SNOW AND SLEET; CHEERING FRENCH CARRY HIM OFF FIELD

COULD HAVE GONE 500 MILES FARTHER

Gasoline for at Least That Much More Flew at Times From 10 Feet to 10,000 Feet Above Water.

ATE ONLY ONE AND A HALF OF HIS FIVE SANDWICHES

Fell Asleep at Times but Quickly Awoke—Glimpses of His Adventure in Brief Interview at the Embassy.



MAP OF LINDBERGH'S TRANSATLANTIC ROUTE, SHOWING THE SPEED OF HIS TRIP.

CROWD ROARS THUNDEROUS WELCOME

Breaks Through Lines of Soldiers and Police and Surging to Plane Lifts Weary Flier from His Cockpit

AVIATORS RESCUE HIM FROM FRENZIED MOB OF 25,000

Paris Boulevards Ring With Celebration After Day and Night Watch—American Flag Is Called For and Wildly Acclaimed.

LINDBERGH'S OWN STORY TOMORROW

Captain Charles A. Lindbergh was interviewed after his arrival in Paris late last night in the most intimate, and, it is said, before his departure during the flight. The reporter today, he is reported to have said, will be the first to reveal the full story of his remarkable exploit for readers of Monday's New York Times.

By CARLYLE MACDONALD.

PARIS, Sunday, May 22.—Captain Lindbergh was discovered at the American Embassy at 2:30 o'clock this morning. Arrived in a pair of Ambassador Herrick's pajamas, he sat on the edge of a bed and talked of his flight. At the last moment Ambassador Herrick had canceled the plans of the reception committee and, by unanimous consent, took the flier to the embassy in the Place d'Iena.

A staff of American doctors who had arrived at Le Bourget field early to minister to an "exhausted" aviator found instead a bright-eyed, smiling youth who refused to be examined. "Oh, don't bother! I am all right," he said. "I don't like to have a bath and a glass of milk. I would feel better," Lindbergh replied when the Ambassador asked him what he would like to have.

A bath was drawn immediately and in less than five minutes the youth had dissolved in one of the embassy guest rooms, taking his bath and was not again drinking a bottle of milk and eating a roll.

"No Use Worrying," He Tells Envoy.

"There is no use worrying about me, Mr. Ambassador," Lindbergh insisted when Mr. Herrick and members of the embassy staff wanted him to be examined by doctors and then go to bed immediately.

It was apparent that the young man was too full of his experiences to want sleep and he sat on the bed and chatted with the Ambassador, his son and daughter-in-law.

By this time a number of newspaper men who had been madly chasing the aviator, following one false scent after another, had finally tracked him to the embassy. In a body they descended upon the Ambassador, who received them in the salon and informed them that he had just left Lindbergh with strict instructions to go to sleep.

As Mr. Herrick was talking with the reporters his son-in-law came downstairs and said to Lindbergh had rung and announced that he did not care to go to sleep just yet and that he would be glad to see the newspaper men for a few minutes. "After we went up from the newspaper men by Mr. Herrick's order," Lindbergh seemed to dismisse them all with brief, nonchalant answers.

Expected Trouble Over Newfoundland.

In the blue and gold room, with a soft light glowing, sat the conqueror of the Atlantic. He immediately stood up and held out his hands to greet his callers. The New York Times correspondent being first to greet him.

"Sit down, please," urged every one with one voice, but Lindbergh only smiled again his famous boyish smile and said "It's almost as easy to stand up as it is to sit down."

Questions were fired at him from all sides about his trip across the ocean, but Lindbergh seemed to dismiss them all with brief, nonchalant answers.

Expected trouble over Newfoundland because I had been warned that the situation there was explosive. But I got over that hazard with no trouble whatsoever.

Slept and Snow for 1,000 Miles.

"However, it wasn't easy going. I had sleet and snow for over 1,000 miles. Sometimes it was too high to fly over and sometimes too low to fly under, so I just had to go through it as best I could.

"I flew as low as 10 feet in some places and as high as 10,000 in others. I passed no ships in the daytime, but at night I saw the lights of several ships, the night being bright and clear."

Everyone then wanted to know if the flier had been asleep on the voyage.

"I didn't really get what you might call downright sleep," he said, "but I think I sort of nodded several times. In fact, I would have flown half that distance again. I had enough fuel

LEVINE ABANDONS BELLANCA FLIGHT

Venture Given Up as Designer Splits With Him—Plane Narrowly Escapes Burning.

BYRD'S CRAFT IS NAMED

Lindbergh Cheered at Ceremony—Commander, New List in Field, Waits on Weather.

Through no fault of his own, Clarence D. Chamberlin, who with Bert Acosta established a world non-stop flying record a few weeks ago, will not fly the second breaking world plane in an attempt to establish a second New York-Paris non-stop flight.

M. N. Bellanca, designer of the plane, and Charles B. Levine of the Columbia Aircraft Company, owner of the ship, came to the parting of the ways last night and the designer finally severed his connection with the promoter. Then Levine issued a statement that the proposed flight, which has been talked of for weeks, was off.



CAPTAIN CHARLES A. LINDBERGH,
Who Flew Alone Across the Atlantic, New York to Paris,
in Thirty-three and One-half Hours.

LINDBERGH TRIUMPH THRILLS COOLIDGE

President Cables Praise to "Heroic Flier" and Concern for Nungesser and Coli.

CAPITAL THROBS WITH JOY

Kellogg, New, MacNider, Patrick and Many More Join in Paying Tribute to Daring Youth.

WASHINGTON, May 22.—The triumph of Captain Charles A. Lindbergh in flying from New York to Paris without a stop created a tremendous sensation in the national capital and forced immediate response in a host of official messages and statements congratulating the daring aviator upon his achievement.

President Coolidge expressed his admiration in a message transmitted through Ambassador Herrick in Paris for delivery in the young flier's person.

New York Stages Big Celebration After Hours of Anxious Waiting

Harbor Craft, Factories, Fire Sirens and Radio Carry Message of the Flier's Victory Throughout the City—Theaters Hold White Audiences Cheer.

New York hubbed all day yesterday with excitement and expectancy. First confirmation of word of Captain Lindbergh's flight, half-doubting, giving confidence as the afternoon progressed and finally acclaiming the victory of the young aviator with street demonstrations where the crowds were thickest, in which the recent phrase, "I told you so," was often repeated. It was evident during the day that New York had confidence in the lad from the West.

On the streets and elsewhere Lindbergh was the one topic of conversation the whole day long. In the subway, on the street, in the trains and cars, motion picture houses, theaters, wherever a few had gathered, or even where one man could find another to talk to, one said "Lindbergh—Lindbergh—Lindbergh."

The questions that were asked considering that an crew could possibly come direct from Captain Lindbergh before he had, were of no account as the news of the difference in time "is he all right?"

The Times Gets 16,000 Phone Calls.

The telephone inquiries came from all sorts of people and all directions. The first was on The Times' office and next on the editorial office. The flier was on golf links or elsewhere at a distance, and news would not be given to the Times.

By EDWIN L. JAMES.

WASHINGTON, May 22.—The triumph of Captain Charles A. Lindbergh in flying from New York to Paris without a stop created a tremendous sensation in the national capital and forced immediate response in a host of official messages and statements congratulating the daring aviator upon his achievement.

President Coolidge expressed his admiration in a message transmitted through Ambassador Herrick in Paris for delivery in the young flier's person.

With a single possible exception, this city has never been more thrilled since the armistice, when Wendell Wilkie mingled with sixty thousand in celebrating the end of the war. The exception was when Walter Johnson snore four appeared before and won the dazzling world series baseball game in 1924.

Lifted From His Cockpit.

As he was lifted to the ground Lindbergh was pale, and, with his hair unkempt, he looked completely worn out. He had strength enough, however, to smile, and waved his hand to the crowd. Soldiers with fixed bayonets were unable to keep back the crowd.

United States Ambassador Herrick was among the first to welcome and congratulate the hero.

A New York Times man was one of the first to reach the machine after its graceful descent to the field. Three feet from arrival at the plane had a picture that will live in their minds for the rest of their lives. His cap off, his famous locks falling in disarray around his eyes, "Looky Lindy," he was peering out over the rim of the little cockpit of his machine.

Dramatic Scene at the Field.

It was high drama. Picture the scene. Twenty to twenty-five thousand people were massed on the east side of Le Bourget air field. Some of them had been there six and seven hours.

Off to the left the giant searchlight of Mount Valerien flashed its guiding light 300 miles into the air. Closer on the left Le Bourget Lighthouse twinkled, and off to the right another giant revolving search sent its beams high into the heavens.

Big arc lights on all sides with enormous electric glares were flooding the landing field. From time to time rockets rose and burst in varied lights over the field.

Seven thirty, the hour announced for the arrival, had come and gone. Then 8 o'clock came, and no Lindbergh; at 8 o'clock the sun had set but then came reports that Lindbergh had been seen over Cork. Then he had been seen over Valentia in Ireland and then over Plymouth.

Suddenly a message spread like lightning, the aviator had been seen over Chateaufort. However, remembering the message telling of Captain Nungesser's flight, the crowd was skeptical.

"One chance in a thousand!" "Oh, he cannot do it without navigating instruments." "It's a pity, because he was a hero." "Pessimism had spread over the great throng by 11 o'clock.

The stars came out and a chill wind blew.

Watchers Are Twice Disappointed.

Suddenly the field lights flooded their glares onto the landing ground and there came the rear of an airplane's motor. The crowd was still, then began a cheer, but two minutes later the landing glares went dark for the searchlight had identified the plane and it was not Captain Lindbergh's.

with a pen instead of a pencil. However, the newspaper has resisted publishing editorial cartoons or comics. It uses the honorifics “Mr.” and “Mrs.,” whereas many newspapers use a person’s surname on second reference, and the *Times* was slow to adopt “Ms.” because the publisher didn’t want it.

Despite the *Times*’ high standards, it has been subject to the same economic problems that other businesses endured, and in the 1970s, under the leadership of one of Adolph Ochs’ grandsons, the paper made major changes so it could survive. In fact, it advertised itself as “*The New New York Times*.” The paper went from two sections to four, with some of those sections changing daily and thus providing readers with different magazines within the newspaper. Of course, the different sections were aimed at attracting specific advertisers and thus had themes such as food and the home and the arts and weekend entertainment. One of the successful sections was named “Science Times,” which attracted profitable computer advertising, leading the *Times* to create a weekly computer section called “Circuits.” Special slick Sunday magazines devoted to fashion or travel also appeared regularly and helped boost the paper’s bottom line. During these changes, the reporting became better and the topics diversified as the *Times* went from a paper of record focusing only on policy to one that focused on policy and people. Some have said when the *Times* covers a topic, it’s sociology, not journalism—an indication of the depth and breadth of many of its stories.

Although not perfect, the *Times* has tried to be a dignified newspaper, befitting Adolph Ochs’ motto. When in the 1950s it ran a photograph of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe kissing open mouthed the picture editor was moved out of his job, although he remained on the payroll. When the then vice president of the United States, Nelson Rockefeller, a former governor of New York, was photographed raising his middle finger to a group of protesters, the *Times* did not publish the photo and merely said: “After protesters showed they were able to drown out his speech, Mr. Rockefeller then gestured three times with his finger.” Another time, a reporter turned in a story quoting someone as saying “chicken shit” and the desk changed it to “barnyard epithet.”

But the paper could be playful. When Latin was dropped as a public school course, it ran an editorial with this headline: “Quatenus Mortua Lingua Latina?” The accompanying 105-word editorial was written in Latin with no accompanying translation. In fact, one might say that the *Times* lives in the past and never changes. When in 1976 it adopted a six-column format, bringing it in line with the format of most newspapers, the *Times*’ story concluded with this paragraph: “The *Times* used a six-column format when the newspaper first appeared on Sept. 18, 1851.” In other words, the more the *Times* changed, the more the *Times* stayed the same.

But to simplify things that much would be a misreading of this newspaper. While it has been slow to change, it has also been a journalistic leader and often able to do things other newspapers could not. In that regard, the *Times* is an institution unlike any other in the United States.

—R. Thomas Berner

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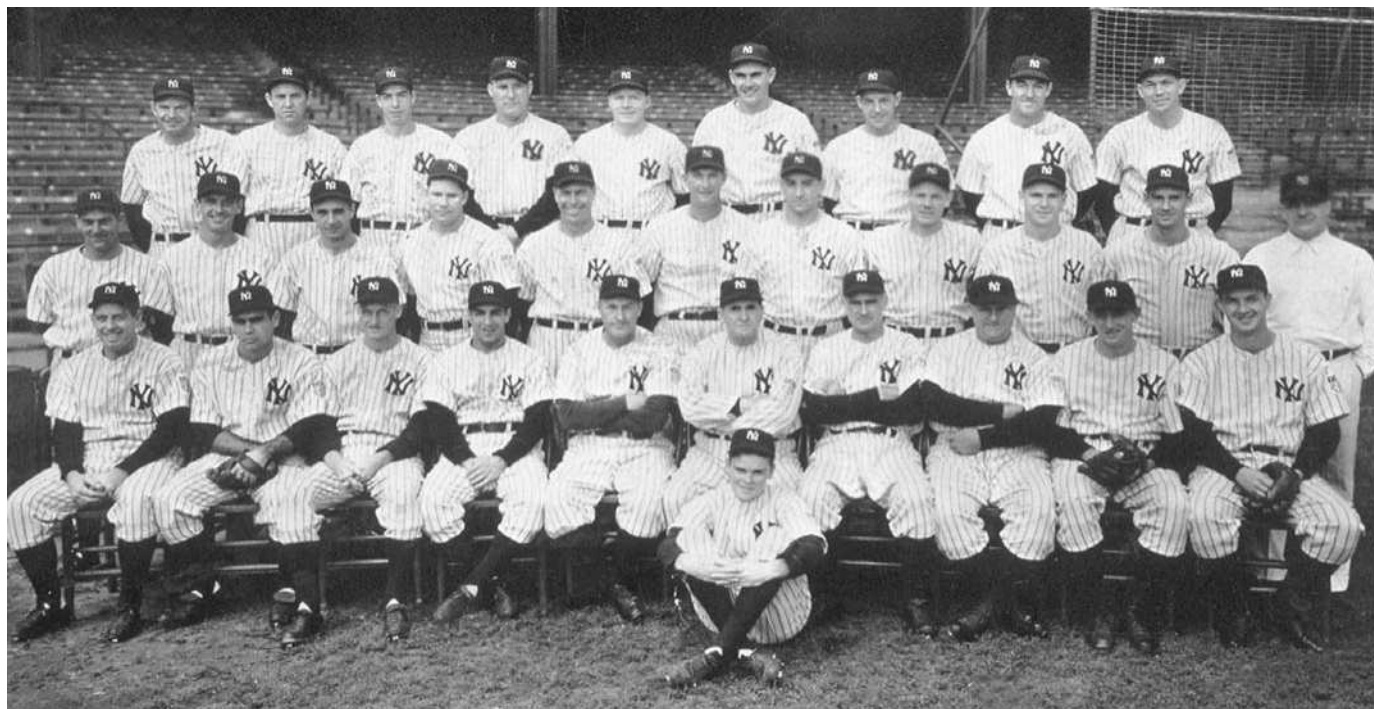
The New York Yankees

Like Cadillac or BMW, the New York Yankees’ brand name is respected the world over, a badge of excellence in the realm of professional baseball. That a hit Broadway play called *Damn Yankees* could play off the antipathy generated in rival cities by the franchise’s unmatched success is a testament to the powerful associations the team conjures up in the popular mind. Known for its reverence for tradition, the Yankee organization need do little to market itself to prospective ticket buyers. The mere presence of the club’s stately eponymous stadium in the South Bronx, with its wall of plaques commemorating some of the game’s greatest players, is enough to keep tourists, baseball aficionados, and loyal fans flocking to see the “Bronx Bombers” play.

The team began life as the New York Highlanders in 1903. They were renamed the Yankees in 1913, and began playing in Manhattan’s Polo Grounds that same year. Millionaire brewer Jacob Ruppert bought the team with a partner in 1915 for \$460,000. His most significant contribution to baseball history was the purchase of Babe Ruth’s contract from the Boston Red Sox in 1920, a sale that altered the fortunes of both franchises. The Red Sox became a symbol for futility, beloved by New Englanders but bereft of any luck, common sense, or winning tradition. The Yankees, by contrast, evolved into, well, the Yankees.

With Ruth leading the way, the Yankees won their first World Series in 1923. The team would add two more world championships and six American League pennants in the decade, successes that paved the way for the construction of Yankee Stadium in 1923. The magnificent new ballpark was home to a “Murderer’s Row” lineup through the late 1920s and into the 1930s. Feared sluggers Lou Gehrig, Earle Combs, and Tony Lazzeri ably complemented the protean Ruth, who swatted 60 home runs in 1927 to lead the team to a 110-win season. Ruth also became America’s first national sports icon, a figure so revered he commanded no less than half a dozen nicknames: The Sultan of Swat, The Caliph of Clout, The Wazir of Wallop, and so on. Once, asked what he thought about being paid more than President Herbert Hoover, Ruth cracked: “I had a better year than he did.” Tethered to the Babe’s balloon, the Yankees rose in prominence to become America’s pre-eminent sports franchise.

When the aging of its first generation of stars threatened to end the Yankees’ run at the top, the club merely brought in new faces. Joe DiMaggio spearheaded a squad that won six World Series between 1936 and 1943. His 56-game hitting streak in 1941 captured the nation’s attention at a time when America stood on the brink of world war. Almost the polar opposite of Ruth in his approach to life and disdain for the limelight, DiMaggio nevertheless became almost as luminous a figure. Certainly his marriage to national sex kitten Marilyn Monroe in 1954 had something to do with that apotheosis as well. Ernest Hemingway immortalized DiMaggio’s “grace under



The New York Yankees, c. 1942.

pressure” by repeatedly referencing the Yankee Clipper in his 1952 novel *The Old Man and the Sea*.

After DiMaggio retired in 1951, the Yankees filled the void with another altogether different matinee idol. Mickey Mantle, a brawny farm boy from Oklahoma, became the team’s new centerfielder. The blonde-haired, blue-eyed “Mick” seemed carved out of someone’s Platonic ideal of what a ballplayer should look like. He could run and hit with power from both sides of the plate. And while he was prone to injury over the course of his 17-year career, he would secure a place in the Hall of Fame and a legacy as one of the game’s greatest players.

Mantle and his Yankees bestrode the 1950s baseball landscape like a colossus. From 1950 to 1958, the team won six world championships. The 1961 squad led by Mantle and Roger Maris, who broke Ruth’s record of 60 home runs in a season, was widely cited as the equal of the 1927 edition. It was during this dynastic period that a vehement hatred of the Yankee organization took hold in a number of cities, as teams like the Brooklyn Dodgers and Cleveland Indians found their championship hopes repeatedly dashed by the free-sending cosmopolites from Gotham.

Those rivals would yet see the tables turned, beginning in 1964 when broadcasting behemoth CBS bought the Yankees for a reported \$14 million. It was the beginning of a steep decline for the franchise. The team’s best players, most notably Mantle, were past the prime of their careers, and the club was slow to recruit African-American and Latin players to replace them, as many other organizations were doing. The Yankee front office, it seemed to many, was living in a world of the past. The club sank to tenth place in 1966, posting the worst record of any Yankee squad in 53 years. Attendance plummeted. Most galling of all, the Yankees’ crosstown rivals, the New York Mets, graduated from bumbling novelties to world champions in 1969.

Slowly, the Yankees began to rebuild. Their new catcher, Thurman Munson, won the Rookie of the Year Award for 1970.

Shrewd trades brought them the likes of Graig Nettles and Chris Chambliss, infielders who would play a prominent role in the club’s resurgence. And CBS, seemingly disinterested in the team’s fortunes and the desires of its fans, finally sold out from under its losses in 1973. The Yankees’ new principal owner was George M. Steinbrenner III, a shipbuilding magnate from Cleveland. Steinbrenner vowed to take a hands-off approach, leaving the day-to-day operation of the club to his chief lieutenant, Gabe Paul.

Under new leadership, the Yankees returned to the front ranks of the American League. They competed for a division title in 1974, despite playing their home games in the Mets’ own Shea Stadium. A two-year renovation of crumbling Yankee Stadium was completed in time for the 1976 opener. That season was to be flush with renewal for the Bronx Bombers, as they surged to their first American League pennant in 12 years. First baseman Chambliss’ dramatic ninth-inning home run in the fifth game of the playoff series against the Kansas City Royals sealed the victory. The exultation felt by legions of long-suffering Yankee fans was to be short-lived, however, as the club was trounced in the World Series by the Cincinnati Reds, four games to none.

Over the next five years, the Yankees re-established themselves as baseball’s elite team, capturing three pennants and two world championships. Their back-to-back World Series wins in 1977 and 1978 were capped by a thrilling come-from-behind divisional pennant race with the Boston Red Sox in the latter year. Controversy and conflict also marked these years of winning. Outspoken slugger Reggie Jackson was added as a free agent in 1977, to the consternation of the team’s cantankerous manager, Billy Martin. Together with the increasingly meddlesome Steinbrenner, the three men formed a veritable death grip of sorts, as their public spats were splashed all over the pages of the New York City tabloids. Reliever Sparky Lyle later labeled the team’s poisonous clubhouse “The Bronx Zoo.”

Nevertheless, the Yankees kept on winning, and the fans loved the roller derby atmosphere.

The Yankees' run of disco-era dominance ended with a 1981 World Series loss to the Los Angeles Dodgers, an embarrassing coda to a strike-shortened season that prompted Steinbrenner to issue an ostentatious public apology to the citizens of New York. The 1980s saw the imperious owner struggle to cover up the team's deficiencies in player development with his checkbook. Steinbrenner signed high-priced players with seemingly little regard for their adaptability to the pressures of playing in New York. Managers were put under intense pressure to succeed, subject to dismissal at any time according to the owner's whims. Three men were hired and fired during the 1982 season alone. Billy Martin returned for three more engagements as the club's skipper, in 1983, 1985, and 1988. Only the presence of Don Mattingly, the club's dignified captain, prevented Yankee fans from being thoroughly alienated by the whole charade.

Yankee fortunes only improved with Steinbrenner's 1990 exile from baseball following allegations he had hired a professional gambler to spy on one of his players. "The Boss" remained locked away from running team affairs for three years, during which general manager Gene "Stick" Michael effectively ran the club. Freed from Steinbrenner's tyranny, Michael returned the organization to its roots, emphasizing player development at the minor league level. Future stars Bernie Williams, Derek Jeter, and Mariano Rivera, who would have been traded away in years past, were nurtured until they were ready to take their places in the starting line-up. A few key trades and the judicious use of free agent signings helped the Yankees recapture first place in the strike-shortened 1994 campaign.

By that time, Steinbrenner was back on the job, but in no position to tamper with the interim regime's formula. Some said "The Boss" had mellowed. Certainly he came back from exile with a renewed willingness to let his "baseball people" run the team. Other than pointlessly firing manager Buck Showalter in 1995 after a loss in the playoffs, he did little to slow the development of a new baseball juggernaut. The team capped a stellar 1996 season with a come-from-behind upset victory over the Atlanta Braves in the World Series. Two years later, the Yankees posted the best record in American League history, going 114-48. They then completed an impressive playoff run by sweeping the San Diego Padres in the World Series. Baseball pundits promptly began arguing over whether this was the greatest team of all time. But when the Yankees' record 24th World Championship banner was raised onto the facade at Yankee Stadium on April 9, 1999, there was no doubt which was the most successful franchise in baseball's first full century.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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The New Yorker

The first issue of the *New Yorker* magazine arrived on newsstands in February of 1925. The brainchild of an unlikely genius named Harold Ross, the periodical weathered a rocky start but soon established itself as a bastion of literacy, wit, and sophistication. A mixture of fact, fiction, poetry, and cartoons, the *New Yorker* set high standards in all four fields, despite the fact that founder/editor Ross himself had never completed high school. The first writers to set the tone for the magazine were E. B. White and James Thurber. Their sly, elegant wordplay enabled Ross to achieve his vision of a magazine that—unlike the popular *Saturday Evening Post*—would “not be (edited) for the old lady in Dubuque.” But in fact, the magazine, with its deliberately cosmopolitan focus, found unexpectedly wide favor across the country. Over the next decades, stories and cartoons from the *New Yorker* became the basis for successful plays, films, and television series, from Clarence Day's *Life with Father* and Sally Benson's *Meet Me in St. Louis* to Thurber's *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* and (Charles) *Addams' Family*. Among the leading literary lights who contributed humor and serious fiction to the *New Yorker* were Robert Benchley, Dorothy Parker, S. J. Perelman, Ring Lardner, Eudora Welty, John Cheever, John O'Hara, Truman Capote, and Woody Allen. Upon the death of Ross in the 1950s, William Shawn took over the editorship with equal success—until his abrupt dismissal in 1987, the result of the magazine's change in ownership. In later years, the periodical has undergone some rough periods, but maintains the status of its “snob appeal.” It may have smacked of hubris when the *New Yorker* courted new subscribers by touting itself as “The best magazine that ever was,” but the people at the periodical knew that, in the eyes of many long-time readers, the hubris was completely justified.

Harold Ross was born in Aspen, Colorado, in 1892. The family later moved to Salt Lake City, where Ross dropped out of high school in his sophomore year. After itinerant work on over a score of newspapers, Ross enlisted in the army upon America's entry into World War I. Once overseas, young Ross went A.W.O.L. to Paris, where he soon got himself hired onto the staff of the army's new journal for soldiers, *Stars & Stripes*. Before long, he was running the paper and turning it into a great success. After the armistice, the civilian Ross ended up in Manhattan, where old army buddy Alexander Woollcott invited him to join the legendary Algonquin Round Table, a daily gathering of writers and wits at the hotel of that name, whose avowed purpose was to drink, play cards, and best each other at bons mots (not necessarily in that order). The wit of the Algonquin crowd—which included, among others, Benchley, Parker, Lardner, George S. Kaufman, and Edna Ferber—provided Ross with much of the inspiration to start a new magazine. And it was a late-comer into the Round Table, bakery heir Raul Fleischmann, who would provide Ross with the wherewithal that enabled him to realize his dream. Journalist Gigi Mahon has described the odd couple thusly:

“Fleischmann was calm and diplomatic, Ross was crude and obstreperous. . . . If one tried to guess which was the baker and which the editor, one would likely have got it wrong.”

Their differences notwithstanding, the two men formed F-R Publishing Corp., for Fleischmann-Ross. The majority of the money was Fleischmann’s and the concept for the magazine was all Ross’—public relations man John Peter Toohey christened it the *New Yorker* and artist Rea Irvin created the monocled dandy regarding a butterfly which graced the cover of the first issue, and the cover of almost every subsequent anniversary issue; eventually the dandy was given a name, Eustace Tilley. Prior to publication, Ross had set down his vision for the *New Yorker* in a position paper, describing the contents and standards of excellence with which he planned to imbue his magazine. Eventually, as Mahon puts it, “The New Yorker could boast the rarest of achievements: It became exactly what it set out to be.”

But that first step out of the gate was a stumble. The magazine’s tone was arch and its humor was not funny. Fortunately, Fleischmann kept putting money into the enterprise long enough for the *New Yorker* to find its unique voice and its adoring readership. With the valuable editorial assistance of Katherine Angell (later Mrs. E. B. White), Ross’ magazine began to resemble the one he had always had in mind. Readers started to look forward to such features as the light-hearted “Talk of the Town” and the insightful “Profiles” of prominent people. The first sell-out issue was the result of a piece by Ellin MacKay (later Mrs. Irving Berlin), “Why We Go to Cabarets: A Post Debutante Explains.” Although the popular article contrasted the gay nightlife at cabarets with the stuffy doings at debutante balls, the *New Yorker* itself cultivated a definite “snob appeal,” courting advertisements from only the poshest and ritziest of Manhattan emporiums. Because his magazine was just starting out, Ross could not afford to publish articles and stories by famous writers. Consequently, he welcomed new talent, and the magazine and its writers grew famous together. E. B. White, who later would pen the children’s classic, *Charlotte’s Web*, contributed much to the early success of the *New Yorker* by editing the “Talk of the Town” column and writing its “Notes and Comments” preface. Another prime White contribution to the magazine was his encouragement and support of his friend, James Thurber, who soon became known not only for his humorous stories and reminiscences but also for his uniquely artless style of cartooning (a famous Thurber cartoon showed a seal leaning against the headboard of a couple’s bed—do not ask why—and the wife saying to the husband, “All right, have it your way. You heard a seal bark!”). Other regular *New Yorker* contributors included Ross’ friend Alexander Woollcott (the “Shouts and Murmurs” column), Woolcott Gibbs (whose brilliant parody of rival *Time* magazine included the famous line, “Backward ran sentences until reeled the mind”), Alva Johnston, author of many of the well-received “Profiles,” and Clifton Fadiman and Lewis Mumford, who wrote about books and art respectively.

For all the excellence of its prose, the *New Yorker* took a special pride of place among periodicals for its presentation of excellent cartoons—although not an artist, White supplied the caption for a classic: A mother at the dinner table says to her child, “It’s broccoli, dear.” The kid replies, “I say it’s spinach and I say the hell with it.” Peter Arno was one noted cartoonist whose gags usually poked fun at the upscale businessmen and matrons of Manhattan—a distinguished-looking gentleman, kneeling at his bedside in prayer: “Harrison J.

Endicott speaking.” The characters created by Charles Addams, on the other hand, inhabited a world all his own, a macabre, fantastic pastiche of horror-movie haunted house and twisted suburbia. Decades later, his prime creations would find fame on television—and, still later, in films—as *The Addams Family*.

The *New Yorker* was eventually one of the most successful magazines in the country—and, despite its carefully crafted cosmopolitan image, 80 percent of its readership lived well outside the greater Manhattan area. With the coming of World War II, the periodical inevitably grew more sober in its content, and the *New Yorker*, like a lot of less prominent publications, suffered from wartime paper shortages. On the other hand, Harold (*Stars & Stripes*) Ross produced a stripped-down “pony” edition of the *New Yorker* for the armed forces which ended up outselling the original—and, more importantly, gaining new readers who would make the postwar *New Yorker* more successful than ever. Ever since its inception, Fleischmann had been gaining more financial control over the *New Yorker*, but there was no question that in matters editorial Ross was still the god of the magazine. There was something of the stumblebum about the profane Ross, who once asked of a writer, “Was Moby Dick the whale or the captain?” But there was no denying his knack for hiring exceptional talent and then worrying, fretting, questioning, and in general pushing it to the limits of its capability. In his affectionate memoir, *The Years with Ross*, Thurber relates that journalist/financier John Duncan Miller had this impression upon meeting the legendary figure: “During the first half hour, I felt that Ross was the last man in the world who could edit the *New Yorker*. I left there realizing that nobody else in the world could.”

Inevitably, however, somebody else had to. Harold Ross died in December of 1951, and the following month it was announced that his successor would be William Shawn. A member of the editorial staff since 1933, it had been Shawn who convinced Ross to devote an entire 1946 issue of the magazine to John Hersey’s devastating chronicle, *Hiroshima*. Whereas Ross had been blustery, Shawn was quiet, well-spoken, and shy—but his rule was every bit as absolute as his predecessor’s. The years with Shawn at the helm would alter the *New Yorker* in subtle ways—fewer humorous covers, a tendency toward more serious and political literature—and yet bring the magazine continued success. By the mid-1950s, although ranking seventy-second of all magazines in circulation, the *New Yorker* was running third in terms of advertising pages. As Mahon points out in *The Last Days of the “New Yorker,”* “(The magazine) was . . . virtually alone in catering to people with intelligence and wealth. It was . . . the only literary publication that consistently made money.” The *New Yorker* continually proved that seriousness of purpose was not inconsistent with commerce. It was the *New Yorker* that published such ground-breaking works as Rachel Carson’s *Silent Spring*, marking the beginning of the environmental movement, James Baldwin’s impassioned examination of race relations, *The Fire Next Time*, and Truman Capote’s “fact-novel” about murder, *In Cold Blood*. A serious writer about the often disparaged topic of movies was the *New Yorker*’s controversial critic, Pauline Kael, who came to dominate her field. Outstanding as a sports writer was the *New Yorker*’s Roger Angell.

The institution of the *New Yorker*, commensurate with its high-tone image, has always had about it an air of insularity; since the magazine’s first days with Ross, the masthead has never listed the editor’s name. Within that special enclave, there has been fostered a

family feeling, frequently reinforced by marriages between personnel. And, as with most families, there have been squabbles. A line of demarcation was drawn between the editorial and business branches so clearly that they might almost have been working for two different magazines; it was understood that the latter was not to interfere in the doings of the former. Business had a decisive impact on editorial in the late 1980s, however, when the *New Yorker* was purchased by media emperor S. I. Newhouse and his Conde Nast corporation. Within a year, William Shawn was forced into retirement, an action which had a singularly demoralizing effect on the *New Yorker* family. For a brief time, Tina Brown of *Vanity Fair* magazine was brought in to edit the *New Yorker*, but she departed Manhattan for Hollywood in the late 1990s. The magazine may never see another long-running editorial dynasty such as Ross' or Shawn's, but it still is a going concern, its reputation a bit battered, perhaps, but still largely intact, and still an influential component of contemporary culture—television's *Seinfeld* series had an episode in which "Elaine" gets herself hired onto the *New Yorker* staff, purely because she does not get the joke in one of the cartoons, and wishes to confront the editor. Many readers will continue to regard it as "the best magazine that ever was," whether or not it remains the best magazine that is.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Newhart, Bob (1929—)

Bob Newhart is one of a rare few television performers to have starred in two tremendously successful shows. From his earliest days as one of the most successful standup comedians to one of the most successful runs on sitcoms in the 1970s and 1980s, Bob Newhart managed to keep audiences laughing. Best identified with *The Bob Newhart Show* and the later *Newhart* show, Newhart has mastered the image of a "normal" person. In both shows Newhart played a man who calmly weathered the storms that constantly raged in the lives of his friends and family. Newhart's comedic talent stems from his use of a sense of quiet desperation and a stutter to portray a regular man caught in a world of crazy people. Though many comedy shows have relied on the straight man, Newhart has created his own unique version of the "straight man"; Bob Newhart's straight man isn't

boastful or self-righteous, he is a steady everyday man with whom many can identify.

Newhart's real start came doing standup comedy, talking to himself on the telephone. After his Army service, Newhart worked as an accountant and an advertising copywriter. He and his friend at the ad agency, Ed Gallagher, used to amuse themselves by making long, antic phone calls to each other, which they recorded as audition tapes for comedy jobs. When the friend dropped out Bob developed his now famous one-man, two-way telephone conversations. In 1959 he was introduced to the head of talent at Warner Bros. Records. *The Button-Down Mind of Bob Newhart* was born and became the first comedy album to go to number one on the charts. He became extremely popular and set records for comedy album sales that would last until the 1990s.

Based on this success, Newhart was approached by NBC to host a show that would bring together comedians and others to perform their routines. Newhart's own first series was on NBC in 1961, a variety program called *The Bob Newhart Show*. It won both an Emmy and the Peabody Award but was canceled in the first season. He appeared in a number of movies playing small but memorable roles, including *On a Clear Day You Can See Forever* (1970, as Dr. Mason Hume), *Catch 22* (1970, as Major Major), *Cold Turkey* (1971, playing a cigarette company pointman), and *First Family* (1980, as the President). He was also the voice of Bernard the Mouse in two films, *The Rescuers* (1977) and *The Rescuers Down Under* (1990), and later Leonard the Polar Bear in *Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer: The Movie* (1998).

Newhart is perhaps most associated with *The Bob Newhart Show*, which debuted in 1972 on CBS, marking the beginning of a seven-year run. Newhart played Dr. Robert (Bob) Hartley, a calm Chicago psychiatrist surrounded by friends and family who had assorted problems and neuroses, but who were essentially "normal." The show co-starred Suzanne Pleshette as Bob's wife, Emily, and one of the finest casts of feature players on television, including Bill Daily as the addle-minded neighbor Howard Borden, Peter Bonerz as Bob's friend and office colleague Jerry Robinson, Marcia Wallace as the smart mouth secretary Carol Bonderant, and Jack Riley as the eternally neurotic Mr. Elliot Carlin.

The Bob Newhart Show was the first hit to come out of MTM Enterprises and it ushered in a new phase of television comedy. In 1972 when the show premiered there were reality shows like *M*A*S*H* or family shows like *All in the Family*, or new breeds like the *Mary Tyler Moore* show that tried to capture a modern perspective on the home and workplace. *The Bob Newhart Show*, however, relied more on the interaction of the characters whether at work or at home. The show even began to make fun of itself as when Mr. Carlin jokes with Bob about clichés. By 1978, with the show facing declining ratings, Newhart left the hit show to go back to live performances until a new show came his way.

In 1982, Newhart returned to CBS with *Newhart*, playing a New York, how-to book author turned Vermont innkeeper and eventual host of a local talk show, *Vermont Today*. Newhart was again surrounded by an ensemble of quirky characters, but these characters were more exaggerated than those on *The Bob Newhart Show*. Newhart's character, Dick Loudon, had essentially the same temperament as the Bob Hartley character, but Loudon was surrounded by a heightened level of insanity. After the end of the first season, *Newhart*



Bob Newhart (right), Julia Duffy, and Tom Poston in a scene from *Newhart*.

had assembled most of the show's main characters: Dick's wife Joanna, handyman George, the maid Stephanie, who is the rich and snooty cousin of the show's first maid, and Michael, the producer of the local talk show whose money-consciousness and odd quirks meshed perfectly with Stephanie's. For more comic relief the show added three brothers: Larry, Darryl, and the other brother Darryl, who will do anything for a buck.

Newhart ended against the wishes of the network because Newhart felt it was better to put the show to rest while it was at its peak. Television fans remember the classic final episode of *Newhart*, in which he "awoke" in his old bedroom (from *The Bob Newhart Show*) with his "wife," Suzanne Pleshette, next to him, proclaiming he had had the strangest dream. Critics and fans alike have called this the single best and most surprising episode in television comedy history.

In the 1990s Newhart tried the formula that worked so well on these past shows with two other shows: *Bob* (1992-94), in which he played a Comic Book creator who is saddled with a new young brash partner, and *George and Leo* (1997-98), in which he played a flustered bookstore owner on Martha's Vineyard who can not shake television veteran Judd Hirsh's character, the obnoxious father of

Bob's son's wife from Las Vegas. Neither won the hearts of viewers like his previous shows.

The human flaws Newhart displays in his characters—his quiet, almost meek, manner, his stammering, and the appearance of others pushing him around—may be the very reasons that he is as significant as he is. He represents many people's feeling of frustration with a seemingly crazy world.

—Frank E. Clark

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The Newlywed Game

Short-sighted TV viewers might believe the airing of couples' dirty laundry on television started with the talk show craze of the 1990s, with Jerry Springer as the ultimate ringmaster. But it actually began back in the 1960s, in the realm of game shows, courtesy of Springer's spiritual forefather, veteran producer Chuck Barris.

The Newlywed Game ran on and off, daytime and nighttime, between 1966 and 1990. It featured four couples who had been married less than a year, competing against each other. After the wives were "safely secured offstage," the husbands were asked questions such as, "Would your wife say she sleeps with her toes pointing toward the ceiling, the floor, or the wall?" "What animal would you compare your mother-in-law to?" "If your wife were a car, what would need to be repaired most, her fenders or transmission?" The husbands guessed how the wives would answer, then the wives came back and answered the same questions, and couples got points for matches. Then the husbands got sent out and the process repeated. The couple with the most points won some sort of domestic "newlywed" prize, like a dishwasher.

Presiding over the festivities was Bob Eubanks, an unctuous, pompadoured host who humiliated himself in Michael Moore's film *Roger and Me* by telling a racist joke. Eubanks got to ask the prying questions, and provided deadpan reactions to the wackiness. Sometimes he took it on the road, staging the game in shopping malls all over the country. Eubanks hosted the day and nighttime incarnations of the show until 1989, when he was replaced by Latino comic Paul Rodriguez for a season; the show was soon canceled.

The real idea behind *The Newlywed Game* and its slightly older cousin, *The Dating Game* (also from Barris, and hosted by the oily Jim Lange), was to see how much sex talk could be gotten away with without getting in trouble with the network's Standards and Practices division. America's puritan/voyeuristic dichotomy was never more apparent than in the loaded questions, the coy yet revealing answers, and most of all, the titters in the audience, members of which seemed almost shocked at the mere idea that these married people had sex. In fact, those who thought *The Dating Game* ("Bachelor Number One: If I were an ice cream cone, would you lick my cream or bite my cone?") was sleazy were often surprised to learn, that, although the contestants were married, *The Newlywed Game* was somehow even sleazier.

This was a time, after all, when jokes about the rabbit-like sex lives of newlyweds still made sense. Couples weren't living together as much yet, and convention still dictated that no one was really having premarital sex. Of course, the word "sex" was not used on the show. It was "whoopee" that the audience was imagining the couples feverishly making, not love. Against the backdrop of the burgeoning sexual revolution, it's almost laughable, and somehow, more trashy with the euphemism, which became ingrained in the American consciousness.

Legend has it that Howard Hughes was planning to buy ABC, but after catching *The Newlywed Game* one afternoon, he was so disgusted that he immediately called off the deal. The show is also the stuff of urban myth: in response to a question from Eubanks about the

"most unusual place you've ever made whoopee," amid other responses such as "on the kitchen table" or "in the bathroom of a 747," a female contestant supposedly responded, "That would be in the butt, Bob." It never happened; even if it had, the network censors would never have allowed it on their air. Barris claims it happened in his book *The Game Show King*; however, he admits he didn't witness it himself. Bob Eubanks, who should know, has repeatedly offered a \$10,000 reward to anyone who provides him with a video of the incident. He also told the *Village Voice* that he could probably have sold about a million "In the Butt, Bob" T-shirts.

The later, 1980s versions of the show, such as *The New Newlywed Game*, were a little more explicit and mean-spirited ("If your sex life were made into a movie, which part of the video store would it be found in—horror, fantasy or XXX-rated weirdo?" "Which of your wife's friends would most likely be harpooned if she were floating in the ocean?"). Reviewing the series in 1987, *TV Guide* called it "the worst piece of sleaze on television today."

Barris, who later spawned *The Gong Show*, once noted that if a newlywed couple loved and respected each other, they probably would never have thought about appearing on *The Newlywed Game*; if they had, they probably wouldn't have been chosen, because they wouldn't have made good contestants. If that opinion doesn't seal the connection between *The Newlywed Game* and the talk show expose-a-ramas, consider the contestant who accused her husband, on the air, of having an affair, saying "I knew about it, but I wanted to wait until we got on national TV to tell everybody."

—Karen Lurie

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Newport Jazz and Folk Festivals

Jazz critic Leonard Feather once said that when the Newport Jazz Festival debuted in 1954 in Newport, Rhode Island, it initiated the "festival era" in American music. Though there had been other jazz festivals in Europe, the Newport Jazz Festival, and the Newport Folk Festival which began a few years later, did indeed popularize a new style of concert-giving, creating a music-filled community for several days of performances. In the process, the festivals made live music accessible to a large number of people and gave a huge promotional boost to two of the most truly American forms of music, jazz and folk.

In July 1954, musician and impresario George Wein organized and presented the first Newport Jazz Festival in the beautiful Rhode

Island seaside town of Newport. The festival became famous for showcasing jazz greats such as Count Basie, Ella Fitzgerald, Thelonius Monk, Dave Brubeck, and Miles Davis. It also gave a stage to new, even radical, voices in jazz: in 1969 the rock group Led Zeppelin played there and in 1998 Liquid Soul brought acid jazz to the venerable New England stage.

Because the festival's cutting edge music attracted many counter culture and radical fans, it became a natural site for the eruption of political demonstrations. Riots in 1960, 1969, and 1971 resulted in cancellation and, in 1972, the Newport Jazz Festival moved to New York City where it acquired an urban energy and vitality that had never been present in the sleepy town of Newport. Venues varied, with one of the most inventive being the Staten Island Ferry, aboard which Ray Charles gave a concert.

One of the major innovations introduced by George Wein—an energetic organizer with many festivals and concerts to his credit—was to expand the role of corporate sponsorship. Wein was the first to offer sponsors naming rights to concerts and thus, in 1981, the Newport Jazz Festival became the Kool Jazz Festival when Kool Cigarettes took over sponsorship. In 1986, JVC Electronics became the sponsor, and the festival name changed again to the JVC Jazz Festival. The festival also began to broaden its approach to music and to include performers more representative of rhythm and blues or soul than pure jazz. This approach brought popular stars such as Aretha Franklin and Patti Labelle to the festival's stage.

Tapping into a new and exciting movement in American folk music, the Newport Folk Festival debuted in 1959 with such soon-to-be famous stars as Joan Baez, who arrived in a converted hearse for her performance. The festival was a perennial draw for the left-over bohemians of the 1950s as well as for the hippies of the 1960s, many of them musical purists who booed Bob Dylan at the 1965 festival for playing an electric guitar. In 1967, Arlo Guthrie introduced his famous song, "Alice's Restaurant," at the Newport Folk Festival. By 1969, however, the increasing popularity of rock music and the volatile political times brought about the end of the festival, and there was no major folk music venue in Newport for over 15 years. Then, in 1985, George Wein, continuing to do what he did best, brought the folk festival back to Newport. His reunion of old time festival mainstays such as Baez, Guthrie, Judy Collins, and Doc Watson, brought in crowds of over five thousand fans each day. Continuing his tradition of sponsor partnership, he initiated the annual Ben and Jerry's Newport Folk Festival, adroitly tying together the festival and the New England counterculture image of the Vermont ice creamery.

The 1990s initiated its own take on festival culture with the touring music festival, which saw the likes of Lollapalooza and Lilith Fair take to the road, and in 1998 the Newport Folk Festival Tour was launched. The tour showcased long-time "folkies" like Joan Baez, along with newer voices in American folk-rock-country such as Lyle Lovett, Alison Krauss, and Suzanne Vega, thus ensuring itself a wide and ongoing following.

Meanwhile, in 1991, an older and perhaps wiser Newport Jazz Festival returned home to Rhode Island, but never again would it be limited to New England. Still a mainstay of the New York summer, the festival has spawned a series of JVC Newport Jazz Festivals across the United States and in many places abroad, as well as Newport Jazz Cruises between festivals. Though challenged from its inception by alternative festivals, Newport has survived to become the granddaddy of them all.

—Tina Gianoulis

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Newsweek

One of America's "big three" weekly newsmagazines, *Newsweek* was founded in 1933, the same year that saw the launch of its rival *United States News* (later merged with *World Report*), and just ten years after the newsweekly genre had been established with the appearance of Henry Luce's *Time* in 1923. The magazine was originally named *News-Week* by founder Thomas J. C. Martyn, *Time*'s first foreign news editor. *News-Week*'s first issue, on February 17, 1933, featured seven photographs of current events on its cover. Four years later, in 1937, the publication merged with Raymond Moley's *Today* magazine and, with Vincent Astor as its president, changed its name to *Newsweek*. Moley had been a member of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Brain Trust," and the editorial slant of the fledgling publication became generally more liberal than that of *Time*, though the two publications resembled each other in format and general appearance. *Newsweek* tried to distinguish itself from its older rival by introducing signed columns and avoiding the breezy language that had come to characterize the Luce publication. The publication was sold to the *Washington Post* company in 1961, whose liberal-leaning publisher Katharine Graham added journalists and features designed to further distinguish *Newsweek* from its two rivals.

By the 1950s, *Newsweek* had already been taking a leading role among American magazines in devoting more serious coverage to the issue of racial diversity in the United States, with in-depth coverage of the "Negro issue" and the struggle for desegregation in the South. By the mid-1960s, when the national consensus was strained by urban unrest and concern over the war in Vietnam, editor Osborn Elliott helped make the publication a vehicle for advocacy journalism. Without compromising its reportage of weekly news events, one of the magazine's issues in November, 1967 included a 20-page section entitled "What Must Be Done." In it, Elliott was quoted as saying, "The reason for this marked change of approach is that the editors have come to believe that at this particular time, on this particular subject, they could not fulfill their journalistic responsibility as citizens by simply reporting what X thinks of Y, and why Z disagrees." Public-policy experts and even rival newsmagazines applauded Elliott's approach, and it encouraged a new breed of advocacy journalists who questioned traditional notions of journalistic "objectivity."

Two incidents in the early 1980s were profoundly embarrassing to *Newsweek*. In 1981, an account the magazine published of "Jimmy," an eight-year-old heroin addict in Washington, D.C. won a Pulitzer Prize for its reporter, Janet Cooke, who was forced to return the award when she admitted she had embellished details in the story. And the May 2, 1983 issue of *Newsweek* devoted 13 pages to what were purported to be "Hitler's Secret Diaries"; the magazine was later forced to admit that the story was a hoax.

In the mid-1980s, when Richard M. Smith was editor, *Newsweek*, always seeking to distinguish itself from *Time*, underwent a major redesign under the direction of Roger Black. Its first foreign-language edition, in Japanese, was published in 1986, to be followed by a Korean edition in 1991 and a Spanish/Latin American edition in 1996. Also in 1996, *Newsweek* entered into a licensing agreement with the Most Group, a Russian publisher, by which it would provide material from current issues of the magazine for a Russian language newsweekly called *Itogi* (“summing up”), with a circulation of 50,000. Maynard Parker, then editor of *Newsweek*, was quoted as saying “it is the first news magazine in Russia and I’m sure it will be challenging because we are in a country where democracy is a new form and where the free press does not have that long a history.” *Newsweek* further distinguished itself in this period by publishing special issues that offered comprehensive coverage of important news items, historical events, and contemporary ideas. Regular columnists such as Meg Greenfield, Jane Bryant Quinn, George Stephanopoulos, and George Will continued *Newsweek*’s tradition of printing expert opinion side-by-side with its news stories. Its long-running “Periscope” column presented background perspective on the week’s news, and its “My Turn” column—the only one of its kind among the newsweeklies—became a vehicle for readers to present their own views on important issues. The magazine was praised by observers for the depth of its reportage and for its journalistic restraint during the investigation of President Bill Clinton by Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr in 1998.

In the 1990s, *Newsweek* was in the vanguard of publications that began disseminating themselves via new digital technologies. It was the first newsweekly to introduce a quarterly CD-ROM version, a move that *Wired* magazine declared “Big Media’s most valuable accomplishment to date.” In 1994, the magazine was available online and, in 1998, *newsweek.com* became available on the World Wide Web with extensive archival material and daily updates. At century’s end, *Newsweek* also had four regional editions (Atlantic, Asia, Latin America, and Australia), four foreign-language editions (Japanese, Korean, Russian, and Spanish), and 22 bureaus around the world. Its circulation in 1999 was reported as 4.4 million worldwide and 3.27 million in the United States.

—Edward Moran

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Newton, Helmut (1920—)

In May 1975, Helmut Newton’s *Vogue* fashion spread, “The Story of Ohhh. . .,” shocked America with its explicit eroticism. For taking risks with the conventions of fashion photography, Newton was labeled by *Time* magazine “a rake, a roué, and a libertine” and by *Newsweek* as “the King of Kink.” Other critics were not so kind and eventually Newton was censored by both British and Italian *Vogue*. In the ensuing two decades, Newton has risen from censored to cherished, earning a reputation as both an art photographer and a fashion photographer. In the late 1990s, Newton is best known for his probing

images of celebrities and his compelling travel photographs. His photographs speak of his love of women, of romance and sexuality, of artifice, and of consumer culture. Yet while most critics and students of photography consider Newton one of the world’s greatest contemporary photographers, some continue to debate the violent sexuality, objectification, and fetishization of women in his photographs.

—Ilene S. Goldman

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Niagara Falls

Heart-shaped bathtubs and romantic overlooks define the contemporary vision of the greatest waterfall of North America. Linked with romantic honeymooning, Niagara Falls has become a tourist mecca that happens to contain an awesome natural wonder. The wonder of the falls has attracted visitors to this site for hundreds of years; however, the onlookers’ interest has been enhanced by a host of attractions. With their natural grandeur, the falls have impressed business developers looking for sources of power and exhibitionists looking for a wondrous thrill.

Many Americans refer to Niagara Falls as the first scenic wonder of North America. In fact, it attracted native people to the area for many years. Settlers converted the site into a primitive tourist destination, complete with dangerous catwalks leading out into the falls’ mists. As the early republic strained to find ways of defining itself and impressing Europeans, many Americans of the early 1800s turned to natural wonders or oddities. Chief among such icons, Niagara Falls rapidly became one of the nation’s first attractions.

As the European-Americans gazed at the crashing falls, some saw unrealized profit, and water-powered milling quickly took shape above the falls. The awesome force of the water offered entrepreneurs a bit of a free-for-all, as each pursued power generation. This avenue of progress continued to be developed in haphazard fashion throughout the nineteenth century. The tourist industry also turned more intrusive during the mid 1800s, leading to the haphazard construction of hotels and motels as well as roads and bridges to access them. Such developments so close to the nation’s preeminent natural wonder spurred a new type of reaction among Americans, and it became one of the first focuses of American preservationists. While outraged tourists bypassed the industrialized Niagara for more pristine or peaceful resorts, socially conservative, highly cultured reformers came to Niagara’s aid beginning in the 1870s. Led by Frederick Law Olmsted, the leader of American landscape architecture and planning, the preservationists sought to secure lands adjacent to the falls on both the American and Canadian sides. By 1887 the Niagara Preservation Movement had secured these lands, and New York established a state



Niagra Falls, the U.S. side.

reservation at the site in 1885. Soon, the preservationists realized that they also needed to prohibit development upriver from the Falls; the state initially resisted. The “Free Niagara” movement continued through the early 1900s.

In tandem with its appeal as a majestic natural wonder, Niagara has consistently appealed to American culture’s fascination with the bizarre. The feature films *Niagara* and *Superman* were partly filmed near the falls, and H. G. Wells was so impressed with the electrical dynamos in place after 1900 that he made the falls an important part of some of his science fiction. This became a fairly familiar characteristic of sci-fi stories, including *Flash Gordon*, which used the falls as the unique place on Earth from which to achieve interplanetary travel. Finally, a number of individuals have “shot,” or ridden over, the falls since 1901, some successful, some not. The devices have ranged from barrels and balls to, more recently, a jet ski.

—Brian Black

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Nichols, Mike (1931—) and Elaine May (1932—)

Along with Lenny Bruce and other “satirists” who emerged during the late 1950s and early 1960s, the team of Mike Nichols and Elaine May made a major impact on the development of modern American comedy. Nichols and May began working together in 1955 as members of The Compass Players, a Chicago-based improvisational theater troupe. From the beginning, the uncommon rapport these young, quick-witted performers enjoyed together enabled them to improvise innovative parodies of popular culture, mock interviews, and satiric dialogues with ease. In late 1957, they began honing much of their material into a solo nightclub act. Over the next several years, the pair appeared on dozens of television programs and specials, performed weekly segments for NBC Radio’s *Monitor*, enjoyed a successful run on Broadway, produced several popular comedy albums, and even improvised material for commercial advertisements. For many Americans who saw or heard them perform, Nichols

and May brought a startlingly new, fresh, and “sophisticated” approach to comedy. Eschewing traditional male/female patter, they created timely and occasionally daring satires of psychoanalysis, show business, contemporary sexual mores, the PTA (Parent-Teacher Association), and many other subjects dealing with suburban, middle-class life. Nichols and May later pursued successful individual careers in the theater and in motion pictures.

—Stephen Kercher

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Nickelodeons

Although nickelodeons did not show the first moving pictures, which had been appearing as part of the entertainment offered at vaudeville shows since the 1890s, they represented the first efforts to create a new venue in which moving pictures would be shown as the featured attraction. Also known as storefront theaters, nickelodeons experienced their heyday from about 1903 to 1915.

Named for “nickel,” the price of admission, and “odeon,” the Greek word for theater, nickelodeons offered the first affordable mass entertainment for lower-income urban people, and hence became wildly popular during the first decades of the twentieth century. As businesses, they were more affordable to run than the ubiquitous penny arcades, which featured hand-cranked “peep show” moving pictures (of usually quite wholesome subjects) but which could also only accommodate one viewer at a time at each machine. The rise of the nickelodeon marked a transition away from penny arcades and Vaudeville shows, and was the first institution to consider the moving picture as a credible and viable form of entertainment in its own right.

Harry Davis, a Pittsburgh businessman, is said to have first coined the term “nickelodeon” in 1904 when he converted a store into a theater, made its interior luxurious, and added a piano as musical accompaniment for the silent footage. His venture was so successful that more than 100 other similar theaters sprang up in Pittsburgh alone that same year. By 1908, there were between 8,000 and 10,000 nickelodeons nationwide. Other early entrepreneurs included men who would become future movie moguls, such as Marcus Loew, Adolph Zukor, the Warner brothers, and William Fox. Locating their businesses in working-class urban districts, these men catered to workers’ needs for leisure activities while acknowledging their lack of free time and spending money. Most vaudeville shows, which took place in special theaters uptown, cost at least 25 cents and were therefore economically and culturally prohibitive to the typical laborer. Going to the nickelodeon, in contrast, was cheap and required no advanced tickets, reserved seating, formal clothing, or special decorum.

The first nickel theaters were located in central business districts, but the majority sat on secondary streets near immigrant and working-class residential areas, where storefronts could be easily converted into suitable spaces. The fronts were recessed up to six feet in order to create outside vestibules that housed a box office and gave

patrons a place to wait. These exteriors, often embellished with brightly paint colors, tin or stucco facades, movie posters, lurid signs, and thousands of electric lights, helped draw people in. In addition, owners often used live barkers to shout the latest attractions to passersby. The interiors were spartan in contrast, furnished with rows of simple wooden folding chairs (seating capacity at first ranged from 50-299 and later reached 600), a canvas screen, and papered-over windows and doorways. The projection booth, located in the rear of the theater, was merely a small box, six feet square, with enough room to house the projector and the projectionist who cranked the film by hand. For about \$200 in equipment, an owner could be in business; since these storefront theaters were not considered “real” theaters, licenses cost much less than those for “legitimate” theaters.

The typical nickelodeon show ran about 30 minutes and was usually comprised of three ten-minute reels and an illustrated song or lecture in between. The shows sometimes ran 24 hours a day, and the programs were usually changed daily to encourage a constant turnover. People flocked to nickelodeons because of the freedom allowed within the sites themselves in addition to the films they showed. To satisfy the need for novelty, movie producers turned out thousands of these one-reel films, which took their plots from current events, Shakespearean plays, operas, novels, and even the Bible. Edwin S. Porter’s *The Great Train Robbery* of 1903, which featured the attack of a telegraph operator, the escape of bandits with the engine, their pursuit and capture, and Western dance hall scenes, was the first “blockbuster” story film, and inspired many imitations. Other popular features borrowed from the realities of working-class life included such titles as *The Eviction*, *The Ex-Convict*, *A Desperate Encounter*, and *She Won’t Pay Her Rent*. Audiences, however, were perhaps most impressed by their exposure to images they had never seen before. Film footage of sights such as Niagara Falls and train travel appealed to their appetite for wonder and their desire to see what they could not normally see, or afford to see, at vaudeville acts.

Besides exposing people to the latest technological wonders of motion pictures, nickelodeons were key social venues. They provided immigrants with their first non-work exposure to American culture. More respectable than dance halls, cheap cafes, and amusement parks, they were also considered safe and acceptable places for working women to go in the early evenings and on weekends, providing one of their few refuges away from life at home. Also known as the “academy of the workingman,” the “workingman’s college,” and the “true theater of the people,” the nickelodeon was additionally a viable place of entertainment for the working-class man, either alone or with his family.

Because of their popularity with lower-income people, nickelodeons drew the critical attention of Progressive Era reformers, who saw them as seedy, dangerous places that were as deleterious as cheap vaudeville, prize fights, honky tonks, and similar forms of entertainment. Working-class people, reformers believed, were not educated enough to watch these films critically; they lacked the intellect to read into and resist the temptations presented (it is estimated that by 1910, one out of five of the films showed characters thinking about or actually engaging in criminal activity).

The perceived threats of nickelodeons to children drew the most attention of reformers, especially because turn-of-the-century children comprised between one-fourth and one-half of all nickelodeon audiences. Jane Addams even criticized them as “houses of dreams” that encouraged dangerous flights of fancy for youngsters. But these places continued to be key social centers for working-class children, who often got rowdy after the lights went down, who sang along with

the illustrated music, who shouted at the images projected on the screen, and who sometimes exchanged sexual favors in the darkened back rows. The efforts of reformers and anti-vice crusaders around 1908 and 1909 led to the first censorship drives, which historian David Nasaw defined as “‘class’ legislation aimed at the working people and immigrants who owned, operated, and patronized the nickel theaters.” In 1909 the National Board of Censorship was formed as a response to pressures to monitor the content of nickelodeon films.

Reform efforts led to the gradual demise of the nickelodeon. By the early 1910s the film industry itself was engaged in self-censorship, meaning that novel and interesting films free of “harmful” images were that much more difficult to create. In addition, operators now had to spend more money to maintain the interior space of their businesses. Since entrances were blocked off, theaters presented real and dangerous fire hazards to the crowds within. In addition, the air—foul and fetid from never being circulated or replenished—was thought to cause various diseases. Fire safety ordinances and new building codes made it more costly to operate storefront theaters.

Besides these external factors, changes were being made in the films themselves. As time went by, the movies got longer and demonstrated a greater variety of subject content, including dramatic, historical, and narrative stories, comedies, mysteries, scenic pictures, and those featuring “personalities.” By the mid 1910s, businessmen catering to the upper classes saw the financial potential of motion pictures, and built their own much more lavish movie “palaces” that brought in a finer trade of people and served as the precursors to standard movie theaters.

The nickelodeon, for its relatively short lifetime, was the first viable form of mass entertainment for the poor in America. It was an institution that gave workers a place to go in their leisure hours, and exposed them to various aspects of American culture. Most importantly, the nickelodeon instilled in young Americans a love of movies and motion picture entertainment that sparked and sustained an important twentieth century industry and cultural institution.

—Wendy Woloson

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Nicklaus, Jack (1940—)

In the world of professional golf, no man has been more successful than Jack Nicklaus, the “Golden Bear.” Winner of 20 major championships, Nicklaus has been a major part of the development of the Professional Golfers’ Association (PGA) Tour for the last



Jack Nicklaus

30 years. His name is cemented in twentieth century golf history not only as the best professional golfer to ever play the game, but also as one of golf’s leading ambassadors.

Born Jack William on January 21, 1940 in Columbus, Ohio, the young Nicklaus first played golf at age ten and won his first tournament, the Scioto Club Juvenile Championship, later that same year. He progressed quickly in his pursuit of the game under the tutelage of professional Jack Grout, at the Scioto Country Club in Columbus. Nicklaus soon rose among the amateur ranks in Ohio, winning the Ohio State Junior Championship in 1953, 1954, and 1955, then the Ohio State Open Championship in 1956. Nicklaus took part in his first United States Amateur Championship in 1955 at Richmond, Virginia, in which he lost in the first round.

Nicklaus attended Ohio State University, where he played for the Buckeye golf team and enrolled in a pre-pharmacy program. He met his future wife Barbara Jean Bash while a student, and the couple married July 23, 1960. He had much success while at Ohio State, winning a number of collegiate tournaments. His first Major victory came at the Broadmoor Golf Club in Colorado in 1959, where he won his first United States Amateur Championship. Two years later he won his second, at the Pebble Beach Golf Course in California in 1961. This final victory convinced Nicklaus he was ready to forego his amateur status, which he did in November of 1961.

Success came rapidly to Nicklaus during his rookie year in professional golf. He won the United States Open—at Oakmont Country Club in Pennsylvania—in a famed playoff against Arnold Palmer. Nicklaus went on to win four more PGA tournament events in his first year, earning him the “Rookie of the Year” title for 1962. He captured his first victory in the Masters Tournament, in Augusta, Georgia in 1963, the same year he won his first PGA Championship. His first British Open title was won in 1966, in Muirfield, Scotland, making him the winner of the four majors at the extraordinary age of just 26. Overall, Nicklaus won 30 tournaments in the 1960s. He

evolved into the dominant golfer of his times, and became known for his aggressive play and prodigious length on the golf course. His success continued into the 1970s, when he won 36 tournaments. The golf world was shocked when at age 46 he won the Master's for a record sixth time in 1986. His dominance of professional golf slowly declined in the 1980s, when he won only five tournaments. Nicklaus began play on the Senior PGA Tour in 1990, and found success as quickly as he did in 1962, with a total of ten tournament victories since 1990.

Jack Nicklaus was the most dominant golfer of his times, and set several PGA Tour records including most Majors (20), most United States Open wins (four), and most Masters wins (six). He won 71 PGA Tour events and 19 international or unofficial tournaments in his career, and was named Player of the Year five times. He has parlayed his success into profitable business ventures such as golf course design and club manufacturing. Nicklaus operates a popular golf instructional school and has produced many instructional videos and books about the game of golf. His influence on the game as ambassador of the sport and as teacher continue to bring Jack Nicklaus to the forefront of professional golf over 40 years after he first picked up a club.

—Jay Parrent

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Night of the Living Dead

In October of 1968, a low-budget horror film entitled *Night of the Living Dead*, directed and co-written by independent filmmaker George Romero, opened in Pittsburgh, far from Hollywood and the mainstream cinema. Shot in the Pennsylvania countryside using mostly amateur actors and boasting ludicrously low production values, Romero's short black-and-white film nevertheless managed to leave its first viewers disturbed, even traumatized, through its unflinching depiction of bloody violence and cannibalism. The film set a new standard for intense screen horror—a standard the Hollywood industry took notice of and appropriated for its own increasingly graphic product in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The story line of *Night of the Living Dead*, originally entitled at various development stages *Night of Anubis* or *The Flesh Eaters*, is deceptively simple and even derivative. George Romero has always admitted that his primary inspiration for the screenplay was Richard Matheson's novel *I Am Legend*, about the last surviving human on earth battling vampires created by a plague. Another obvious influence, in regard to the gore and cannibalism, is EC horror comics. In

many ways, *Night of the Living Dead* at first seems little more than a rehash of 1950s science fiction clichés. A space probe has apparently brought back to earth an unknown form of radiation that has reanimated the corpses of the recently dead (other possible explanations for the plague were discarded from the final cut of the film).

What gives the film its taboo-shattering resonance is what Romero does with his scenario. The shambling, mindless zombies are motivated by one primal drive—to consume the flesh of the living. The plot, then, centers around the futile efforts of a small group of people, thrown together by circumstance, to fend off a zombie onslaught upon an isolated Pennsylvania farmhouse. The protagonists of the film are ill equipped to handle the crisis, and Romero makes it clear early on that they are doomed. Barbara, after witnessing the murder of her brother Johnny by one of the zombies in the film's opening sequence, is nearly catatonic and is finally devoured by a group of zombies, among which is her dead brother. Tom and Judy, two sympathetic young lovers, are unexpectedly killed in a truck explosion during an abortive escape attempt. The zombies feast upon their charred remains in the film's most horrific scene. Harry and Helen, an older married couple, are unable to stop their bickering and quarreling even as their daughter Karen lies dying of a zombie bite. Ben, the narrative's ostensible hero, is engaged in a power struggle with Harry for control of the group's ever-worsening fortunes. The group's defenses, both physical and psychological, crumble one by one, and the final zombie attack on the farmhouse forces Ben, the single remaining survivor, to lock himself in the cellar (ironically, the one part of the household that cowardly Harry had claimed for his own) and hold-out until daylight. The film ends on a truly nihilistic note as Ben, spared the grisly fate of the others, is fatally shot by a member of a sheriff's posse who believes him to be a zombie.

Romero's artistic breakthrough as an independent filmmaker also demonstrated that movies need not originate from within the California film industry to achieve public and critical recognition. *Night of the Living Dead* was financed by Romero and nine associates, each of whom put up \$600 to form a company called Image Ten. The film was shot on weekends and at night over seven months and ultimately cost approximately \$115,000. Romero showed the finished film to two distributors, Columbia and AIP, who rejected it. The Walter Reade company, initially hesitant, finally decided to buy the film and place it in drive-ins around the country. Initially, it seemed as if the film might be condemned to a short run of drive-in obscurity before final extinction. Public word of mouth about the film's graphic violence and relentlessly paced horror, combined with high-profile, savage critical denunciations in the pages of *Reader's Digest*, the *New York Times*, and *Variety*, however, brought the film to the attention of many who might not have otherwise heard of it.

When *Night of the Living Dead* went overseas in 1968, French and British critics in the pages of *Cahiers du Cinema* and *Sight and Sound*, respectively, were quick to praise the film as one of the year's best. American critic Rex Reed was also an early proponent of the film. In 1969, the Museum of Modern Art chose Romero's film as a notable first feature. Walter Reade was encouraged enough by this kind of recognition to bring back *Night of the Living Dead* into New York theaters, most famously the Waverly, for midnight showings. During the early 1970s, the film achieved "cult" status, and pirated copies quickly found their way to cities and television stations across the world. Because of copyright problems with Walter Reade, Romero's



A scene from the film *Night of the Living Dead*.

Image Ten company received little of the many millions of dollars the film was now grossing. Since the early 1970s, however, Romero has achieved some measure of financial compensation, as well as public and critical recognition, with the release of two sequels, *Dawn of the Dead* in 1979 and *Day of the Dead* in 1985, and a 1991 remake of *Night of the Living Dead*, directed by Romero special effects collaborator Tom Savini.

Though Romero did not invent the American “gore” film genre—that distinction belongs primarily to Herschell Gordon Lewis, director of, among others, *Blood Feast*—he demonstrated unequivocally that excellence in filmmaking can legitimate even the most disreputable genres and their trappings. Critics have praised Romero for daring to cast a black actor as Ben, the hero. They have argued that Ben’s shooting by the white mob of hunters is an indirect allusion to America’s shameful history of racist lynching. The critics have also identified the mass of featureless zombies as the Silent Majority of middle-class Americans. The film, released in one of the most violent years of one of America’s most violent decades, captures perfectly the mood of the time—its nihilism, its anxiety over mob action, its radicalism and reactionary conservatism, its domestic wartime paranoia, its body-count newscasts, and its unspoken fear of radiation and nuclear war.

—Philip Simpson

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Nightline

The television news program *Nightline* developed out of the widespread need to see in-depth news coverage of the Iranian Hostage Crisis on a nightly basis. In a strange twist, the event that caused so much frustration and anger on the part of Americans created a television show that routinely gave guests, sitting in different parts of the globe, the opportunity to talk to one another. Often, these were discussions among people who otherwise would never have met. In addition to exploiting new satellite technologies, the show expanded



Ted Koppel, the host of ABC's *Nightline*.

network news coverage into the late night time slot. This allowed the show to dispense with conventional news techniques, like edited interviews and prepared questions. In retrospect, the appearance of *Nightline* was improbable. The show that emerged from the 1979 hostage crisis began with future-anchor Ted Koppel thinking: "This story's gonna die." Needless to say, neither the story nor *Nightline* died.

Roone Arledge, the man in charge of the lowest-rated network newscast, wanted to expand news coverage past the dinner hour, something the more prestigious news divisions were having trouble effecting. Arledge suggested the unthinkable: he wanted to follow the local eleven o'clock newscasts with a news program, competing directly against Johnny Carson's *Tonight Show*. Carson's talk show held an unbreakable monopoly on the late-night slot, and people tuned in to his opening monologues with unflinching regularity. Undaunted, Arledge produced sporadic, one-time news specials for late-night viewers, on subjects like the death of Elvis Presley and the signing of the Panama Canal Treaty.

Arledge initially covered the hostage crisis like the other topics—a news item that people might be interested in seeing more of than what the evening news had presented. Originally hosted by anchor Frank Reynolds, the November 8, 1979 show, called "America Held Hostage," heard from correspondents stationed from every possible angle of the story: Tehran, the White House, Capitol Hill,

and the State Department. Like Koppel, many Americans did not perceive the hostage crisis to have the marks of a long-lasting conflict. By contrast, the images coming in from Iran became increasingly hostile, showing blindfolded American embassy workers, and anti-American demonstrations in Tehran.

Americans soon became united in searching for ways to respond to the Iranians, and Arledge, sensing this, wanted to air a follow-up special. When the show's second installment was finally granted, the words "Day 11" were attached to the title of "America Held Hostage." The marking of time in the title was at once a symbol of the national vigil that lasted until the crisis was resolved. Arledge got his late-night time slot, but "Journalism was only part of it," write Koppel and Kyle Gibson: "This was the seizing of 11:30." With a resolution to the crisis nowhere in sight, Reynolds returned to his evening news duties, and the search was on for a replacement. After top news anchors declined the opportunity, Ted Koppel, a diplomatic correspondent who covered the American civil rights movement, Latin America, and the Vietnam War, became the show's final integral piece.

Nightline represents the geopolitical version of Edward R. Murrow's broadcast of the split-screen view of the Brooklyn and Golden Gate Bridges. The ability to bring together people from halfway around the world, who might not otherwise speak to each

other, was used to the show's advantage. In a ploy that Koppel would later describe as "a little bit shameless," *Nightline* ambushed the Iranian charge d'affaires, Ali Agah, by neglecting to inform him that he would be appearing with Dorothea Morefield, the wife of one of the American captives. The Iranian diplomat soon found himself backtracking in response to Morefield's questions asking why Iran was impeding communications between the hostages and their families. For many viewers it was a satisfying episode, but the length of the crisis made their satisfaction brief.

Koppel's no-nonsense attitude created the effect that he is an advocate for the viewer who challenges evasive politicians to answer the questions posed to them. Some viewers watched *Nightline* to see Koppel make someone squirm as much as they did from any desire to be informed. He once told then-governor of Arizona, Evan Mecham, "I tell you what . . . let's play by my rules for a moment, let's play go back to the question that I asked you initially." To Soviet commentator Vitali Kobesh, he admonished: "When I come on your program I'll answer your questions; now you're on my program. . . . You answer mine, all right?" When baseball executive Al Campanis suggested that blacks had inferior management skills, Koppel replied, "that really sounds like garbage, if you'll forgive me for saying so."

As much as *Nightline* was Koppel's show, the program was not immune to being used as a public relations vehicle by prominent figures. Public figures who were in trouble often used *Nightline's* live format because they knew the live broadcast would afford them the chance to present their side of the story. Failed Clinton nominee Lani Guinier, who once appeared in a desperate attempt to save her nomination, remarked that *Nightline* had "a moment of emotional intensity" that no newspaper was capable of delivering. This quality led *Nightline* to score major journalistic coups throughout the 1980s: Senator Gary Hart after his extramarital affair; televangelist Jim Bakker following the PTL (Praise the Lord or People that Love) scandal; and United Nations Secretary Kurt Waldheim hopelessly trying to minimize his Nazi past.

Through its willingness to exert the journalistic clout that it had begun to acquire, *Nightline* continued to demonstrate an ability to produce groundbreaking television into the late 1990s. Producing the first face-to-face debate between Israeli and Palestinian leaders was the most improbable result of the show which began improbably. After wrangling with both sides just to get them to appear on the same stage together, the show had to ensure that result by building a three-foot high wall in between the two panels. The image of Ted Koppel in a Jerusalem theater, straddling the wall because of Middle Eastern differences, became one of those immediate and succinct metaphors that television effectively communicates.

—Daryl Umberger

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Nike

The emergence of the Nike sports apparel corporation has mirrored the sky-rocketing popularity of sports, athletes, and personal athletic activity in the late twentieth century. Nike has fueled a great deal of this popularity, particularly by employing athletes as product spokespeople and infusing the world of sports with vast amounts of capital. Moreover, by becoming a bone fide cultural icon, "the swoosh," as the corporation's symbol is referred to, has become one of the most ubiquitous product emblems in American life—possibly second only to that of Coca-Cola.

Nike began in 1962 when Phil Knight took an idea he had proposed in his MBA thesis and made it a reality. His paper proposed that well-merchandised shoes from Japan could end Germany's domination of the U.S. athletic shoe industry. After completing his Stanford degree, Knight met in Japan with the Onitsuka Tiger Company, manufacture of quality athletic shoes, and convinced them of the merit of his plan to develop the U.S. market. When the Tiger representatives asked whom he represented, Knight on the spot created "Blue Ribbon Sports," the forerunner of Nike. Knight and his wife distributed Tiger shoes from their garage and financed the endeavor with their own money plus \$500 investments from their son and from Bill Bowerman, Knight's well-known track coach at the University of Oregon. With Bowerman reshaping the Tiger products with new designs, Blue Ribbon Sports began producing its own products in 1971. In six years, revenues climb from \$8,000 to \$1.96 million. Legal wrangling with Tiger led to the dissolution of Blue Ribbon Sports and the birth of Nike, the debut of which took place at the 1972 Olympic Trials in Eugene, Oregon. By 1979, Nike claimed 50 percent of the U.S. running shoe market.

From the start, Nike pushed the similarity between contemporary sport and ancient warfare: Nike, the shoe, was intended to inspire athletes as just as Nike, the Greek goddess, had inspired Greek warriors on history's earliest battlefields. With such aspirations, the corporation's name suggests the added importance of sports in contemporary life. More than any other entity, Nike may be most responsible for the rapid commercialization of sport in the late twentieth century. In terms of sales, Nike is one of the most successful companies in the world. In 1998 Nike posted record sales of \$9.6 billion, selling nearly 160 million pairs of athletic shoes. Shoes form the core of Nike sales, but the company has broadened into all types of sports apparel. Today, one out of every two pairs of athletic shoes in the nation is made by Nike. The sneaker, a fairly rudimentary article of clothing prior to the 1970s, became the vehicle through which the fan and athlete could connect to raise the role of sports in American life to new levels.

"It's the shoes," boasted one of Nike's most memorable ad campaigns. As opposing athletes tried to explain the exceptional skills of Michael Jordan, Nike spokesman and basketball star since 1984, this was the only explanation they could find. Conveniently for Nike, this explanation would also help to make "Air Jordans" the shoe that formed this new link between fans and their stars, as millions of fans purchased a pair in hopes that the shoes would give them a piece of Jordan's unique gift.

As evidenced by this episode, Nike began to commodify sports in a way never seen previously. The core of this restructuring revolved around using athletes to represent products to the public in carefully-crafted advertisements. Athletes, including Jordan, became

characters to be packaged with products that somehow reflected their actual or contrived personal details. With such “product tie-ins,” sporting events often appear as stages on which corporations such as Nike orchestrate “product placement,” a term for noticeably positioning name-brand products in feature films. For instance, it has now become common for football’s Super Bowl, or other significant sporting events, to be tied to the introduction of new ads, each attempting to outdo the others or to continue an ongoing narrative with the viewing public. Such efforts are aimed at reinforcing a bond between performer/athlete and fan/viewer that ultimately benefits corporations such as Nike.

These changes have helped to propel the world of sports into a big money business for athletes and lawyers, who are used as agents similar to those employed by Hollywood celebrities. The agent’s task is to manage the career of the athlete into these new economic possibilities so that most athletes will not need to work after retiring from sports. Nike proved visionary in defining this process by associating itself with young athletes in a bond that often proves more lasting than an athlete’s team affiliations. Most often, immediately upon turning professional, the modern athlete carries a brand contract to wear and represent certain apparel. Nike now has more than 3,000 athletes in the fold worldwide, including 82 percent of the players in the National Basketball Association, over half of the Major League Baseball and National Football League players, and players at more than 200 universities. In addition to learning characteristic athletic moves, aspiring athletes often choose the apparel of their favorite athlete as well. This tendency has been fostered, if not altogether manufactured, by Nike’s effort to give athletes personal characteristics in the marketplace.

The most famous of the branded sports personalities was Michael Jordan, who served as the pioneer for the modern athlete. Jordan was signed to Nike representation prior to his emergence as the best basketball player ever, and as both the player and the Nike apparel he wore rose in prominence, Jordan’s public image blurred the line between product and personality. Named the NBA’s Most Valuable Player five times and responsible for leading the lowly Chicago Bulls from also-rans to powerhouse of the 1990s, Jordan’s skills are undeniable. Yet his celebrity—fostered by innumerable advertisements—has allowed him to become the world’s most recognizable figure. Though Jordan was the product spokesman for innumerable companies and has starred in feature films, it is his representation of Nike that was primarily responsible for his widespread recognition. Both Nike and Jordan reaped the benefits of his product development.

In recent years, Nike’s popularity has fueled some harsh criticism. The ubiquity of the “swoosh” has seen it publicly worn and associated with criminals and oddity: just before the Heaven’s Gate cult members poisoned themselves in 1997, they each laced up new black Nikes. Of course, any symbol worn by so many people is liable to such accidental notoriety. More damaging, Nike manufacturing has been directly linked to the exploitation of child labor abroad. With most of Nike’s shoes manufactured in Indonesia, Vietnam, and China, the company risks allowing local workplace ethics—which run counter to Western standards—to infiltrate their production. Exposé articles in 1998 disclosed that Nike plants forced workers into a sub-standard, “sweatshop” environment and often employed younger workers. The episode has turned into a public relations nightmare for Nike, allowing it to become for many Americans a symbol of “unethical big corporations.” The company hired former United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young to inspect the plants. When

Young reported that the factories were “lean, organized [and] adequately ventilated,” Nike began one of its mammoth ad campaigns in order to inform its American buyers.

Interestingly, though, the “sweatshop” has proven to be a daunting association to shake publicly, which may say more about Americans’ feelings about themselves than about Nike. In an era of global capitalism, many consumers see Nike as a symbol of American greed. Indonesian Nike workers, for instance, are not allowed to wear the shoes or purchase them at cost (How could they when they earn U.S. \$2.20 per day without overtime?). In fact, all Nike shoes are made for export; none are sold in Indonesia. The idea that a luxury item such as sports shoes exploits children abroad has led many Americans to question the culture of consumption that makes \$150 sneakers part of everyday life. This is exactly the type of questioning that Nike has avoided as it constructed one of the most successful corporations of the late twentieth century.

—Brian Black

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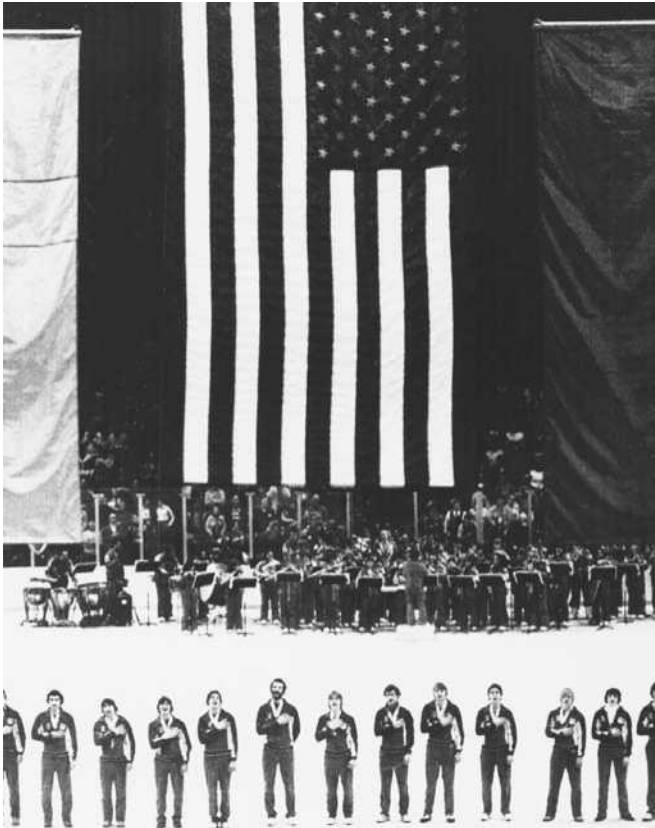
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1980 U.S. Olympic Hockey Team

Before the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York, the United States Olympic hockey team was not expected to compete for a medal. After all, their pool included powerhouses such as Sweden and Czechoslovakia, while the other pool included the Soviet Union and Finland. Only the top two teams from each pool would advance to the medal round, so the United States team faced long odds. By the time the fortnight had ended, the United States team had pulled off one of the greatest upsets in hockey history by defeating the Russians in the semifinals and winning the gold medal after defeating Finland 4-2 in their final game.

The victory inspired a national celebration. After a year of disappointment and disaster, from the Iranian Embassy takeover to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (a result of which was the boycott by the U.S. of the Summer Olympics in Moscow), Americans were looking for something to cheer for. High inflation and unemployment plagued the country, and President Jimmy Carter’s policies were often met with scorn and derision.

After defeating the Russians for the right to play for the gold medal, the U.S. team retreated to their locker room and attempted to sing “God Bless America,” though many could not remember all the words. Radio City Music Hall erupted during a performance when the



The U.S. Men's Hockey Team, after being awarded the gold medal at the 1980 Winter Olympics in Lake Placid, New York.

Finland score was announced. A nationally televised NBA game between the Kansas City Kings and Milwaukee Bucks was interrupted for a second rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Euphoria swept through the country, giving U.S. citizens something to be happy about after months of disappointment.

Before 1980, the United States formed their Olympic hockey teams hastily and then expected them to compete in the tournament. But more often than not the U.S. teams struggled against European squads that had played together for months. In 1980, however, the plan was different. Led by University of Minnesota coach Herb Brooks, the U.S. team spent six months in training and played 61 games before the Olympics. At the same time, Brooks installed a European-type system, emphasizing puck control, instead of the dump-and-chase style favored in the past. Those plans appeared to be all for naught just before the tournament, as the Soviet squad routed the U.S. team 10-3 on the eve of the tournament. Coach Brooks commented after the game that a loss like that was not necessarily bad, since it might prevent overconfidence in his team.

The U.S. team would find out quickly if they had a chance for a medal because their first two contests were against Sweden and Czechoslovakia. In that first contest, the U.S. managed a 2-2 tie, scoring with only 27 seconds left. A huge upset followed two days later as the host team routed the Czechs 7-3. With those two tougher contests out of the way, the U.S. had a good chance to advance to the medal round. Their next three opponents were not as strong—Norway, Rumania, and West Germany. As it turned out, the host team took care of business, winning all three contests with relative ease to

advance to the medal round. Both the United States and Sweden had 4-0-1 records in pool play, but the Swedes were the top seed because of goal differential. That fact forced the United States to face the same Soviet squad that had annihilated them only two weeks earlier.

The Soviets controlled play throughout much of the game, outshooting the Americans 39-16. Going into the third period, the U.S. trailed the four-time defending champs 3-2. However, two goals scored only 90 seconds apart propelled the Americans to the improbable win. Mark Johnson and Mike Eruzione became forever etched in American Olympic history with their goals. A call from ABC broadcaster Al Michaels became famous after the win: "Do you believe in miracles? YES!"

It must be remembered, though, that the victory over the Soviets did not win the Americans the gold medal. The U.S. still had to beat Finland to assure themselves the gold. The contest was televised live in the United States, despite its early Sunday morning start (11 a.m. local time, 8 a.m. West Coast time). If the U.S. had lost this game, they actually would have finished third, and the hated Russians would still have won by virtue of their win over Sweden. Things looked bleak going into the final period, as the U.S. trailed 2-1. The never-say-die American team did not quit, however, and with three third-period goals, they won the gold medal with a 4-2 triumph.

Since that improbable win, the United States hockey team has failed to earn a medal. Even in 1998 in Nagano, Japan, with NHL players participating for the first time, the Americans could not corral a medal, though they earned distinction for the damage they caused to their hotel rooms following raucous parties.

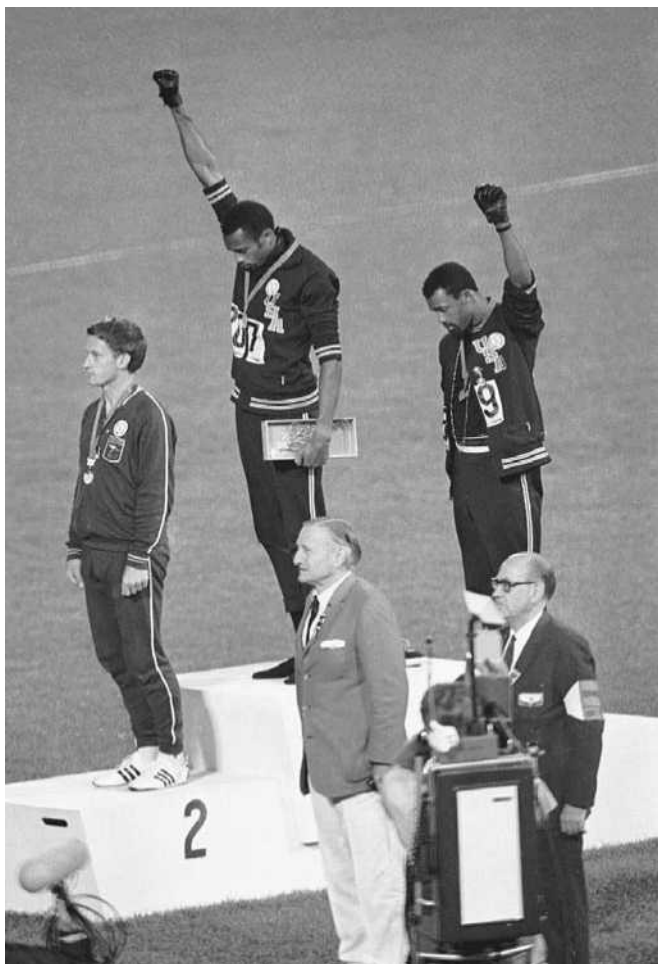
—D. Byron Painter

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1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games

Few who witnessed Tommie Smith's and John Carlos's black power salute on the medal stand on 16 October, 1968, following their gold and bronze medal performances in the 200 meters at the Mexico City Olympic Games, could remain neutral about the sentiments behind their protest. Fewer still could challenge the symbolic significance of their action. Nor was it possible to explain their stance as the actions of isolated extremists, for while they provided the most public



U. S. athletes Tommie Smith (center) and John Carlos stare downward with arms raised during the playing of the “Star Spangled Banner” in protest at the 1968 Olympics.

protest of those games, their action articulated a political sentiment that was widespread among African American athletes competing for the United States. Smith and Carlos, in stocking feet, wearing black beads and black scarves, with their black-gloved fists raised over their heads as the American national anthem was played, used the biggest stage in sports to air grievances about racial injustice in the United States.

The Mexico City Olympics had arrived during a transitional period in the American civil rights movement. Although the movement had achieved important success in gaining legal protections for African Americans, particularly in dismantling “Jim Crow” laws mandating segregation in the southern states, the movement had been less successful in ameliorating economic disparity between whites and blacks. Frustrated with white America’s lack of commitment to change, many younger African Americans, especially men, increasingly supported the more militant black power wing of the movement, turning away from older leaders who had emphasized alliances with white liberals.

These changes were reflected within the sports world. Led by Harry Edwards, a sociologist at San Jose State in the late 1960s, a group of 50 to 60 African American athletes representing several sports, particularly track and field, formed the Olympic Project for Human Rights, an organization which hoped to use its visibility

within the sports world for political action. Reflecting prejudices even among individuals fighting against bigotry, however, membership was limited to men. Although members of the project rejected a suggestion that they boycott the Mexico City Games in protest, some athletes resolved to take individual action. The assassination of civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King in April, 1968, only heightened tensions in the months leading up to the games, as did attempts by the white Olympic leadership to allow South Africa in the games, despite that nation’s policy of racial apartheid.

These Olympic Games saw tremendous performances by African American athletes, as many resolved to make their statements through competition. African American athletes won ten golds and set seven world records in track and field. Several black athletes, including heavyweight boxer George Foreman, also won gold medals in other sports.

As a result of their silent protest, Smith and Carlos were stripped of their medals, becoming the only athletes to be punished in that way for political reasons by the United States Olympic Committee. (Silver medalist Peter Norman of Australia, a white athlete who also participated in the protest, was severely reprimanded by his national sports federation as well.) Their protest highlighted the relationship between race, politics, and sports in their era, much as Jesse Owens’ victories in the 1936 Berlin Games had done for his.

—John Smolenski

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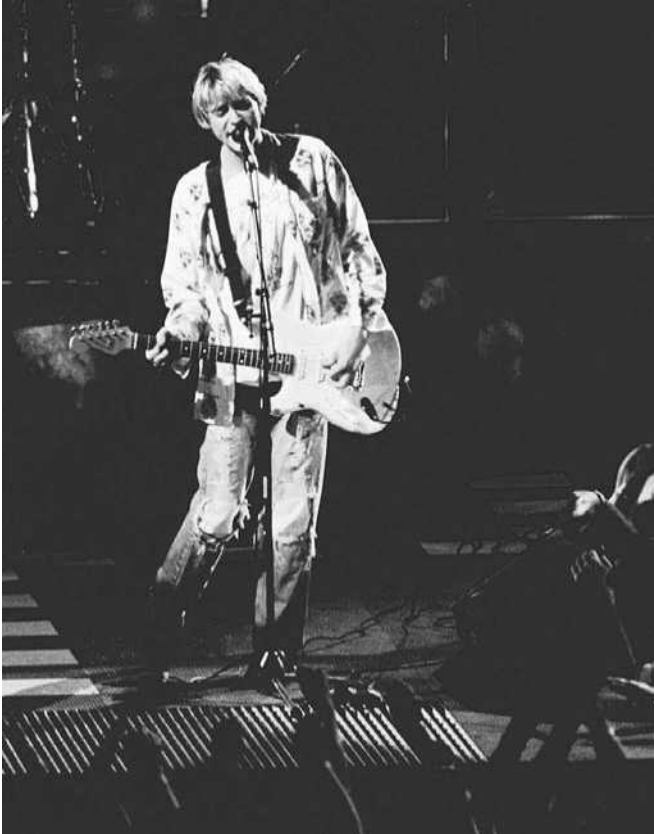
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Nirvana

Rarely does a single album make a massive impact on music and popular culture, but Nirvana’s *Nevermind*—released in the fall of 1991—did just that. Nirvana essentially brought the sound and fury of Punk Rock to the mainstream of America about 15 years after it initially broke, and temporarily changed the course of American popular music in the process. Fusing Punk’s speed and energy with 1970s Metal heaviness, Nirvana popularized what would later be labeled “Grunge,” making loud and abrasive guitar rock one of the biggest money making genres of the 1990s. Within one year of *Nevermind*’s success, MTV (Music Television) went from being dominated by lightweight dance-pop and “hair” metal acts to being monopolized by guitar-wielding, long-haired quasi-punk rockers. Furthermore, in the early 1990s “Grunge” fashion became the next big thing, with the flannel thrift-store shirts and ripped jeans worn by Nirvana being imitated by upscale Madison Avenue fashion stores. The group’s two-and-half-year reign over popular music ended



Kurt Cobain of Nirvana.

tragically when Nirvana leader Kurt Cobain took his life with a shotgun blast to the head on April 4, 1994.

For those who did not have their ear to the American underground music scene of the 1980s, Nirvana's sound may have come as a shock. Nirvana was, however, more representative of a musical tradition than an aberration. Formed in 1987, core members Kurt Cobain (1967-1994) and Chris Novoselic (1965—) were directly inspired by American underground music played by bands such as the Minutemen, Big Black, Black Flag, the Melvins, and Sonic Youth. This Aberdeen, Washington, band soon was signed to the ultra-hip Seattle label, Sub Pop, which specialized in the type of heavy Punk-meets-1970s Metal music that Nirvana played at the time. After an initial single, the band recorded their first album, *Bleach*, for \$600, which went on to be a moderate underground success—picking up a considerable amount of critical acclaim along the way. Still, in 1990, the band was considered to be nothing more than just another pretty good band on an independent label.

After the band resurfaced in 1991 on a major label, DGC, the group had both a new drummer (Dave Grohl, 1969—) and considerably improved songs—creating catchier, albeit no less loud music. “Smells Like Teen Spirit” was perhaps their most likable song, and when it was released in the fall of 1991 it steadily climbed the charts and its video quickly became a staple on MTV. With little push from Nirvana's record company, by early 1992 *Nevermind* went to the top of the *Billboard* album charts, unseating such superstars as U2, Garth Brooks, Michael Jackson, and MC Hammer. Even though there was a precedent for what Nirvana was doing, mainstream America reacted to it as being the newest, biggest thing in music. Major record labels

began signing relatively unknown bands (Stone Temple Pilots, L7, Pearl Jam, Helmet) who fit the newly-dubbed “Alternative” genre, as well as older artists like Circle Jerks, Jesus Lizard, and the Butthole Surfers.

Always a Punk idealist, Kurt Cobain often did his best to alienate many of the new members of his audience, whom he referred to as the ones “who used to beat me up in school.” The desire to drive away this segment of his audience began with Cobain planting an open-mouthed kiss on Novoselic on *Saturday Night Live* and culminated in the recording of *In Utero* (1993). Feeling like *Nevermind* was too slick, the band hired veteran underground engineer Steve Albini to produce an extremely abrasive follow-up to their multi-platinum major label debut. But Cobain's plan backfired, and *In Utero* went to the top of the *Billboard* album charts again, primarily because Cobain had not buried his songwriting gifts and, further, the landscape of popular music had changed dramatically since *Nevermind* was released. In two years, mainstream listeners' ears had been hardened by endless streams of Nirvana-clone bands, making even the extremely dissonant sounds of *In Utero*'s “Scentless Apprentice” and “Very Ape” palatable.

Growing increasingly discontent with his role as a big rock star, Cobain became more depressed—a feeling that was fueled by his heroin use. Cobain and Courtney Love's drug-related problems fell under mounting scrutiny by the mainstream press, and Nirvana repeatedly took criticism from the underground music community for “selling out” (after buying a new Lexus, for instance, Cobain took so much flack from his peers that he returned the car to the dealership and took back his old Volvo from the pre-*Nevermind* days). For reasons that will never be fully known, Kurt Cobain took his own life with a shotgun blast to the head on April 4, 1994 in the room above his Seattle home's garage. When his body was found on April 8, it was a major media event, and thousands publicly mourned, including Courtney Love, who recorded an infamous eulogy/rant in which she read parts of her husband's suicide note—punctuated by her own grief-stricken asides.

Courtney Love's group, Hole, recorded *Live Through This*, coincidentally released the Tuesday after Cobain's suicide. It went on to become a critical and commercial success. Nirvana drummer Dave Grohl formed the extremely popular Foo Fighters, while bassist Chris Novoselic concentrated on forming Political Action Committees that lobbied against anti-censorship laws. In early 1998, Novoselic's band, *Sweet 75*, released its poorly-selling debut, which had not even surpassed *Bleach*'s sales of 35,000 months after its release.

—Kembrew McLeod

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Nixon, Agnes (1927—)

Agnes Nixon is the most influential writer in daytime television, introducing social issues and moral seriousness to the soap opera. She served an apprenticeship with the creator of the genre, Irna Phillips, developing dialogue for the radio serial *Woman in White*. After

writing anthology dramas and working on inaugural story lines for *Search for Tomorrow*, she worked again with Phillips on *As the World Turns*. During the early sixties she became head writer of another Phillips's creation, *The Guiding Light*, where she had the heroine, Bert Bauer, undergo treatment for uterine cancer. In 1968 she created her first series, *One Life to Live*, conceiving a multicultural community of many ethnic groups, a major departure from the traditional WASP universe of the soaps. In 1970 she created her most personal series, *All My Children*, in which she tackled the Vietnam War, abortion, and drug addiction. For *All My Children* she crystallized one of the genre's most enduring archetypes, the bitch goddess, as embodied in Susan Lucci's Erica Kane. Erica was not only a soap icon, but, like all of Nixon's characters, a three-dimensional individual who grew over time. In the early 1980s Nixon created the prime-time miniseries *The Manions of America* and the serial *Loving with Douglas Marland*. Nixon was the first woman and writer to receive the prestigious Trustee's Award from the National Academy of Television Arts & Sciences.

—Ron Simon

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Noloesca, La Chata (1903-1980)

La Chata Noloesca was the most famous and celebrated vaudevillian on the Hispanic theatrical circuits of the United States, northern Mexico, and the Caribbean. For more than four decades, she sang, danced, and acted on stage and screen, principally drawing her material from Mexican-American working-class culture and performing for the Hispanic working classes in Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Tampa, Havana, and San Juan.

Born Beatriz Escalona on August 20, 1903, in San Antonio, Texas, into an impoverished Mexican immigrant family, Escalona's schooling was minimal and she began working at an early age, selling food and drink to passengers on trains that stopped in San Antonio. Undoubtedly her sharp observations of street life and her acute ear for the nuances of Spanish working-class dialect were nurtured during these years of daily contact with the masses of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans in transit at the train station.

Escalona's life as a theatrical artist began in 1920, when she was discovered while working as an usherette and box office cashier at the Teatro Nacional, the most important theater house in Texas at that time. It was then that she was recruited by the Spanish-Cuban song and dance troupe of Hermanos Areu, after they spotted her on the Nacional stage competing in a beautiful-legs contest, a promotional event run by a hosiery company. She won the contest and won a place

in the Areu troupe. She made her debut with the Areus that same year in El Paso (she later married José Areu) and went on to star in everything from melodrama to vaudeville. Over the course of the 1920s, Escalona developed and perfected her comic persona of La Chata Noloesca (Noloesca is a scrambled version of her real last name, Escalona)—the street-wise maid, a *peladita*, or underdog character, with an attitude who maintained a spicy and satirical banter that was not above touching taboo subjects and improvising monologues on topical themes. So successful did the Areus become with La Chata Noloesca on board, that they were able to rent their own theater in Los Angeles and serve as the impresarios for the numerous Hispanic companies touring to that city during the 1920s. La Chata Noloesca, by far became the main draw for the mainly working-class, immigrant audiences of Los Angeles during these years.

By 1930, Escalona had divorced José Areu, split from the Areus, and formed her own company, Atracciones Noloesca, made up principally of young women recruited in her hometown, San Antonio. During the Great Depression she continued to tour the Southwest and northern Mexico, but it became evident that, as Mexicans voluntarily and involuntarily returned to their homeland during the economic crisis, audiences had dwindled and theater owners could no longer afford live performances in their houses; many switched to the more lucrative showing of movies that were now offered with Spanish sound tracks. In response, Escalona decided to set out for venues where the Hispanic community was growing, not decreasing; this meant heading out for cities that were drawing Puerto Rican immigrants, such as New York and Chicago.

In 1936 she reformed her company with local San Antonio talent under the name of the *Compañía Mexicana* and set out to weather the depression by performing at points east: Tampa, Chicago, and New York—as well as Puerto Rico and Cuba. Escalona's novel idea was to bring to the Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other ethnic Hispanics her brand of Mexican vaudeville, music, folklore, and her own brand of humor. In 1941, the company set down roots in New York for a stretch of nine years, during which time it was a mainstay on the Hispanic vaudeville circuit made up of the Teatro Hispano, the Teatro Puerto Rico, the Teatro Triboro, and the 53rd Street Theater.

In 1950, Beatriz Escalona returned to her beloved San Antonio for her retirement, but nevertheless performed periodically for special community events until her death in 1980. She was survived by her daughter Velia Areu, a singer and vaudevillian in her own right who had come up in La Chata's companies.

—Nicolás Kanellos

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Norris, Frank (1870-1903)

Born in Chicago on March 5, 1870, Frank Norris is best known as one of the leading lights of American literary naturalism. Having studied art in Paris for a year before attending the University of California in Berkeley and then Harvard, Norris worked as a reporter and critic for a number of newspapers and magazines in San Francisco and New York. After moving to New York in 1898, Norris published seven novels and two short story collections in quick succession.

Moran the Lady Letty, Blix, and A Man's Woman were standard "New Woman" adventure novels, largely forgotten during the twentieth century. *Vandover and the Brute* and *McTeague*, on the other hand, were Norris's classic Zolaesque studies of human degeneration. *The Octopus* and *The Pit*, his last two novels before his untimely death from peritonitis in 1903, were both contributions to his ambitious *Epic of the Wheat* trilogy.

—Bennett Lovett-Graff

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North by Northwest

When screenwriter Ernest Lehman was assigned to work for Alfred Hitchcock, he told the famed "master of suspense": "I'd like to write the Hitchcock picture to end all Hitchcock pictures." The result, released in 1959, was *North by Northwest*, and although—fortunately—it did not end all Hitchcock pictures, it did seem to offer a summation of the best of the director's work up to that time. Starring Cary Grant in a fast-paced thriller of mistaken identity and cold war intrigue, *North by Northwest* had it all: glamour, mystery, wit, hairbreadth escapes, macabre humor, romance, and a breakneck cross-country chase culminating in a literally cliff-hanging climax atop the Mount Rushmore monument. Also, it was in this film that Hitchcock inserted one of his most famous set-pieces: Grant, alone near a seemingly deserted cornfield, suddenly being stalked and strafed by a crop-dusting airplane. A big hit movie, *North by Northwest* remains important as the pinnacle of the romantic-spy-chase genre Hitchcock himself had virtually originated—and was a turning point for the famed film-maker.

The precursors for *North by Northwest* were the romantic espionage thrillers with which the British director had first gained fame in the 1930s, such as *The Lady Vanishes*, *The Man Who Knew Too Much*, and, especially, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. In this last film, the leading man (Robert Donat) is mistakenly accused of murder, causing him to flee both the police and the spies who are the true killers. The chase carries the hero all over Scotland, handcuffed to blonde Madeleine Carroll, with whom he is forced to have a relationship characterized by equal parts distrust and sexual attraction. All of this is played out and filmed in a style of high comedy, which actually serves to emphasize the excitement and suspense—the "Hitchcock touch." Once Hitchcock had established himself in Hollywood in the late 1930s, he wasted no time in extending this genre he had created, directing such successful pictures as *Foreign Correspondent* (with Joel McCrea) and *Saboteur* (with Robert Cummings). Both became regarded as classic Hitchcock thrillers, but at the time the director was

disappointed that his reputation was not big enough to secure the services of the most important stars; (he had wanted Gary Cooper for *Correspondent*). By the 1950s, this was no longer a problem for Hitchcock. As one of the top directors in town, he could employ such first-rank actors as James Stewart and Cary Grant—and he preferred such casting because he felt the audience could most readily identify with a big star and empathize with him during the scenes where he's placed in jeopardy. With *North by Northwest*, Hitchcock's only film at MGM, he once more had the services of Cary Grant—and also the opportunity to improve upon his best work. As Hitchcock later explained to François Truffaut, audiences were terrified by the climax of *Saboteur*, in which hero Robert Cummings tries to save a spy who is dangling from the Statue of Liberty—but they would have been twice as frightened if it had been the hero, not the spy, who was hanging on for dear life. With his new film, Hitchcock made sure that Cary Grant and his leading lady (Eva Marie Saint) were both hanging by Grant's manicured fingernails atop the Mount Rushmore monument.

The story-line with which Lehman and Hitchcock manipulated their stars into this precarious position was an improbable cross-country labyrinth of spy vs. spy and love vs. betrayal, all spinning out from the fateful moment when jaded Madison Avenue executive Roger Thornhill (Grant) is mistaken for a mysterious Mr. Kaplan by the henchmen of spymaster Phillip Vandamm (James Mason, at his slyly sinister best). The spies kidnap Thornhill, interrogate him for secrets (which, of course, he does not possess), and attempt to kill him. Though Thornhill manages to survive this ordeal, his troubles are only beginning. Unable to convince the authorities—or even his own mother—that he was attacked, Thornhill investigates the mystery, only to find himself mistakenly accused of murdering an ambassador at the United Nations. Now, in the tradition of *Thirty-Nine Steps*, with the spies and the police after him, Thornhill flees west by train, befriended—or is he?—en route by beautiful blonde Eve Kendall (Saint), who hides him in her state room. Thornhill's perils continue to pile up as he makes his way across the country in search of the real Mr. Kaplan. What the audience learns before Thornhill does is that there is no real Mr. Kaplan—he's an imaginary agent created as a decoy by real U.S. agents.

If all of this begins to sound confusing or far-fetched, that is part of the point. If ever a director made a film with a twinkle in his eye, Hitchcock is that director and *North by Northwest* is that film. (He claimed that he'd intended to call the picture *The Man in Lincoln's Nose*, and include a scene of Cary Grant in the giant nostril having a sneezing fit. The actual title is inconsequentially a reference to Hamlet's madness.) Hitchcock always claimed that logic was a quality which a film-maker should be willing to sacrifice if it would allow for a great scene or a great shot, and *North by Northwest* is filled with such scenes and shots. (In truth, the plotting of the picture, improbable though it may be, is worked out ingeniously.) Hitchcock also claimed that, in a thriller, the revelation of the secret being sought—"the MacGuffin," as he called it—was totally irrelevant to the story; for Hitchcock, the fun was all in the chase. Consequently, he took delight in the airport sequence where government operative Leo G. Carroll finally explains the mystery to Cary Grant—and his words are drowned off the soundtrack by airplane engines.

For his original screenplay, Ernest Lehman (*The Sweet Smell of Success*) Lehman was nominated for an Academy Award (as were the film's editor and art directors). Bernard Herrmann, Hitchcock's favorite



Cary Grant in a scene from the film *North by Northwest*.

composer in the 1950s, concocted an exciting musical score. The main title was in the form of a fandango—symbolizing, according to Herrmann, “the crazy dance about to take place between Cary Grant and the world.” For the film’s most famous scene, the attack of the crop-dusting airplane, Herrmann wisely refrained from providing any music, realizing that it would only distract from the sonic impact of the ever-approaching plane and the firing of its machine gun. Ironically, the following year, Hitchcock would request that Herrmann leave the shower-murder in *Psycho* similarly unscored. Herrmann, of course, disregarded this instruction, and when Hitchcock saw the scene with Herrmann’s now-famous attacking violins on the soundtrack, the director apologized for having made “an improper suggestion.”

Cary Grant contributed one of his most expert performances as the unlikely Thornhill, suavely romancing Eva Marie Saint’s Eve while a world of spies is pursuing him. *North by Northwest* proved a triumph for both its star and its director, a cinematic high-water mark which remains much admired, and much imitated in films, including *Charade*, *Silver Streak*, etc. The second James Bond feature, *From Russia With Love*, boasts an exciting helicopter sequence not unlike Hitchcock’s crop-dusting scene. From that point on, however, the Bond films would start going their own way, creating the genre of outrageously gimmick-stuffed espionage thrillers. After his horror-film one-two punch of *Psycho* and *The Birds*, Hitchcock would make

films like *Marnie* and *Topaz*, which harked back to his erotic espionage thrillers of the 1940s, such as *Notorious*. But never again did he attempt another flat-out, action/chase thriller in the manner of his 1930s hits.

—Preston Neal Jones

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Northern Exposure

Airing first in 1990, comedy-drama series *Northern Exposure* brought an engaging and eccentric vision of small-town Alaskan life to television viewers. Its utopian portrait of a simpler existence reflected an early 1990s concern with scaling down from the yuppie excesses of the 1980s. Set in the fictional town of Cicely, the series

began with the arrival of Dr. Joel Fleischman (Rob Morrow), a native New Yorker, and hinged upon the initial contrast and growing affinity, between the urbane Doctor and the quirky, close-knit, local populace. Created by *St. Elsewhere's* Joshua Brand and John Falsey, the series had a savvy use of artistic and literary references within its off-beat storylines. *Northern Exposure* picked up a loyal audience, along with six Emmy awards in the second of its six seasons. The series ended in 1996, its demise hastened by Morrow's departure.

—James Lyons

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Novak, Kim (1933—)

Critics have never been kind to Kim Novak. They often (and wrongly) have dismissed her as a typical star manufactured by the



Kim Novak

studio system, or as one of the many cinema's goddesses gifted with plenty of sex appeal but little acting talent. Directors have not been too kind either. Richard Quine, allegedly paying her a compliment, declared she had "the proverbial quality of the lady in the parlor and the whore in the bedroom." An embittered Henry Hathaway remembered resigning as director of *Of Human Bondage* (1964), which he had originally planned to film with Marilyn Monroe, because of Novak: "they made it with Stupid-what's her name-Kim Novak. . . I worked one day with her and quit." And yet, although briefly, audiences loved her passionately and were most receptive to her peculiar appeal as an actress, responding to it with 3,500 fan letters per week.

Born Marilyn Pauline Novak, Kim Novak's star began to shine when Rita Hayworth's started to fade. In the early 1950s, Harry Cohn, the head of Columbia, decided to create another sex goddess to replace Hayworth and his choice fell on the young model Novak. She was cast as a femme fatale in *Pushover* (1954) by Richard Quine, and her first starring performance is already remarkable for that peculiar mixture of destructive sex appeal and extreme vulnerability which will later inform her role in Alfred Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958). In 1955, she starred in two of that year's biggest hits: the sexy comedy *Picnic* by Joshua Logan and the controversial *Man with the Golden Arm* by Otto Preminger. In both movies, Novak plays female characters who are only superficially weak and who refuse to be appreciated only as sex objects. Her slow-motion jitterbug dance with the sexy hobo William Holden in *Picnic* ranks as one of the most sensual scenes of the 1950s. As Kathleen Murphy puts it, "this perversely virginal blonde seemed a voluptuous projection of every smalltown Sleeping Beauty."

By the end of 1956, Kim Novak was worth at least \$300,000 per film and a poll commissioned by the magazine *Box Office* voted her the most popular star in the United States. And yet, by that time, she also began to have a reputation for being "difficult" to work with. George Sidney, who directed Novak and Tyrone Power in *The Eddy Duchin Story* (1956), listed her as evidence for the belief that "hopeless poison gets into actresses when they become big stars." But Novak began to make it clear that she was unwilling to conform to the cliché of the brainless sex goddess, which Cohn had thought she would fit so well. Interviewed in 1998 on the occasion of the release of the restored copy of *Vertigo*, Novak declared that to the label of "difficult" she preferred that of "impudent": "I had views, or rather, instincts—like animals do. I trusted my instincts and wanted to be true to myself, so a director had to convince me of something else. . . ."

When Vera Miles became pregnant, Alfred Hitchcock replaced her with Novak for the role of Madeline Elster/Judy Barton in *Vertigo*. One of the central motifs of the movie is Madeline's, and then Judy's ability to make the quasi-Pygmalion character Scottie Ferguson, played by James Stewart, fall in love with the beautiful image he has created for himself. Novak displays a remarkable ability to sustain the ambiguity and the tensions between sensuality and vulnerability, between seeming and being implied in her character. When the restored copy of the movie was re-released, Novak claimed she saw the James Stewart character as a variation on Harry Cohn, who created an actress he never thought had any quality: "Cohn wasn't interested in me as a woman. He didn't think I had anything to offer. . . he just didn't see you. He looked beyond you. . . to where the audiences were."

During the 1960s and 1970s, Novak made a series of wrong choices. She was either miscast in movies that did no justice to her abilities (*The Amorous Adventures of Moll Flanders*, 1965; *Satan's Triangle*, 1975; *White Buffalo*, 1977) or which received poor distribution (*The Legend of Lylah Claire*, 1968). By the end of the 1970s, after marrying her veterinarian, she decided to be less active as an actress. She appeared in a supporting role in David Hemmings's *Just a Gigolo* (1979), where she seduces David Bowie over the body of her dead husband, and she joined the all-star cast of the rather bland Agatha Christie's mystery *The Mirror Crack'd* (1980). In both movies Novak's performances are interesting for her subtle irony at the self-parodying of her own former image of sex goddess.

After appearing in the mini-series *Malibu* (1983) and in the extremely popular soap-opera *Falcon's Crest* (1986), she made a major comeback to cinema, giving very fine performances in Tony Palmer's *The Children* (1990) and in Mike Figgis's *Liebestraum* (1991). Both movies offered her complex roles. In the former she is a refined widow, courted by a man promising affection who ultimately abandons her, while in the latter she plays a tormented woman dying of cancer coming to terms with her own past. Both performances show Novak's maturity as an actress, who, as the character of Madge Owens in *Picnic* says, gets tired of simply being told she is beautiful. For once, a former sex goddess who did not turn to drugs, alcohol, or suicide escapes from her past image.

—Luca Prono

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Nureyev, Rudolf (1938-1993)

The first male ballet dancer to become a superstar since Nijinsky, Rudolf Nureyev completely redefined the place of men in classical ballet. A moody, bigoted egomaniac who routinely revised ballets to give himself larger roles, Nureyev was nonetheless an electrifying performer. In 1961, while on tour in Europe, he generated spectacular publicity when he defected from the Soviet Kirov Ballet. His celebrated partnership with Margot Fonteyn, a prima ballerina with Britain's Royal Ballet who was more than twice his age and poised to retire when they began dancing together, completely revitalized her career. From 1983 to 1989, as the director of the Paris Opera Ballet, Nureyev promoted a new generation of dancers and revived the world's oldest ballet company, making it one of the finest contemporary ballet troupes. Passionately devoted to performing, he continued to dance almost until his death, from AIDS, at age 55.

—Jeffrey Escoffier



Rudolf Nureyev

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Nylon

A synthetic thermoplastic material, nylon was first introduced commercially by E.I. du Pont de Nemours and Company in the form of toothbrush bristles in 1938. The process of condensation polymerization, by which nylon and the synthetic rubber neoprene are made, was discovered by Wallace Carothers, a chemist working for the du Pont company in the 1930s. The name "nylon" itself was originally a trademark of the du Pont company, but the material is now produced in many different forms, all of which belong to the chemical group known as polyamides. Although these nylons have different characteristics and can be used in different ways, they all share the same basic qualities. In general, nylon is useful because it is

a light, strong, hard-wearing material that is resistant to corrosive chemicals and can be easily molded when heated and colored with pigments. Besides these qualities, nylon is also remarkably cheap and easy to manufacture. As a result, a huge variety of different uses have been found for it, and nylon is present in almost all areas of life. For example, it appears in the form of woven fabrics, thread, and rope, as plastic sheets, moldings, and netting. Because it is resistant to wear, nylon is also used as an alternative to conventional steel bearings and gears, and as insulation in electrical equipment.

Within two years of the introduction of the first nylon toothbrushes, nylon was being spun as a multifilament yarn to make hosiery. Being harder-wearing than silk, nylon stockings were much sought after when they first appeared in 1940. This was particularly true in Europe during World War II, where gifts of nylons made American servicemen as popular with local women as Hershey chocolate made them with children. More crucially, nylon parachutes were lighter and more reliable than silk, and in military slang a parachute descent became known as a “nylon letdown.” In the 1960s and 1970s nylon was at the height of its popularity as a fabric material, perhaps because of its longevity and the fact that clothes made from colored nylon do not fade with washing. Because of their tendency to generate static electricity, however, nylon fabrics are not always comfortable to wear, and as dye and detergent technologies have improved, nylon’s popularity has decreased. In the 1990s nylon fabrics were most often found in waterproof outer clothing and hosiery. The material also had an effect on modern healthcare, since nylon surgical sutures, splints, braces, and many other medical items, are cheap, and easy to sterilize and keep clean.

The versatility of nylon as a material means that, besides the multifilament yarns used in clothing and the monofilaments used as bristles, nylon can also be moulded into solid objects of many different sizes and shapes. Because of its resilience, nylon is a good material for making objects that need to resist wear and tear, such as plastic containers, stationery items, floor coverings, and bearings. Nylon bearings are particularly useful under extreme conditions, where lubrication is impractical or where the bearing is exposed to water. It can also be formed into objects that hold pressure, such as bicycle tires, inflated balls, certain pump cylinders, and valves. The invention of nylon, and the plastics technologies that followed, made possible the cheap mass production of high quality consumer objects, from children’s toys and kitchen utensils to computers, cameras, televisions, and sound systems.

Despite his remarkable discovery, and despite receiving over 50 other patents, the inventor of nylon, Wallace Carothers, was an unhappy man, suffering from severe depression and alcoholism. Although nylon revolutionized life in the late twentieth century, Carothers did not live to enjoy the benefits of his work. He committed suicide in 1937, not long before those first bristles went into production.

—Chris Routledge

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NYPD Blue

Premiering on September 21, 1993, *NYPD Blue* was one of the most critically acclaimed new series ever and one of the most controversial programs television had seen in years. Even before the first program aired, word had leaked out regarding the show’s use of language and presentation of partial nudity. While critics across the country praised its style and content, by the time the first episode aired fifty-seven of ABC’s affiliates had declined to carry the program. Perhaps because of the immense publicity the program generated, this gritty police drama managed to rank nineteenth in the ratings and garnered a record twenty-six Emmy nominations during its first year. By the time the year ended, eighteen of the dissenting stations gave in and carried the program; by its second season *NYPD Blue* won the Emmy for Outstanding Dramatic Series while becoming the seventh highest rated program in the country. Amidst a whirlwind of controversy and debate, co-creators Steven Bochco and David Milch had managed, during a period of conservative programming, to launch what some have referred to as the first “R-rated” television series.

NYPD Blue’s rare combination of critical acclaim, controversy, and mass appeal was familiar terrain for Bochco, who had earlier produced *Hill Street Blues* and *Cop Rock*. Like other Bochco programs, *NYPD Blue* used an ensemble cast led by *Blues* veterans Dennis Franz and David Curuso. Franz became a fixture at the Emmy Awards, winning Outstanding Lead Actor in a Drama Series three of the show’s first four years. While Franz won critical acclaim, Curuso, who appeared partially nude in multiple episodes, became a popular star and generated new controversy when he demanded higher pay. Eventually, and quite publicly, Curuso left the show. Rather than slipping in the ratings, however, the program again benefited from the controversy and became even more popular with the addition of *LA Law* veteran Jimmy Smits taking over as Franz’s partner. In addition to Franz, as detective Andy Sipowicz, and Smits’s character Bobby Simone, other cast members included Emmy winner Kim Delaney, James McDaniel, Rick Schroder (who replaced Smits in 1998), and Nicholas Turturro.

The success of *NYPD Blue* can be linked in part to its realistic depiction of police work and the complex and conflicting impact that regular exposure to crime has upon these committed, yet flawed, individuals. The program consistently has used crimes, investigative processes, and character interactions to explore complex ethical and contemporary social conditions related to class, gender, and race. Like the hit *Hill Street Blues*, *NYPD Blue* has managed to be thought-provoking, entertaining, and moving whether it’s dealing with the mundane activities of day-to-day life or the disturbing events which detectives might experience in New York City.

—James Friedman

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O

The Oakland Raiders

The Oakland Raiders, a professional football franchise based in California, operates under the motto “Commitment to Excellence.” Yet turmoil has been as much a hallmark of the team’s history as high-quality play. Established in 1961 from the ruins of a Minneapolis franchise, the Raiders were one of the stalwart clubs of the now-defunct American Football League. Since 1963, they have been run by Al Davis, a maverick who instilled a pirate ethic in his “silver and black”-clad players as well as a high-powered passing offense that led the team to the Super Bowl in 1968. The Raiders won their first world championship under coach John Madden in 1977, then followed with another under Tom Flores in 1981. In 1982, in defiance of a National Football League lawsuit, Davis moved the club to Los Angeles, where it remained for 13 years. World champions again in 1984, the Raiders moved back to Oakland in 1995, where, at the end of the twentieth century, they continued to rank among the league’s roughest, most penalized teams.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Oates, Joyce Carol (1938—)

Undoubtedly one of the most prolific and versatile authors of the twentieth century, Joyce Carol Oates writes short stories, novels, plays, poetry, screenplays, and essays. She also writes psychological thrillers under the pseudonym Rosamond Smith. Her works have been included numerous times in *The Best American Short Stories*, *The O. Henry Awards* anthology, *The Pushcart Prize* anthology, and *The Year’s Best Fantasy and Horror*. She won the National Book Award in 1970 for *Them*. Her writing receives continuous critical attention, and she is alternately praised for the quality of her work and criticized for being too prolific, too dark, or too violent. “Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been,” a story about a teenage girl who is pursued by an older and seemingly dangerous man, is one of the most anthologized stories of the century, earning her a place on most college readings lists and ensuring her continuing influence.

—Adrienne Furness

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Objectivism/Ayn Rand

Few philosophers or philosophies can claim the public recognition and “fan” following of Ayn Rand (1905-1982) and her philosophy, Objectivism. Espoused in several novels and in countless essays and speeches, Rand’s Objectivism glorifies the heroic individual pursuing his/her goals utterly free of the fetters that society, especially government, would place upon him/her. Though Rand’s written works have always been extremely popular, it was the movie of her novel *The Fountainhead*, starring Gary Cooper, that made her a kind of intellectual celebrity. Rand and her philosophy have attained a kind of cult stature among college students, not least because her works narrate the process by which a person can articulate a principled rejection of the social mores in which they were raised.

Ayn Rand was born Alisa Rosenbaum in 1905 in St. Petersburg, Russia. Her father’s pharmacy was confiscated by Bolshevik authorities after the Russian Revolution. The anti-semitism of the Czarist regime and the anti-capitalism of the Communist regime do not seem to have endeared her to government intervention in private affairs, something which she was to oppose throughout her political life. Rosenbaum studied history at the University of Petrograd, and left for the United States to be a writer. In America, she took the first name Ayn (rhymes with “line”) and the last name Rand (naming herself after her typewriter), and ended up in Hollywood, where she worked as a movie extra and as an employee of R.K.O. Nights’ wardrobe department. In Hollywood, she met and married writer Frank O’Connor.

Rand worked her way up to writing scripts for Hollywood and Broadway, moving to New York in 1934. She published her first novel—an anti-Communist work called *We the Living*—in 1936. This was followed in 1938 by *Anthem*, a story set in a totalitarian society that attempts to destroy individuality.

In 1943, Rand published her second-greatest novel, *The Fountainhead*. This is the story of a young architect named Howard Roark (a character apparently modeled on Frank Lloyd Wright). Roark insists on pursuing his own vision of architecture, which brings him into conflict with his teachers, his customers, and the government, and into the arms of the heroine (whom he rapes in a scene which is denounced in feminist Susan Brownmiller’s 1975 book, *Against Our Will*). The novel’s portrayal of heroic individualism seems to have hit a chord with American readers, who put the novel on the bestseller list two years after it came out. By the 1980s the book had sold over four-and-a-half million copies. The movie version of the novel, released in 1949 with Gary Cooper in the lead role, helped make a hero out of Roark and began attracting adherents to Rand’s philosophy.

After *The Fountainhead*, Rand became fairly well known. She was a friendly witness before the House Committee on Un-American Activities when it was investigating Communism in Hollywood. She also acquired many followers, one of whom, a young man named Nathaniel Branden, helped her publicize her ideas, became an important figure in the Objectivist movement she founded, and eventually became her lover. But Rand’s fame was not fully secure until 1957, when she published her greatest novel.

Atlas Shrugged, over 1,000 pages long, is best described as a dramatization of Rand’s philosophy. The title’s reference to Atlas (whose broad shoulders, according to the ancient Greeks, held up the

world) alludes to the independent, self-sustaining, productive members of society, many of whom, in the novel, move to a secret outpost where they can live in freedom without the government taxing and confiscating the fruits of their labor. By taking themselves out of the jurisdiction of the government, the freedom-fighters are basically going on strike, refusing to collaborate with an oppressive state. The characters are not so much fully fleshed-out individuals as they are embodiments of Rand's philosophy, and they have ample opportunity to give speeches outlining their (i.e., Rand's) principles. The most prominent of these speeches, hero John Galt's speech, is perhaps the best single statement of the Objectivist creed.

The political philosophy of the book cannot be called conservative, despite its celebration of individualism and its denunciation of government tyranny. Although conservatives often denounced government welfare programs, Rand was opposed to any form of "altruism," whether public or private. In fact, "altruism" was something of a dirty word in Rand's writing. Also in contrast to conservatism, Rand's philosophy is atheistic, emphasizing heroic humans and rejecting God. The leading magazine of conservatism, *National Review*, denounced *Atlas Shrugged* in violent terms. Most other reviews were also hostile, focusing on the writing style. But despite the critics, *Atlas Shrugged* was, and still is, a very popular novel. Most Americans who took part in a *Reader's Digest*/Library of Congress survey in 1991 said that the book that had the greatest influence over their lives was the Bible, followed by *Atlas Shrugged*. Politically, it is probably fair to say that *Atlas Shrugged* proved an inspiration to libertarians, especially the young.

Though Rand endorsed libertarian individualism, she insisted that her associates define individualism in her terms. If someone adopted an interpretation of individualism different from Rand's, that person was generally unwelcome in Rand's circle. Rand's relationship with her more committed followers (they called themselves "the Collective," with self-conscious irony) was similar to the relationship between a prophetess and her worshippers. Rand's atheistic religion was even given a name—Objectivism.

With the help of Nathaniel Branden (who collaborated with her until they broke up in 1968), Rand propagated her Objectivist views through lectures (especially speeches to college students), a newsletter, a newspaper column, and philosophical books. The theme was always the same: The heroic individual versus the collective, which was usually the state. She praised Canadian doctors who went on strike against socialized medicine. She denounced both racism (a collectivist philosophy) and the Civil Rights Bill of 1964 (a gross violation of property rights). She spoke of the importance of "self-esteem," meaning a justifiable pride in one's accomplishments. Self-esteem was deemed a necessary defense against altruists who wanted you to give up your liberty or property for the sake of an alleged greater good. Someone with self-esteem would not be bamboozled by false guilt into giving up the fruits of his labor to the tax government (Nathaniel Branden later became a California psychotherapist, where he also preached the value of self-esteem).

Rand has inspired some important public figures. One of Rand's fans was Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas. When Thomas headed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in the 1980s, he allegedly invoked Rand in his speeches to conservatives. In addition, he allegedly invited people to lunch with him in his office, where he treated them to the film based on *The Fountainhead*. Another Ayn Rand disciple who later rose to high position was Alan Greenspan, the future chairman of the Federal Reserve. While he was a budding economist and Wall Street analyst in the 1950s and 1960s,

Greenspan was a member of Rand's inner circle. Unlike other members of Rand's circle, he exercised some independence of thinking and got away with it. British ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and tennis star Billie Jean King were also followers of Rand's philosophy.

Rand died in 1982. Her intellectual legacy is claimed by the Ayn Rand Institute, run by her follower (and legal heir) Leonard Peikoff.

—Eric Longley

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O'Brien, Tim (1946—)

Best known for his fictional portrayal of the Vietnam War, Tim O'Brien is an American novelist and short story writer who has been compared to Ernest Hemingway, Stephen Crane, and Joseph Heller. In *Going After Cacciato* (1978) and *The Things They Carried* (1990), the novels that established his reputation, O'Brien explores the horrors and ambiguities of war in a style that is eloquent, precise, and highly evocative. An intensely passionate writer, O'Brien has attempted to move beyond the tag of "war writer" by composing works

that reveal the ways in which love and civilian life can resemble war. In his novel *In the Lake of the Woods* (1994), which portrays a defeated politician struggling with a secret past and imperiled marriage, O'Brien brings the fear and torment of Vietnam to the Minnesota wilderness.

—James Schiff

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Ochs, Phil (1940-1976)

A contemporary of Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, Phil Ochs achieved modest success as a singer/songwriter during the mid-1960s. After receiving a standing ovation at the Newport Folk Festival in 1963, he was signed by Elektra Records. A fervent activist who yearned for stardom, Ochs gained recognition for his topical songs about subjects such as civil rights and the Vietnam War. As a protest singer in the era of the urban folk revival, he was often overshadowed by Dylan. In the late 1960s, his interest in politics remained strong even as his compositions became more personal. Bothered by political events and his inability to write commercially successful songs, Ochs suffered from severe depression in the last years of his life. His career essentially ended in the early 1970s, and six months after his final performance in 1975, Ochs committed suicide by hanging himself.

—Anna Hunt Graves

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O'Connor, Flannery (1925-1964)

The name Flannery O'Connor has become synonymous with Southern literature. Her characters are good country people and lowly misfits who speak with rich Southern accents, and no matter how misguided their actions, they are never beyond redemption. In an essay entitled "The Catholic Novelist in the South," O'Connor, an orthodox Catholic, wrote that the "two circumstances that have given character to [her] own writing have been those of being Southern and being Catholic." Her remarkable fictional landscape—a "Christ-haunted" place of backwoods preachers, mad prophets, and moonshine visionaries—signifies the intimate relation that exists between Flannery O'Connor's art and the dynamics of the Southern culture that brought her art to life.

Born in Savannah, Georgia, on March 25, 1925, Flannery O'Connor was the only child of Regina Cline and Edward Francis O'Connor, Jr. Raised in her mother's family home in Milledgeville, Georgia, the author later moved to a dairy farm in Andalusia, where she lived with her mother. It was there that she was diagnosed with lupus erythematosus, the disease that caused her untimely death at the age of 39.

In a letter to a friend, O'Connor wrote, "Sickness is more instructive than a long trip to Europe." She further described her illness as "one of life's blessings." The blessing was that the disease brought her home to her native Georgia and to the landscape where she recreated the language and the often bizarre and grotesque characters, which come to life in her fiction. Addressing her Georgia homecoming—one strikingly similar to that of Asbury in "The Enduring Chill"—O'Connor told Cecil Dawkins that she had always thought the "life of [her] writing depended on . . . staying away," and that she would have persisted in that delusion had she "not got very ill and had to come home. The best of my writing has been done here."

O'Connor's work, though scant, generates the kind of critical attention that makes her, along with William Faulkner, Eudora Welty, Walker Percy, Truman Capote, and Tennessee Williams, one of the most notable figures in Southern literature. This body of work consists of two novels, *Wise Blood* and *The Violent Bear It Away*, two collections of stories published in *A Good Man Is Hard to Find* and *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, and a collection of essays, *Mystery and Manners*. "The Grotesque in Southern Fiction," "The Fiction Writer and His Country," "The Catholic Novelists and Their Readers," "The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South," and "The Teaching of Literature"—essays found in this collection—address the issues with which O'Connor was most concerned. *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin*, expertly edited by Sarah Gordon at Georgia College & State University in Milledgeville, is devoted solely to O'Connor scholarship. Books and critical studies continue to proliferate. Although a volume of letters collected in *The Habit of Being*, edited by Sally Fitzgerald, reveals elements of O'Connor's life, a biography has yet to be published. Much of the mystery and manners associated with Flannery O'Connor's life and work is yet to be discovered.

—Sue Walker

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The Odd Couple

Can two divorced men share an apartment without driving each other crazy? That was the question that fueled a play, a movie, and a classic sitcom. Neil Simon's 1965 play *The Odd Couple* and the subsequent 1967 movie, starring Walter Matthau as the sloppy sportswriter Oscar Madison and Jack Lemmon as the fastidious photographer Felix Unger (Art Carney had the role on Broadway), spawned a popular and well-written television series that ran on ABC from 1970 to 1975.

In the television series, Oscar was played by Jack Klugman (who had taken over the role from Matthau on Broadway), Felix was played by Tony Randall, and the spirit of the play remained intact. Oscar was a happily divorced New Yorker who thought of ketchup as "tomato wine," and who slept with his wardrobe and his meals. Felix, still pining away for his ex-wife, was a neat freak, constantly spraying air freshener in Oscar's direction, and reheating gourmet meals for which Oscar was late. They were the definition of opposites: Felix loved opera and classical music, and Oscar preferred gambling; Oscar gruffly threw stuff on the floor, Felix picked it up, complaining; Oscar smoked cigars and ate junk food despite his ulcer, and Felix had constant sinus trouble, but otherwise took compulsively excellent care of himself. The point of the show was that despite their vast

differences, these two guys cared about each other and were friends when it counted.

The only other regular who stayed on through the whole run of the series was Al Molinaro, who played dim-witted policeman and poker buddy, Murray the Cop. Other poker buddies included Speed (Garry Wahlberg), Roy (Ryan MacDonald), and Vinnie (Larry Gelman). Elinor Donahue played Felix's girlfriend, Miriam, from 1972 to 1974. Klugman's real-life wife Brett Somers (a regular on the television game show *Match Game* in the 1970s) played Oscar's acerbic ex-wife, Blanche. Janis Hansen played Felix's long-suffering ex-wife, Gloria, whose name had been Frances in the play and movie. The series borrowed flighty British neighbors the Pigeon sisters from the play and movie for the first season. Because the roommates were somewhat in the New York media, the *Odd Couple* could justify guest stars playing themselves, such as Bobby Riggs, Billie Jean King, David Steinberg, Monty Hall, Allan Ludden, Roy Clark, Howard Cosell, Richard Dawson, and Deacon Jones.

Forever linked to their roles now, Randall and Klugman were not everyone's first choices. ABC did want Tony Randall, but also fancied Mickey Rooney for Oscar. The producers wanted Art Carney and Martin Balsam. Garry Marshall and Sheldon Keller served as executive producers for the series; Marshall, who created *Happy Days* and its spin-offs and directed *Pretty Woman*, also wrote several



Jack Lemmon (left) and Walter Matthau in a scene from the film *The Odd Couple*.

episodes, and his sister Penny, who went on to direct *Big* and *A League of Our Own*, played Oscar's nebbishy secretary Myrna from 1973 to 1975 (Garry had a cameo in one episode, as did Rob Reiner, Penny's then-husband).

Though the series wrapped up cleanly with Gloria and Felix finally remarrying, the *Odd Couple* formula was oft-repeated. From 1975 to 1977, a cartoon called *The Oddball Couple* ran on ABC Saturday mornings. It featured Fleabag, a sloppy dog, and Spiffy, a neat cat, reporters who shared an office. Simon updated his durable play in the mid-1980s to support female versions of his characters; it starred Sally Struthers as Florence Unger and Rita Moreno as Olive Madison. From 1982 to 1983, ABC tried to cash in again with *The New Odd Couple*, which borrowed scripts from the original series but cast black actors. Ron Glass, of *Barney Miller* fame, played Felix, and Demond Wilson, from *Sanford and Son*, played Oscar. Felix's ex-wife went back to being called Frances. It did not take long for that show's producer to admit that seven out of the first 13 episodes of *The New Odd Couple* had been recycled from its predecessor.

Felix and Oscar informed every subsequent role Randall and Klugman played. Randall had his own show, *The Tony Randall Show*, from 1976 to 1978, in which he played a stuffy widowed Philadelphia Superior Court judge. Klugman and Wahlberg were reunited in the television drama *Quincy, M.E.* (1976-1983) in which Klugman played the gruff but lovable titular medical examiner (who was never given a first name) who helped solve the murders of the bodies he autopsied, and Wahlberg played police liaison Lieutenant Frank Monahan.

In 1993, Randall, Klugman, Wahlberg, and Marshall returned for *The Odd Couple: Together Again*, a two hour CBS television movie. Klugman was recovering from throat cancer, and in the movie Felix moved back in with Oscar who was recovering from throat cancer surgery. Randall and Klugman also revived another Neil Simon play—*The Sunshine Boys*—on Broadway late in the 1990s. Matthau and Lemmon reunited in 1998 in *Neil Simon's Odd Couple II*. They also did a few other *Odd Couple*-esque buddy films together in the 1990s, such as *Grumpy Old Men* and *Out to Sea*. The original *Odd Couple* series was rerun in the 1990s on Nick at Nite and Comedy Central. The term “odd couple” goes beyond the pop culture scope and has taken on a life of its own, being used by snappy headline writers to describe any unlikely pair of opposites who are working together or merely get along, much like *The Odd Couple* continues to get along with audiences of all ages.

—Karen Lurie

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O'Donnell, Rosie (1962—)

Stand-up comic Rosie O'Donnell has transformed the definition of “talk show” since her syndicated debut in 1996. Rather than falling into the trap of sensationalized fisticuffs and searing emotionalism à la Jerry Springer and Jenny Jones, O'Donnell has created a show that feels as comfortable as one's own living room. Her star-struck reaction to her guests seems to mirror that of her viewers, and



Rosie O'Donnell

her ease with guests and audiences alike creates an atmosphere of having a few friends over to visit. O'Donnell often confesses that she does not sing well. Yet, she sings often and loud, and the viewers love it—and her. She refuses to apologize for her weight and has become a positive role model for females of all ages. The adjective most often used to describe O'Donnell is “real.”

Born in Flushing, New York, and brought up in Commack, on Long Island, Rosie O'Donnell's early years were typically middle class and suburban. Her Irish Catholic father was an electrical engineer, and her mother was the president of the Parent Teacher Association. The middle of five children, O'Donnell reveled in her tightly knit family. This typical suburban lifestyle ended abruptly when her mother was diagnosed with what was believed to be pancreatic cancer in 1972—O'Donnell has since said that she believes her mother died of breast cancer. Edward O'Donnell chose to hide the seriousness of his wife's illness, telling the children that she had hepatitis. Therefore, the O'Donnell offspring were unprepared when their mother died at the age of 39. Roseann O'Donnell was buried on her daughter Rosie's eleventh birthday. Either believing that he was helping his children or blinded by his own grief, O'Donnell's father refused to let the children openly grieve for their

mother, nor were they allowed to attend her funeral. When her father turned to alcohol to ease his pain, O'Donnell, by all accounts, was forced to mother her four siblings.

While she was nurtured by both teachers and neighbors, Rosie O'Donnell turned to the fantasy world of movies and television to give her the family life that she needed; she particularly liked stories in which families regenerated themselves after the loss of a parent. Her favorite fantasy parents were the Von Trapps from *The Sound of Music*, the Bradfords from *Eight Is Enough*, and the Bradys from *The Brady Bunch*. To Rosie, her mother's death became the defining point of her life, leaving her with the certainty that she, too, would die at a young age. She has frequently said that she associated being thin with being sick. Eating was, therefore, a way to avoid illness and, ultimately, death.

Despite the problems with her home life, O'Donnell continued to do well at school. She was popular with her classmates and was named homecoming queen, prom queen, and senior class president. She was also an all-round athlete, and continues to be interested in sports today. Even as a teenager, O'Donnell understood that humor brought her the attention that she craved. This recognition of her ambition and talent led her to become a stand-up comic at the age of 16. She won recognition for her abilities on *Star Search* on five separate occasions. This exposure paved the way for her stint as Nell Carter's neighbor on *Gimme A Break* and her hosting of VH-1's *Stand-Up Spotlight*.

By the time that Rosie O'Donnell appeared in *A League of Their Own* in 1992, she had won a loyal following. She cemented her popularity with supporting leads in *Sleepless in Seattle* (1993), *Another Stakeout* (1993), *Car 54, Where Are You?* (1994), *The Flintstones* (1994), *Now and Then* (1995), and *Beautiful Girls* (1996). Realizing her life-long ambition to star on Broadway, Rosie O'Donnell spent a year playing Rizzo in *Grease* in 1994. The following year, O'Donnell decided that it was time for a new direction in her life. She had recently adopted a son, Parker Jarren, and wanted to spend more time with him than her movie career allowed. She presented herself to Disney, but they were not interested. Fortunately for her fans, Warner Brothers proved to have more foresight and signed her to a contract. *The Rosie O'Donnell Show* was born, providing a breath of much needed fresh air amid the tawdry sensationalism of daytime television. In 1998 O'Donnell adopted a daughter, Chelsea Belle, and has said that she wants to adopt more children. She has continued to act in movies during breaks from her talk show. O'Donnell played a nanny in *Harriet, the Spy* and a nun in *Wide Awake* (1998), and she provided the voice of Turk in Disney's *Tarzan* (1999); she is also negotiating to star in a television movie about the life of comedienne Totie Fields.

Throughout the late 1990s, O'Donnell won both popular and critical acclaim. She won a Day Time Emmy for Best Talk Show Host in 1997 and tied with Oprah Winfrey for that honor in 1998. She has almost single-handedly rejuvenated the theater industry with her championship of Broadway and served as host for the Tony Awards in 1997 and 1998.

It is her love of children, however, that defines the essence of Rosie O'Donnell. She has demonstrated that she is still young at heart with her hosting of the *Kid's Choice Awards* for Nickelodeon. The sale of her book *Kids Are Punny* and the Rosie O'Doll by Tyco have generated at least a million dollars for her For All Kids Foundation. When Scope named her one of the least kissable celebrities, O'Donnell won her revenge by negotiating a deal with Listerine, whereby they donated \$1,000 to her foundation every time she kissed a guest on her

show. Rosie O'Donnell has proved that audiences are still comfortable with talk shows such as those of Merv Griffin, Mike Douglas, and Dinah Shore. Dubbed the "Queen of Nice" by *Newsweek*, she has also demonstrated that "nice" girls do win.

—Elizabeth Purdy

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O'Keeffe, Georgia (1887-1986)

A renowned American woman artist, Georgia O'Keeffe was among the first generation of modernists in this country. She translated a love of nature and a feeling for form into some of the most advanced paintings and drawings of the twentieth century.



Georgia O'Keeffe

Born outside of Madison, Wisconsin, into a family of farmers, O'Keeffe decided to be an artist at the age of ten. She studied at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1905-1906 and, after her move to New York the following year, at the Art Students League under William Merritt Chase and Kenyon Cox. Chase was an important American Impressionist who encouraged O'Keeffe's love of landscape. She was more stylistically influenced, however, by Arthur Wesley Dow at Columbia University. Dow had studied with the post-Impressionist Paul Gauguin and greatly admired Japanese art. O'Keeffe was moved by Dow's orientaling landscapes, arranged simply in flat, saturated color.

Alfred Stieglitz, the most passionate promoter of art photography and modern art in America at this time, exhibited O'Keeffe's remarkably advanced watercolors—without her permission—in 1916. Stieglitz's gallery "291," named for its Fifth Avenue address, also hosted her first solo exhibition the following year. Along with artists such as John Marin, Marsden Hartley, and Max Weber, O'Keeffe became one of the artists in Stieglitz's stable of talented modernists. The young painter (age 29) and the older photographer/impressario (age 52) were married in 1924.

In 1916 O'Keeffe had accepted a position as supervisor of art in the public schools of Amarillo, Texas. The landscape and light there inspired her to create some radically reductive abstractions. A series of watercolors and charcoal drawings she made at this time, for example *Light Coming on the Plains III* (1917, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas), rivals the most abstract art of any made in the twentieth century.

Throughout the 1920s, O'Keeffe painted the sharp architectural forms of Manhattan and the soft landscapes around Lake George, in the foothills of the Adirondacks. Though she often said that she was "not a joiner," her works of the 1920s shared affinities with contemporary painting. The art of Charles Sheeler, Charles Demuth, and other "Precisionists," consisted of precisely rendered architectural forms, industrial landscapes, and machine subjects. Although O'Keeffe depicted cavernous city streets and painted in crisp forms, her touch was never quite as dry as theirs. Moreover, she eschewed specifically industrial subjects in favor of more natural ones. In 1924 she began painting her renowned series of large-scale flowers—viewed closely and filling the entire canvas. At once realistic and abstract, these works often reveal explicit vaginal shapes, as in *Black Iris III* (1926, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Though the artist vehemently denied any sexual readings of these works, they may safely be said to express a generalized feminine principle.

Wintering in New York and summering in the west, O'Keeffe made annual visits to New Mexico beginning in 1929. That summer, she stayed in Taos where she painted *Black Cross, New Mexico* (1929, Art Institute of Chicago). Explaining their appearance in her art, she recalled, "I saw the crosses so often—and often in unexpected places—like a thin dark veil of the Catholic church spread over the New Mexico landscape." Three years after Stieglitz's death in 1946 she moved to remote Abiquiu, New Mexico, to a ruined adobe called Ghost Ranch. Here she spent the last four decades of her life. On intimate terms with the land, and ever sensitive to the shapes of things, she began collecting the bones she found in the desert. One is featured in *Cow's Skull—Red, White, and Blue* (1931-1936, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Characteristically, she denied that the bones reflected a personal preoccupation with death.

In 1953, when O'Keeffe was in her mid-sixties, she traveled throughout Europe. Five years later she took a three-and-a-half-month trip around the world by air, and in 1960 she visited the Far

East. The experience of flying was an epiphany for O'Keeffe; she was entranced by the topography below and cloud formations seen from the air. Her works of this period reflect this new visual preoccupation. For instance, her *Sky Above Clouds IV* (1965, Art Institute of Chicago), a mural measuring eight-by-twenty-four feet, was painted for a major retrospective exhibition of her work in 1966.

As attested by photographs—showing her determined face, her hair tightly pulled back, dressed in black—O'Keeffe's last years saw no decline in energy or creativity. Extending her range of artistic expression, she took up pottery in the last decade of her life. In 1976 she produced a lavishly illustrated self-titled autobiography. On the occasion of her ninetieth birthday, the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., hosted a tribute to her. In 1987, it was also the site of the first large-scale posthumous retrospective of her work after her death at age 98.

Although her greatest contribution to avant-garde art occurred in the years between 1915 and 1920, she had in subsequent decades come to embody the notion of the uncompromising artist and was regarded as the very icon of the independent woman.

—Mark B. Pohlard

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Oklahoma!

The musical *Oklahoma!* was the first collaboration between composer Richard Rodgers (1902-1979) and lyricist/librettist Oscar Hammerstein II (1895-1960), both of whom already had extensive careers in show business behind them. *Oklahoma!* was based on the play *Green Grow the Lilacs* by Lynn Riggs, first produced by the Theatre Guild in New York in 1931. It took a radically new approach to musical theatre on several fronts. The story of ordinary, real-life people and rural life during the Oklahoma land rush was an unusual subject at that time. The libretto followed the play closely, breaking with the conventional placement of song and dance elements. The choreography by Agnes de Mille synthesized ballet and American vernacular dance, and a "dream ballet" advanced the story. Oscar Hammerstein's libretto and lyrics celebrated the hardy, optimistic spirit of the American West during the bleakest years of World War II. *Oklahoma!* became a runaway hit show and won a Pulitzer Prize



A scene from the original production of *Oklahoma!*.

for drama in 1944. Many of the young actors and dancers in the opening production went on to stellar careers. Since the initial run, touring companies have presented the musical around the world, and revivals have been frequent. *Oklahoma!* proved to be only the first of a series of artistically and financially successful musicals by Rodgers and Hammerstein, but none of their works has influenced the development of musical theater more than this one.

Oklahoma! takes place at the turn of the twentieth century between the Oklahoma land rushes in 1889 and 1893, and statehood in 1907. Curley, a cowhand, and Jud Fry, a farmhand, are in love with Laurey. She is in love with Curley, but after an argument with him agrees to go to a dance with Jud Fry, whom she secretly fears. At the dance Curley puts up his entire belongings to buy Laurey's box lunch. She and Curley admit their love for each other and are married. After the wedding Jud fights with Curley and is killed with his own knife during the struggle. Laurey's Aunt Eller engineers a trial at the scene and Curley is acquitted, enabling the young couple to begin married life happily. A second, more comic subplot involves man-crazy Ado Annie, her true love cowboy Will Parker, and her temporary interest, peddler Ali Hakim. Like Laurey and Curley, Ado Annie and Will work out their problems and settle down to married life.

The happy combination of events which produced *Oklahoma!* began with the 1940 revival of *Green Grow the Lilacs* by the Westport Country Playhouse in Westport, Connecticut. The Playhouse was owned by Lawrence Langer and his wife Armina Marshall, who were also partners in the Theatre Guild, a theater management group active in New York since 1918. Another partner in the distinguished Theatre Guild was Theresa Helburn. After seeing the Riggs play revival in Westport with square dances choreographed by Gene Kelly, Helburn thought it would make a good musical theatre production. Later in the summer of 1940, Richard Rodgers saw the play and told Langer and Helburn that he agreed the musical theatre adaptation was a promising idea. Rodgers was still working with his first partner Lorenz Hart in 1940; their shows *Pal Joey* (1940) and *By Jupiter* (1942) had yet to open. Hart had struggled with alcoholism for years, and although he continued to write inspired lyrics, his working habits had become erratic. Rodgers, however, was determined to continue collaborating with Hart as long as possible, and he asked Hart to join the *Oklahoma!* project. Hart refused, feeling that Riggs's play did not provide good musical theatre material. Rodgers turned to Oscar Hammerstein II for *Oklahoma!* Hammerstein knew the play and was eager to write the book and lyrics.

Oklahoma! opened at the St. James Theatre in New York on March 31, 1943, remaining on Broadway for a remarkable 2,212 performances. The reviews after opening night in New York were dazzling. *New York Times* reviewer Lewis Nichols said, "Wonderful is the nearest adjective, for this excursion of the Guild combines a fresh and infectious gaiety, a charm of manner, beautiful acting, singing and dancing, and a score by Richard Rodgers that doesn't do any harm, either, since it is one of his best." The next morning the box office was in pandemonium and performances quickly sold out for the foreseeable future. But no accolade could have meant more to Richard Rodgers than that of his former partner Lorenz Hart. In *Musical Stages* Rodgers remembered the traditional post-show gathering at Sardi's when a grinning Hart threw his arms around Rodgers and said, "Dick, I've never had a better evening in my life! This show will be around 20 years from now!" Max Wilk's *OK! The Story of Oklahoma!* quotes lyricist/librettist Alan Jay Lerner, who said, "A musical in the twenties and the thirties had no dramatic validity and the wit was the lyric writer's, never the characters'. Oscar Hammerstein, on the other hand, was very much a dramatic writer, and with *Oklahoma!* he and Dick Rodgers radically changed the course of the musical theatre. The musical comedy became a play."

A remarkable number of popular songs came from *Oklahoma!*, especially when compared to earlier shows. Except for the monumental *Show Boat* (1927) by Jerome Kern and Oscar Hammerstein II, most musicals of the 1920s and 1930s contained one or two memorable songs. *Oklahoma!* gave birth to several: "Oh, What a Beautiful Mornin'"; "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top"; "Kansas City"; "I Cain't Say No"; "People Will Say We're in Love"; and of course, "Oklahoma," the energetic "title song" which caused the musical's original title *Away We Go!* to be changed. Songs from the show became overnight smashes: "People Will Say We're in Love" was the top radio song of 1943, and the cast recorded the first "original-cast" recording of a Broadway show, beginning a practice which continues today. Since 1943 the original cast album has been in print as 78s, LPs, cassette tapes, and now as compact discs.

Writing his autobiography *Musical Stages* in 1975, Rodgers theorized about what made *Oklahoma!* such an extraordinary work. "When a show works perfectly, it's because all the individual parts complement each other and fit together. No single element overshadows any other . . . That's what made *Oklahoma!* work. All the components dovetailed. There was nothing extraneous or foreign, nothing that pushed itself into the spotlight yelling 'Look at me!'" Critics and audiences have agreed with Rodgers for over half a century about *Oklahoma!*'s significance. In 1993 the United States Postal Service acknowledged its place in American cultural history with a stamp commemorating the show's fiftieth anniversary.

—Ann Sears

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Old Navy

If the Gap was the Cinderella among clothing retailers in the affluent 1980s, its downmarket offshoot Old Navy enjoyed a comparable fairy tale existence in the belt-tightened 1990s. The brainchild of Gap CEO Millard "Mickey" Drexler, the store began as an attempt to reel in customers put off by the Gap's prices but too hip to buy clothes at Wal-Mart. By relying on attractive packaging, quirky promotions, and the pioneering use of headsets by customer service personnel, Old Navy succeeded in making cheap threads seem cool. Even the Gap's pseudo hipsters were won over by a series of campy television commercials featuring such entertainment industry fossils as Barbara Eden and Eartha Kitt, alongside an adorable pooch named Magic and the campaign's icon, weirdly fascinating fashion doyenne Carrie Donovan.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Oliphant, Pat (1935—)

With a career spanning 35 years of American politics and counting, popular political artist Pat Oliphant serves as a role model for a generation of political and editorial cartoonists. Deemed the "most influential editorial cartoonist now working" by the *New York Times*, and credited by fellow Pulitzer Prize-winning editorial cartoonist Mike Luckovich with "creating modern-day political cartoons," Oliphant's work appears in approximately 375 newspapers, four days a week.

Oliphant grew up in Adelaide, South Australia, the son of a cartographer for Australia's Ministry of Lands. According to Oliphant, art was an early interest. He was drawing constantly by the age of five and spent a couple years in art school after high school. In 1953, he joined the *Adelaide News* as a copy boy and "press artist" charged with drawing weather maps. Three years later he became the cartoonist for the *Adelaide Advertiser*, a job that combined his love for art with an interest in political cartoons fostered by his father. In 1964, he immigrated to the United States to escape what he described a stifling, oppressive editorial environment. As he put it, "In 10 years cartooning there, I couldn't get anything controversial in the paper. To get anything done I had to leave." An artistic artifact of his days of dealing with conservative, intrusive Australian editors is his alter ego, the miniature penguin Puck, who still expresses his subversiveness by delivering the final word from the corners of his cartoons. In retrospect, he explained that the editors may not have realized that he was "trying to subvert their system and say something in my own words. But the bird became very popular and became a regular element of my cartoons."

Just one example of the way Puck adds an extra element of humor to Oliphant's cartoons can be illustrated through a 1972 drawing published upon Truman's death. The drawing pokes fun at Truman's well known forthrightness by portraying a confrontation between Truman and St. Peter at the gates of heaven: As Truman

tosses a harp over his shoulder with grumpy indignation, St. Peter leans back toward his assistant with an expression of weary resignation to ask, “See what you can do about digging up a piano” (a reference to Truman’s hobby of playing the piano). In the bottom left-hand corner, Puck warns an angel, “And you just better like his playing!”

Within a year of his arrival in the United States, Oliphant was a nationally syndicated editorial cartoonist working at the *Denver Post*. He then drew for the *Washington Star* from 1975 until it folded in 1981. Since then, unlike most syndicated cartoonists, Oliphant has not been affiliated with a newspaper; instead he works directly for the Universal Press Syndicate.

A curator who coordinated a 1998 exhibition of Oliphant’s work at the Library of Congress characterized him as a “fine artist who happens to be a cartoonist rather than a cartoonist who happens to be a fine artist.” In addition to his syndicated panels, Oliphant produces political sculptures (wax busts and bronze sculptures), abstract oil paintings, lithography, and monotypes. In 1998, a collection of his sculptures of seven American presidents, each less than a foot tall, was featured in a national traveling exhibition. The tour included a bust of former President Gerald Ford with a quizzical expression on his face and a small plastic bandage on his head and a bronze of former President George Bush playing horseshoes that one critic described as “a large almost insect-like figure . . . all thinned-out arms, torso, and legs.” Oliphant’s self-described artistic routine involves spending his mornings drawing cartoons and his afternoons painting, sculpting, and printmaking. Although largely self-taught, Oliphant took three years of drawing classes in the 1980s at the Corcoran School of Art in Washington D.C. He also travels to New York City monthly to participate in a drawing group that works with live models. Among his artistic idols are painter Edgar Degas, English cartoonist Ronald Searle, and French artist and political cartoonist Honore Daumier.

Among his many awards, Oliphant holds a Pulitzer Prize, awarded in 1967. The legendary account of how he won it is a testament to his bluntness and honesty. Oliphant recounted his prizewinning strategy as follows: he sought out a book of past Pulitzer winners and noted that they were all “very jingoistic sorts of cartoons.” Using that book as a guide, he found one “very patriotic jingoistic cartoon” that he had done earlier in the year and included it among his 11 entries. The cartoon portrays North Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh carrying the corpse of a Viet Cong soldier, with a caption that reads, “They won’t get us to the conference table . . . will they?” The Committee selected it as their winner. Another infamous tale reveals a self-proclaimed tendency to vote for politicians he despises because they provide the most material for his cartoons. Confirming this old story in a 1998 interview, Oliphant explained, “Of course I voted for Reagan, who would want to draw Walter Mondale for four years?”

—Courtney Bennett

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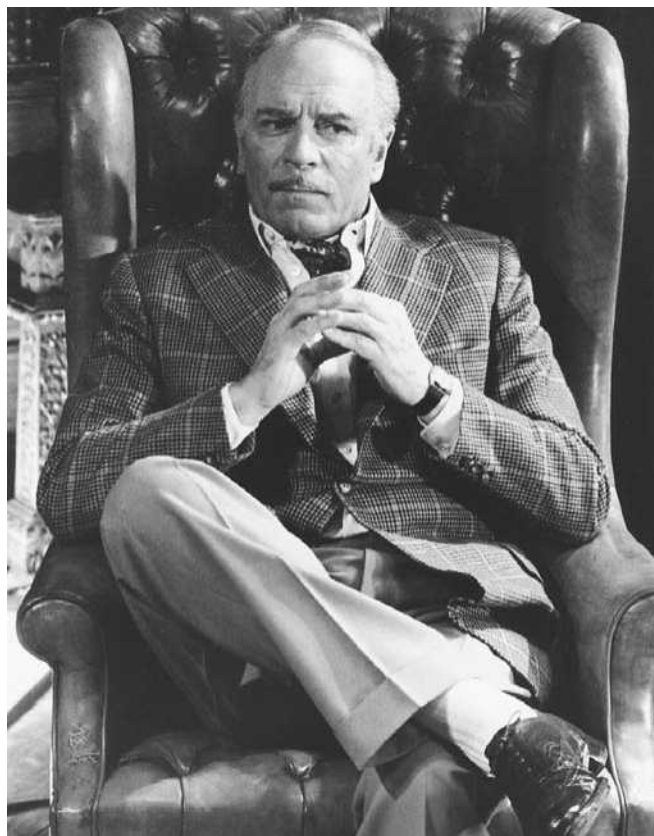
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Olivier, Laurence (1907-1989)

Hailed as the greatest actor of his time, Laurence Olivier reflected the twentieth century definition of the consummate actor. He starred in hundreds of roles on stage and on screen, was fundamental in establishing Great Britain’s Royal National Theatre, and wrote one of acting’s seminal texts *On Acting*. In addition, Olivier was a successful director, writer, and producer, credited as the first to bring Shakespeare to the silver screen. Olivier’s persona on and off the stage led to his widespread acceptance as one of the finest actors and most popular personalities the world has known.

Laurence Kerr Olivier was born to a family of churchmen and schoolmasters in the town of Dorking, Surrey, England, his father being a parson. Much of his life would be shaped by the death of his mother, Agnes Louise Crookenden, who died of cancer in 1920. Olivier would later write of his mother, “I’ve been looking for her



Laurence Olivier

ever since.” His father encouraged him to be an actor and by age 9 he was playing Brutus in *Julius Caesar* and Julia in *Twelfth Night* at All Saints School. He attended the Central School of Speech Training and Dramatic Art in 1924. It was there that he began his passion for creating roles through the use of makeup. Olivier refuted method-acting techniques and preferred a character-driven acting style. “I discovered the protective shelter of nose-putty and enjoyed a pleasurable sense of relief and relaxation when some character part called for a sculptural addition to my face,” he wrote in *Confessions of an Actor*, “affording me the relief of an alien character and enabling me to avoid anything so embarrassing as self-representation.”

Olivier’s professional stage acting career spanned 48 years, beginning with the Lena Ashwell Players in 1925 and concluding in 1973 at the Royal National Theatre. During that time he acted and directed many of the classics of the theatre. He was a member of Lena Ashwell Players (1925-26), Birmingham Repertory Theatre Company (1926-27), Old Vic Company (1937-49), and Director of the National Theatre Company (1962-73). His most memorable stage performance was in the National Theatre Company’s 1964 production of Shakespeare’s *Othello*. In his text, *On Acting*, he would write “I am Othello. . . . He belongs to no one else, he belongs to me. When I sigh, he sighs. When I laugh, he laughs. When I cry, he cries.”

Olivier’s first foray into film came in 1930, but his first major success was in William Wyler’s *Wuthering Heights* in 1939. Despite his roles in popular films of the time, his greatest success was his film adaptation of Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (1946) in which he was producer, director, and star. The success of the picture led to his Academy Award winning film *Hamlet* (1948) and *Richard III* (1955). As the first director/producer to successfully bring Shakespeare to the screen, Olivier re-introduced mainstream culture to the works of Shakespeare and led to a revitalization of the classics in the modern age. Olivier would act many more Shakespearean roles in film and television including *Othello* (1966) and *King Lear* (1983).

Olivier married three times: to actress Jill Esmond in 1930; to actress Vivien Leigh in 1940; and to actress Joan Plowright in 1961. He fathered two sons and two daughters. He would later say that Plowright filled the place left so long empty by the death of his mother. During the last years of his life Olivier would play roles that were considered beneath him and he was plagued by a series of painful illnesses. His health forced his retirement in 1986, yet he wrote two revealing books before his death: *Confessions of an Actor* (1982) and *On Acting* (1986). Olivier was buried in Westminster Abbey beside the Shakespeare Memorial and the graves of King Henry V and Henry Irving.

Few personalities have made an impression on the world as did that of Sir Laurence Olivier. He left an indelible mark on the world of theatre, film, and television to which many aspire. His legacy has inspired directors such as Franco Zeffereilli and Kenneth Branagh to bring Shakespeare’s plays to contemporary audiences. Perhaps Director Richard Eyre put it best when he said “we shall never see his like again.”

—Michael Najjar

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Olmos, Edward James (1947—)

Guy D. Garcia wrote in *Time* (1988) that Edward James Olmos is not only “possibly the best Hispanic-American actor of his generation, but one of the best performers working today.” Edward James Olmos, however, did not have Hollywood success and greatness served to him on a platter. He was born and raised by in the poor, working-class Boyle Heights section of East Los Angeles. Fortunately, at a young age Olmos avoided drugs and gangs by throwing himself into baseball; it was only at baseball games that he saw his father. By his late teens, however, it wasn’t baseball that beckoned, but rock ‘n’ roll. After graduating from Montebello High School, a longhaired Olmos not only attended junior college, but was the lead vocalist for the band Pacific Ocean. Although Olmos eventually transferred to California State University, Los Angeles, and pursued a degree in sociology, his interest in drama led him to drop out and try his hand at acting. He appeared in several small productions around



Edward James Olmos

Los Angeles and eventually landed bit parts on *Kojak* and *Hawaii Five-O*. Soon after Olmos made \$89 playing a nonspeaking role in the low-budget *Aloha, Bobby and Rose* (1975), he starred in the successful independent Chicano feature *Alambrista!* (1977). Thanks to much hard work and a Tony Award nomination for his role as *el pachuco* in the Broadway production of Luis Valdez's musical *Zoot Suit*, doors began to open. In 1982 he appeared as the Mexican-Asian detective in Ridley Scott's blockbuster *Blade Runner*, and in 1984 he became known to television audiences as Lieutenant Martin Castillo of *Miami Vice*—a role that won him an Emmy. In 1987 Olmos was nominated for an Academy Award for his role as Jaime Escalante, the East Los Angeles *barrio* math teacher in the widely acclaimed *Stand and Deliver* (1987). He also received critical praise for his acting in *Mi Familia* (1995), *Selena* (1997), and *The Disappearance of Garcia Lorca* (1997). Among his peers Olmos is respected for his talent, as well as his dedication to perfecting his roles. For example, he studied the tape-recorded speech patterns of the real-life Jaime Escalante for hours and gained over 40 pounds to resemble him.

While Olmos is a working actor willing to play anyone from a Greek to an American Indian steelworker, he is actively committed to portray characters in stories about Chicano lives, culture, and history. He formed the production company YOY to produce such films as *The Ballad of Gregorio Cortez* (1982)—the true story of a Tejano farmer (played by Olmos) brutally victimized by the Texas Rangers in the early part of the twentieth century. Olmos not only produced but directed and starred in *American Me* (1992)—a powerful cautionary tale of Chicano gang life. Finally, Olmos's commitment to the Chicano community extends beyond his work in film. Understanding the importance of promoting positive Chicano male role models, he regularly visits and gives lectures on crime and education at public schools, hospitals, Indian reservations, libraries, prisons, and colleges across the country. After the Rodney King riots in April 1992, Olmos was out with a broom helping to clean up the streets. Actor and activist, Edward James Olmos has offered disenfranchised members of society a vision of life's possibilities.

—Frederick Luis Aldama

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Olsen, Tillie (1913—)

Tillie Olsen has given voice to constituencies that have traditionally been unrepresented in literature, particularly working-class women. Influenced by her socialist parents, Olsen joined the Young Communist League in 1931 and embarked on a career of political activism. Her first short story, "The Iron Throat" (1934), was published in *Partisan Review* and reappeared as the first chapter to *Yonnondio*, an uncompleted novel manuscript that she rediscovered in 1973. As this lapse indicates, Olsen's artistic career was interrupted, primarily by the exigencies of motherhood and poverty. She poignantly reflected on the gender politics of her forced sabbatical in *Silences* (1978). A fellowship to Stanford University enabled her to resume writing in 1957, when she began a collection of short fiction, *Tell Me a Riddle* (1961). The title piece earned the O. Henry Award for the year's outstanding short story. In addition to writing, Olsen has played a

prominent role in recovering previously unheralded women authors, including Rebecca Harding Davis, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Agnes Smedley.

—Bryan Garman

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Olympics

Among the most potent of popular culture heroes is the athlete. Throughout history, the athlete has frequently been said to symbolize the best of an individual culture, as a uniquely human manifestation of beauty, valor, and physical prowess. Over the course of the last century, the modern Olympics have provided the greatest international stage for the creation of the athlete hero. In two-week competitions featuring men and women from around the world, Olympians come together in a gathering of the best athletes from each country. Hosted every four years by a different country, the world turns its attention not only to the individual competitors but also to the host nation, which invariably puts on a display of its artistic, cultural, and often political puissance. With the advent of television, the Olympics have become a global media event—a conscious stage for the creation of history. Peopled with heroes and villains, royalty and the common man, the Olympics have become one of the world's most anticipated rituals—a drama of victory, defeat, joy, and tragedy that captures the global imagination as perhaps no other event in contemporary society.

The modern Olympic Games, which were first held in Athens in 1896, were inspired by the ancient Olympic Festivals, which took place in the sacred sanctuary of Olympia on the Greek mainland, every four years from 776 B.C. until they were banned in 394 A.D. As both athletic and religious pageants, the Olympics were revered throughout Greece as essential displays of athleticism, beauty, and physical perfection. Attended by poets, writers, and artists, who lauded the athlete-heroes in paintings and in poetry, the ancient Olympic Festival became the most important of all Greek festivities.

The ancient Olympics lasted only five days and included chariot races, horse racing, the pentathlon, foot races, wrestling, and boxing, as well as two days of religious ceremonies and sacrifices. To compete in the ancient Olympics was the highest honor to which a Greek man could aspire. Victors were crowned with a wreath of olive branches and were assured fame and wealth for the rest of their lives and often immortality thereafter for, in the ancient Olympics, there were no second prizes, only winners.

Throughout the city-states of ancient Greece, athletes prepared for the Games in schools and clubs dedicated to training athletes. In order to qualify to compete in the Games themselves, athletes had to undergo strict training and testing, so as to ensure the absolute purity of the competitors. Additionally, the Olympic festival was an all-male domain. Women could neither compete nor observe the competitions on threat of death. So sacred were the Olympics that wars were known to cease during the festival. However, by the third century A.D., the widespread influence of Christianity had begun to undermine the influence of the Olympics, and by 394 A.D. the games were banned. But their legacy, as captured in literature and art would remain alive,



The closing ceremony for the 1984 Summer Olympic games in Los Angeles.

and would eventually captivate the imagination of a generation of young athletes almost 1,500 years later.

In the mid-nineteenth century, after hundreds of years of societal indifference to sports, athletic activities once again assumed a place of prominence in Europe and America. Scientists promoted sporting activities for the health and well-being of mankind and sporting clubs became popular gathering places for the upper classes. During the 1880s, a young Frenchman named Baron Pierre de Coubertin undertook a study of the impact of sports on society. As noted in *Chronicle of the Olympics*, de Coubertin “became convinced that exercise had to be the basis of sensible education. He was convinced that equal opportunity for all participants was a prerequisite for these competitions.” De Coubertin’s amateur ideal in his new “religion of sport” reached its apotheosis in his dream of reviving the ancient Olympic games. However, his idea initially met with little enthusiasm. But the persistent Frenchman recruited sport enthusiasts from Europe and the Americas and finally succeeded in organizing the first modern Olympic Games in Athens in 1896.

One hundred years later, in 1996, Juan Antonio Samaranch, president of the International Olympic Committee, wrote, “When Coubertin established the International Olympic Committee in 1894 in Paris, his goal was to encourage a better understanding among nations through the linking of sport, education, art, and culture.”

However, the first Olympic Games were not particularly well-organized, as amateur athletes from Europe and the Americas gathered in Athens for the first “international sporting competition,” most of them having arrived in Greece under their own steam. Approximately 200 men from fourteen countries competed in nine events; however, most of the participants were Greek. Winners were awarded an olive branch, a certificate, and a silver medal while the next two runners-up received a laurel sprig along with a copper medal. Despite the fact that the participants were mostly Greek, the United States won more medals than any other country. The Greeks, however, were triumphant in the most symbolic event of the first Olympiad—the recreation of the ancient Greek run by a messenger following the battle of Marathon. A shepherd named Spyridon Louis won the 26-mile race and was hailed as a national hero.

Greece hoped to host all of the Olympic games, as they had done in the past. But political unrest made that impossible. Thus, in 1900, the Games were brought to de Coubertin’s homeland and held in Paris. Public interest in the event, however, was almost non-existent because the Olympiad was merely a part of the World’s Fair taking place in Paris. Four years later, the Games traveled to the United States, where they were also subsumed by the World’s Fair in St. Louis, Missouri. In St. Louis, however, for the first time athletes paraded in an opening ceremony and winners were awarded gold,

silver, and bronze medals. But it wasn't until 1908, when the Olympics were staged as an event in their own right in London that the public really began to take notice.

Four years later, the Fifth Olympiad would become the model upon which future Games would be based. Held in Stockholm, featuring athletes from all the continents of the world, 2,547 athletes from 28 countries competed in the brilliantly organized two-week event. Women were now competing as well and the opening day parade was a truly international pageant. From the Stockholm Olympics emerged the first global sports hero—Jim Thorpe, a Native American from Oklahoma won both the pentathlon and the decathlon. Another star for the American team was swimmer Duke Kahanamoku, descended from the Hawaiian royal family, who would go on to popularize surfing around the world.

The modern Olympic Games had finally caught on, but World War I prevented the 1916 Olympiad. When they resumed in Antwerp in 1920, the spirit of reconciliation that enveloped Europe transformed the Games into a symbolic spectacle. At the opening ceremony, doves were released and one competitor took the Olympic oath on behalf of all of his fellow athletes, pledging to participate in the Games "in the true spirit of sportsmanship." A new Olympic flag was introduced. The white banner featuring five interlocking colored circles symbolized the unity of the five continents. The star of the Games was Finnish runner Paavo Nurmi, who took home four medals—three gold and one silver.

Throughout the first twenty-four years of the modern Olympics, various sports were added, such as diving, rowing, yachting, and cycling, while others such as tug of war, cricket, and lacrosse were discontinued. Throughout the history of the modern Olympics, various sports would come and go, but the major events would remain track and field, gymnastics, swimming and diving, wrestling, boxing, and weightlifting, sailing and rowing, and equestrian events.

During this first quarter century of the Olympics, athletes who participated in winter sports had largely been excluded. In 1920, ice skating and ice hockey were included in the Antwerp Games, but a movement was afoot to create a separate Winter Olympics. In 1924, an International Winter Sports Week was held in Chamonix, France, but it wasn't until four years later in St. Moritz that the first official Winter Games took place. During the mid-1920s, France seemed to hold the monopoly on the Olympics, as the Summer Games of 1924 once again were held in Paris. There the handsome American swimmer Johnny Weissmuller won four medals and would later parlay his status as Olympic champion into a Hollywood movie career. Because the crux of the Olympics was to promote amateur sports, the 1924 Games would be the last to include tennis, until the sport was reintroduced in Seoul in 1988.

Four years later, the Winter Games would officially capture the public imagination as fifteen-year-old Sonja Henie captured the first of her three gold medals in ice skating. She, too, would eventually find her way to Hollywood through her Olympic fame. The 1928 Amsterdam Summer Games introduced another symbolic Olympic act—the lighting of the Olympic flame brought from Greece. And, finally, women were allowed to compete in track and field events. Four years later, the Games would return to the United States for the first time in twenty-eight years, with the Winter Games in Lake Placid, New York, and the Summer Games in Los Angeles, California. One of the stars of the Los Angeles Games was a woman who would go on to become one of the world's first professional female athletes, the inimitable Babe Didrikson.

Four years later, both the Winter and Summer Olympics were held in Germany, where Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party used the Games as a showcase for their new regime. Politics entered the Olympics with a vengeance when German emigrants living in the United States tried to force a boycott of the Games. Although their efforts failed, the IOC felt compelled to step in and demand that Jewish athletes not be excluded from German teams. In the Summer Games, Hitler staged an immense spectacle glorifying the Aryan race. But the star of the Games was an African-American athlete named Jesse Owens who, to Hitler's ire, won four gold medals in track and field.

Although the IOC had done their best to ensure that politics did not interfere with sports, World War II prevented the staging of another Olympics until 1948, when athletes from around the world once again met in St. Moritz for the Winter Games and in London for the Summer Games. Both Germany and Japan were prevented from competing in these first post-war Games.

In the years following World War II, the Olympics gradually grew in size and spectacle. Having lived through the tragedy of a global conflict, athletes and fans alike warmed to the idea of a peacetime gathering of nations. As if to exemplify this desire, a truly international collection of men and women rose to stardom through the ensuing games, from Czechoslovakia's brilliant distance runner, Emil Zápotek, to America's world-class ice skater, Dick Button, and unmatched decathlete, Bob Matthias, to Australian swimming phenomenon, Dawn Fraser. But the biggest change in the makeup of the Olympic Games was the emergence of the powerhouse teams from the Soviet bloc, whose athletes would dominate the Games for almost forty years. Their presence would guarantee the often-unwelcome shadow of politics that would cloud the Games for years to come.

During the 1960s, television brought increasingly global audiences to the Olympics, quickly making stars out of winners, losers, and charismatic participants—even if only for Andy Warhol's proverbial fifteen minutes. Wilma Rudolph, who had overcome polio to become the top woman sprinter in the 1960 Games in Rome, soon became a household name in America, as did boxers Cassius Clay (soon to become Muhammad Ali), Joe Frazier, and George Foreman. Certain sports seemed to gain in popularity as television allowed them to be viewed to their best effect for the first time. Downhill skiing was one such sport, whose stars, such as Jean-Claude Killy of France, would become internationally famous. But television also created a new arena for political exploitation, and the Mexico City Olympics of 1968 became as famous for the high-altitude record set there by long jumper Bob Beamon as for the black-gloved fists raised on the winners' podium by African-American sprinters Tommie Smith and John Carlos. But it wasn't until the 1972 Summer Games in Munich that politics would virtually succeed in completely dominating sports.

Although the 1972 Olympics created huge stars, such as swimmer Mark Spitz, winner of seven gold medals, and seventeen-year-old Soviet gymnast, Ludmilla Tourischeva, who virtually single-handedly catapulted women's gymnastics into the Olympic spotlight, the Munich Games will undoubtedly be most remembered for the tragic kidnapping and killing of members of the Israeli team by Arab terrorists. In ensuing Games, politics seemed to creep into public consciousness more and more, particularly as Cold War tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union seemed to heighten. The 1980 Winter Games were capped off with the patriotic fervor surrounding the upset of the Soviet ice hockey team by an inexperienced American squad. Six months later, the United States boycotted the Moscow Games to protest the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Four years later, the Soviet bloc countries would retaliate by boycotting the Los Angeles Games.

As television audiences for the Olympics swelled around the world, the media latched on to the sports that seemed to garner the best ratings. Women's gymnastics continued to grow in popularity, assuring young stars such as fourteen-year-old Romanian phenom Nadia Comaneci, American Mary Lou Retton, and the brilliant Soviet squads, plenty of air time. Track and field continued in popularity, with Edwin Moses, Carl Lewis, Florence Griffith-Joyner and Jackie Joyner-Kersey garnering fame and fortune from their Olympic wins. In the Winter Games, ice skating continued to be the ratings winner, with winners such as Britain's Torville and Dean, America's Scott Hamilton, Brian Boitano, and Kristi Yamaguchi, Germany's Katerina Witt, and Japan's Midori Ito finding that an Olympic gold guaranteed them a lucrative professional career.

But in fact, the line between amateur and professional athletics was becoming blurrier every year and, in 1981, the term "Olympic amateur" was stricken from the Olympic Charter, allowing each individual sports association to decide athletic eligibility for the Games. This new ruling seemed to open the door for a new kind of Olympiad and, in 1992, the American basketball team was dubbed "The Dream Team," when it featured stars from the NBA instead of amateur athletes. Since then, other professional athletes have begun to compete, including tennis and hockey players.

Despite these changes or, as the media would claim, because of them, the Olympics continues to attract ever-larger television audiences, eager to watch the drama of the Games unfold every four years. From the ever-grander spectacle of the Opening of the Games, which provide each host country with the opportunity to show off their cultural contributions to the world, to the dramatic human stories that inevitably unfold at each Olympiad, the Games are ready-made for the media. In fact, the Winter and Summer Games are no longer held during the same year so that television audiences can recover from the Olympic media saturation over a two-year period. Nonetheless, new stars continue to emerge, many of whom parlay their Olympic glory into professional opportunities and endorsements. Although ice skaters such as Tara Lipinski and Ilia Kulik, track stars such as Michael Johnson, and downhill skiers such as Alberto Tomba and Picabo Street remain among the most popular Olympic athletes, the Games inevitably produce heroes in a variety of sports, from diver Greg Louganis to swimmer Janet Evans to freestyle mogul skier Johnny Mosely.

Because the modern Olympics have become an international media event, they are inevitably subject to the pendulum swings of modern politics. From the bombing in Atlanta in 1996 to the scandal of the Salt Lake City Organizing Committee for the 2002 Winter Games, the Olympics continue to be rocked by controversy and confusion. Every year, American television audiences complain about the escalating commercialization of the games and the increasingly jingoistic coverage by the networks. But each year, audiences continue to come back for more. In our media-saturated age, when so much of what we view and read is filled with tragedy and despair, sports in general, and particularly the Olympics, which still remain largely free from the money controversies swirling around professional athletics, continue to attract audiences who crave the rare, unscripted moments of heroism, athletic prowess, physical beauty, and acts of bravery that can still be said to exemplify the best of the human condition.

—Victoria Price

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Omnibus

Produced and funded by the Radio and Television Workshop of the Ford Foundation under the direction of Robert Saudek, *Omnibus* introduced Sunday afternoon and evening commercial television audiences in the 1950s to a wide variety of programs of cultural distinction. Hosted by Alistair Cooke, the BBC's (British Broadcasting Corporation) American correspondent, the 90 minute *Omnibus* was carried by the CBS network from 1952-1956; by ABC from 1956-1957; and by NBC from 1957-1959. NBC continued *Omnibus* on an irregular basis during the 1960-1961 season, and ABC revived it briefly in 1980. Notable segments included James Agee's *Abraham Lincoln—The Early Years*, which appeared in installments during the 1952-1953 season; Orson Welles' television debut in *King Lear* in 1953; and concerts conducted by Leonard Bernstein during the 1954-1956 seasons. *Omnibus* helped establish an elite audience for programming later carried by PBS (Public Broadcasting Service).

—Paul Ashdown

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On the Road

Jack Kerouac's 1957 novel was a mostly autobiographical travelogue of cross-country trips that Kerouac took during the late 1940s. *On the Road's* characters were thinly-disguised Beat luminaries, including Allen Ginsberg, William S. Burroughs, and Kerouac himself who—as narrator Sal Paradise—reflected the American fascination with road travel. The road's attraction is expressed throughout America's literature, popular culture, and twentieth-century life. *On the Road* fostered an alternative view of American life, preceding the counterculture of the 1960s; this unintended effect on Kerouac's part was partially responsible for his reclusiveness during his later years.

The book covers four road trips, mainly between New York and San Francisco, with several stops in Denver, and detours into Chicago, New Orleans, Virginia, and Mexico. The catalyst for the book was Neal Cassady, a mutual friend of Kerouac's and Ginsberg's, whose character was named Dean Moriarty. A fast-talking, charismatic womanizer from Denver, Cassady had a love of joyriding in stolen cars, which put him through Denver's reform schools. In *On the Road*, Sal idolizes Dean (as Kerouac idolized Cassady) as a swaggering, cowboy-like man of action: "(Dean's criminality) was a wild

yea-saying overburst of American joy; it was Western, the west wind, an ode from the Plains.”

Kerouac’s book sparked controversy by featuring the underside of American life in the 1950s: frenetic travel, hit-and-run romances, bop jazz, liquor, marijuana, all-night diners, and hitchhiking. The book begins with Sal, the novelist-to-be who lives with his aunt in New Jersey, travelling to Denver to see Dean. This trip initiates a series of cross-country trips by car, bus, and hitchhiking. One memorable sequence finds Dean and Sal travelling east from Denver to Chicago in a Cadillac they are hired to drive. Making the trip in 17 hours, the car makes it to Chicago in worse shape than when it left from Denver.

The actual writing of the book provided *On the Road* with a built-in legend. Kerouac loved promoting the story about how, in 1951, he wrote the book in three weeks, typing continuously onto a 120-foot roll of teletype paper while on benzedrine. Although the story is true, in actuality Kerouac began *On the Road* in November 1948, producing several versions in between then and the completion of his manuscript in 1951. The teletype roll was “the outcome of a fastidious process of outlining, chapter drafting, and trimming—began long before April of 1951,” according to Douglas Brinkley in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

The impetus for the continuous roll developed out of Kerouac’s dissatisfaction with his early manuscripts. Kerouac wrote, in excerpted diaries published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, that “All along I’ve felt ‘Road’ was not enough for a full-scale effort of my feelings in prose: too thin, too hung up on unimportant characters, too unfeeling. I have the feelings but not the proper vehicle as yet.” Conventional prose failed to capture the exhilaration that Kerouac felt for the open road. In 1950, he experienced an epiphany after receiving a letter from Cassady that some scholars call “The Joan Letter.” A thousand-word rambling confessional, Cassady’s letter described his visit to his hospitalized girlfriend Joan after her suicide attempt, and a sexual episode that required his escape by climbing out of a window. Neal’s autobiographical style “convinced Kerouac that the best way to write his own novel,” wrote biographer Ann Charters in *Kerouac*, “was to tell the story of his trips cross-country with Cassady as if he were writing a letter to a friend, using first-person narration.” Kerouac soon outlined his style in the “Essentials of Spontaneous Prose,” which were guidelines for a form that reflected the improvisational fluidity of a jazz musician: “Blow as deep as you want—write as deeply, fish as far down as you want . . . then reader cannot fail to receive telepathic shock and meaning.”

Published on September 5, 1957, with a second printing scheduled 15 days later, the book was on the best-seller list for five weeks late that year. By the 1990s, the book’s sales had reached 3 million copies. *On the Road*’s auspicious reception was deceptive; Kerouac would later be savaged by reviewers. Upon its release, the *New York Times* heralded *On the Road* as “an authentic work of art,” but the following Sunday, in its regular review section, the newspaper panned it. Kerouac was attacked for his aesthetic philosophy: Truman Capote quipped that Kerouac’s fiction was not writing but typing. Other reviewers were scandalized by the book’s spotlight on characters who were drifters and misfits. The *Washington Post* dismissed *On the Road* as a chronicle of “the frantic fringe,” while *Time* magazine vilified the book for its “degeneracy.”

While literature’s self-appointed guardians viewed *On the Road* as a barbarian storming the gates of literature’s manor, they ignored the book’s deep connection to uniquely American themes. “Whenever spring comes to New York,” wrote Kerouac in his misunderstood

book, “I can’t stand the suggestions of the land that come blowing over the river from New Jersey and I’ve got to go. So I went.” The automobile is deeply ingrained in twentieth-century American life. “Long drives and long drivers,” proclaimed *Car & Driver* magazine in 1995, “will be part of us while roads and automobiles still exist. The elemental urge to climb into a favorite automobile and blast away, unfettered, toward a distant destination lies deep within us all.” *On the Road* recalled the Mississippi travels of Mark Twain’s Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, and the fascination with the road in the poetry of Walt Whitman.

Kerouac became a precursor to the writers of the 1960s and 1970s—like Norman Mailer, Hunter Thompson, and Tom Wolfe—who were active participants in the stories they covered. By the 1990s, reviewers began to favorably reappraise *On the Road*: “Kerouac’s work represents the most extensive experiment in language and literary form undertaken by an American writer of his generation,” declared the *New York Times* in 1995. For many readers, however, the emotional response to *On the Road* will always remain foremost in their judgment: “No book,” Ann Charters simply stated, “has ever caught the feel of speeding down the broad highway in a new car, the mindless joyousness of ‘joyriding’ like *On the Road*.”

—Daryl Umberger

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On the Waterfront

On the Waterfront (1954), a riveting drama of labor union corruption on the New York City docks, was directed by Elia Kazan and won eight Academy Awards; it has been a classic of the American cinema for nearly half a century. Reasons for its enduring appeal include a taut script by Budd Schulberg, magnetic performances by an all-star cast featuring Marlon Brando, a compelling score by Leonard Bernstein, stark black-and-white photography by Boris Kaufman, and, above all, transcendent themes that resonate across the decades with the American experience.

The film tells the story of Terry Malloy (Brando), a dock worker and former prize fighter, who turns against the union’s mob leaders, including his brother Charlie (Rod Steiger) and John Friendly (Lee J. Cobb), by testifying in a federal Crime Commission investigation.



Marlon Brando in a scene from *On the Waterfront*.

Terry's inner moral struggle is played out for the love of a good woman, Edie Doyle (Eva Marie Saint), with encouragement from Father Barry (Karl Malden), modelled on crusading waterfront priest, Father John Corrigan.

Brando brings complexity to his portrayal of the confused prize fighter, striving for decency and dignity despite pressure from his brother to keep silent about the union's criminal activities. The Oscar-winning performance is one of Brando's most memorable, conveying the subtle emotions of a simple man enmeshed by irresistible forces.

The movie reflects the historical conditions of the 1950s in subject matter and theme. Author Budd Schulberg (*What Makes Sammy Run*) based the screenplay on a newspaper expose of labor conditions on the New York waterfront. Men jostled for work every morning in the infamous "shape up," forming a horseshoe around foremen and vying for favors. This degrading system thrived on nepotism and violence. *On the Waterfront's* realistic subject matter, captured by moody black-and-white photography and a score with harsh jazz elements, places the film in an emergent realist genre of filmmaking that was turning away from the light musicals and romantic comedies of the 1930s and 1940s, to dramas about social problems such as Kazan's earlier treatments of anti-Semitism (*Gentleman's Agreement*) and racism (*Pinky*).

The film's theme rationalizes Kazan's appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) as a friendly witness. Kazan renounced his involvement in the Communist Party and gave up the names of Hollywood "fellow travelers." The hearings reflected a fierce ideological struggle, as a political movement that had held enormous intellectual appeal during the hard times

of the Depression came under suspicion from Cold War fears about Communist Russian aggression and nuclear proliferation. The HUAC inquisition ruined careers, divided friends, and sent to prison ten well-known directors and writers for refusing to cooperate. Terry Malloy, in the words of Peter Biskind, "is the informer as hero." Terry's renunciation of his union "family," personified by his brother Charlie, valorizes Kazan's decision (also that of Schulberg) as the film sorts through issues of loyalty to family and friends versus duty to one's country—silence versus informing.

The film remains a favorite long after waterfront corruption and the HUAC investigations have faded from fans' minds, reaching out to new generations because it captures cultural concerns that transcend 1954 realities. In addition to the perennial dilemmas people confront in negotiating issues of personal versus national loyalty and silence versus honesty, the story embodies the heroic American vision of the good individual struggling against dehumanizing civilization, moral redemption, the Cain-and-Abel parable, and the frustration of personal failure when confronted with the forces of mass society.

Terry is a hero in the American tradition of rugged individualism, exemplified by the cowboy who rides into town, fights the outlaws, saves corrupt society from itself, then rides off into the sunset. After testifying against the mob, Terry reclaims his job in a dramatic fight. After taking a beating from mob goons, he dispatches union boss John Friendly into the river. Terry restores order to the longshore community as he, badly battered like a crucified Jesus, leads the men back to work at the urging of Father Barry. It is an ambiguous ending, critics have argued, as the huge warehouse doors close on Terry's back, suggesting entrapment in the processes of mass society as much as triumphant resolution.

Terry's decision to testify exacts a high price. He nearly loses the love of Edie Doyle when he reveals he played an unwitting role in the mob murder of her brother, Joey, killed to prevent his appearance before the Crime Commission. The plot creates a situation where "informing on criminal associates is the only honorable course of action for a just man," Biskind writes, and it is the only way that Terry can redeem himself in his own eyes, those of Edie, and his fellow dock workers.

Terry also pays for his choice when the mob kills his brother, Charlie, a variation on the ancient Cain-and-Abel theme. This exploration of fraternal conflict provides the set-piece of the movie. In a scene filmed in the tight confines of the back seat of a car that allows no escape, Terry and Charlie come to grips with their relationship with virtuoso performances by Brando and Steiger. Terry condemns Charlie for asking him to throw a fight, ending his chance at the title. Hemmed in by the imposing forces of corrupt civilization and family pressure, Terry settled for "A couple of bucks and a one-way ticket to Palookaville. It was you, Charlie. You was my brother. You should have looked out for me instead of making me take them dives for the short end money."

When Charlie demurs, Terry continues with the words that are most closely identified with the film: "You don't understand! I could've been a contender. I could've had class and been somebody." As spoken by Brando, the words have become a hackneyed cultural emblem of the film, yet remain a poignant cry of the little guy overwhelmed by the forces of family and mass society. They also express a cultural excuse for stifled ambition and dreams gone sour that places blame outside the self. Terry's words remain as timely and apt as when they first impressed audiences in 1954.

—E. M. I. Sefcovic

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Onassis, Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy (1929-1994)

Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis, wife of President John F. Kennedy, captivated the world as she evolved from political wife to widow to pop-culture icon and became famous in her own right as Jackie O. Jacqueline was complex, creative, elegant, intelligent, and ambitious; qualities which endeared her to many and which ensured her a place in the history of twentieth century American celebrities.

Jacqueline was born to wealthy parents, John (Black Jack) Vernou Bouvier, III and Janet Lee, in East Hampton, New York, on July 28, 1929. In 1947, she was dubbed "debutante of the year," and was the toast of East Coast society. Jacqueline's parents divorced in 1940, but her mother married wealthy Hugh Dudley Auchincloss, which permitted Jacqueline and her sister Lee to live on in wealth and privilege. She was educated at Vassar College, studied one year in France at the University of Grenoble and the Sorbonne, and graduated with a B.A. from George Washington University.

Jacqueline met John F. Kennedy while working as a photographer for the *Washington Times Herald*. They married September 12, 1953, at St. Mary's Church in Newport. She was a dutiful but stylish political wife whose celebrity status began when she became First Lady.

Jacqueline's White House days are remembered for her efforts at restoration and her impact on foreign dignitaries. In 1962, she gave a televised tour of the progress of restoring the White House. As First Lady, she presented herself with an image of grace and charm. She set fashion, most notably with the little pillbox hats she wore during her White House days. A favorite of many genre's artists, she was written into songs, discotheques were named for her, and Andy Warhol painted her portrait in a famous pop-art series.

She led the nation through the grief of President Kennedy's assassination with incredible composure and with an astute eye to history. She stood by in a bloodstained suit as President Lyndon

Johnson was sworn in on November 22, 1963. She planned the funeral pageantry; she appeared as a widow, dressed in black, with her children by her side. As a final tribute, she requested the eternal flame that burns at President Kennedy's grave site.

Interestingly, *Camelot*, the 1960 musical based on King Arthur and his Court, influenced Jacqueline and the Kennedy presidency. In 1995, the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston released the secret "Camelot Papers" of Jacqueline's five hour interview with author Theodore H. White a week after President Kennedy was assassinated. William Langley of the *Telegraph* reports that Jacqueline worked to have *Camelot* be identified with Kennedy's 1,000 day administration of youth and good fortune.

Jacqueline Kennedy transformed from the fairy tale widow of a fallen President to the status of a global celebrity after her marriage to Aristotle Onassis, the Greek shipping tycoon, in 1968. When Aristotle Onassis died in 1975, Jackie O. went to court to get the \$26 million that she said he would will her. After Onassis died, Jackie O. found a companion in a third wealthy individual, diamond merchant Maurice Tempelsman, who was married. Tempelsman quadrupled her fortune to an estimated \$200,000,000.

Jackie O. was a good mother to her children: Caroline, born November 27, 1957, and John, Jr., born November 25, 1960 and killed in a plane crash in July 1999. A third child, Patrick Bouvier, was born on August 7, 1963, and the nation mourned with her when he died two days later. Jackie developed an identity apart from Kennedy and Onassis when she began a career as a book editor, first at Viking Press in 1975 and later at Doubleday in 1978. A wealthy woman, she did not have to work, and yet she held her job at Doubleday until her death. Jackie O. died of non-Hodgkin's lymphoma at the age of 64 on May 19, 1994.

Jackie was a firm believer in her right to privacy, but her fame coincided with a tremendous growth of media that made her personal struggle for seclusion more difficult; more than 25 unauthorized biographies have been written about her. In death, as in life, Jackie O. cherished her privacy. She left behind a book she wrote, with instructions that it not be released for 100 years. She also left personal notes with her son John, instructing him to keep them private. Although she remains a private person, her historical sense of ceremony and dignity not only helped preserve a young assassinated president in the nation's memory, but also reserved for her a place in American history.

—Rosemarie Skaine

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Jacqueline Lee Bouvier Kennedy Onassis

One Day at a Time

Norman Lear's *One Day at a Time* (1975-1984) explored the life of a liberated divorcee who took back her maiden name and found success without a husband. Ann Romano (Bonnie Franklin) married too young, divorced her husband, and took her two teenage daughters, who kept their father's name, from suburban Logansport to a tiny apartment in the big city of Indianapolis. The older daughter, 17-year-old Julie (Mackenzie Phillips), was stubborn, headstrong, and impetuous. Her sister, 15-year-old Barbara (Valerie Bertinelli) cracked wise, but was basically a good girl. The girls had all of the dating and school problems of most teenagers, but lived with only one parent, the feisty Ann, who had gone from her parents house to her husband's, and was now finally on her own.

Though developed by Lear, *One Day at a Time* was created by Allan Mannings and Whitney Blake, who had been a regular on the TV series *Hazel*. Originally called *All About Us*, the show became almost notorious for the casting of pert, freckle-faced redhead Franklin as a hot-tempered Italian woman. Like all Lear comedies, *One Day at a Time* tackled serious contemporary issues. The show focused on these issues and how they played out in an unconventional family structure. Early episodes focusing on Ann had her suburban friends worrying about her being alone and man-less. But Ann had men in her

life. The building superintendent, mustachioed Duane Schneider (Pat Harrington, Jr.), who fancied himself Don Juan with a pass key, soon developed a strong platonic relationship with Ann and became a sort of uncle to the kids. Ann did date, however. First she dated her divorce lawyer, a younger man, named David Kane (Richard Masur). She later incorporated partner and lover Nick Handris (Ron Rifkin) and his ten-year-old son, Alex (Glenn Scarpelli) into her life. Nick soon left the show, and—in one of the more contrived plot twists—gave Ann custody of Alex, even though he had a real mother in Chicago.

As youths, Julie ran away with her boyfriend, and Barbara tried to shed her good-girl image by running off with a platonic friend. As the series continued, Bertinelli's character made her a teen star at a time when Jodie Foster and Tatum O'Neal also played all-American tomboys. In 1981, when Bertinelli married rock musician Eddie Van Halen, CBS tried to keep it a secret, worrying that it would tarnish "Barbara's" image as the little sister or girlfriend everyone wanted. But Barbara soon grew old enough to marry dental student Mark Royer (Boyd Gaines). After the series ended, Bertinelli enjoyed success as a "women's movie" and mini-series regular. Phillips, daughter of the Mamas and the Papas leader John Phillips, developed chronic drug problems that forced *One Day at a Time's* writers the unenviable job of coming up with reasons for the now-skeletal and bug-eyed Julie to leave and return, culminating toward the end of the



Valerie Bertinelli (left) and Mackenzie Phillips in a scene from the television show *One Day at a Time*.

series with the character abandoning her husband Max (Michael Lembeck) and infant daughter.

One Day at a Time held a unique position in television as one of the first shows to feature a mother who had chosen to be single. Ann wasn't widowed, and her ex-husband, Ed (the occasionally-seen Joseph Campanella) wasn't an adulterous lout. Ann and Ed simply did not have a happy marriage. Ann was also TV's first prominent "Ms." One of Ann's bosses made a big deal out of calling her "M.S. Romano," as the rest of the country got used to using that new appellation. Ann's co-worker—and later business partner—Francine Webster (Shelley Fabares), represented a more strident version of a liberated woman. Unlike Ann, Francine was calculating, manipulative, and sexual. *One Day at a Time* did not conclude with a cancellation; it was ended when Franklin and Bertinelli decided not to return for another season. By the last season, Ann had become a successful advertising executive, remarried (her son-in-law Mark's father), and moved to London after receiving a great job offer. Julie was gone, and Barbara and her husband were starting a new life.

—Karen Lurie

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One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest

Ken Kesey's first and best known novel, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962), the story of an unlikely redeemer who triumphs over the authoritarian "Combine" run by Big Nurse Ratched, became the credo of an entire generation of rebels; and in the late twentieth century it continues to command the interest of new generations of readers with its comedic virtuosity.

The novel's genesis seems to confirm Kesey's belief that life is a form of art. As a graduate student at Stanford University in the late 1950s, Kesey learned from a fellow student about experiments with "psychomimetic" drugs at the Veteran's Hospital in Menlo Park and volunteered to be a paid subject. Kesey—by his own admission in *Kesey's Garage Sale* (1973) "a jock, never even been drunk but that one night in my frat house before my wedding"—began taking government-administered LSD and other hallucinogens. When the original drug experiments ended, Kesey accepted a job as night attendant on the psychiatric unit at Menlo Park, where his access to the patients' medicines and the long stretches of time between ward checks led him to abandon his novel-in-progress about San Francisco's North Beach and to undertake a new work, about the plight of asylum inmates who defiantly assert their humanity against overwhelming forces.

Kesey claimed that peyote was the inspiration for the character of Chief Bromden, whose highly subjective and often hallucinatory first-person narration gives *Cuckoo's Nest* its metaphoric richness, its peculiar horror, and ultimately its emotional force. Chief, a hulking giant who survived not only the horrors of World War II but also the asylum's 200 or more electroshock therapy treatments, has been emasculated and dehumanized by Big Nurse and the "Combine." Reduced to an object of ridicule by the orderlies, who call him Chief Broom, Chief withdraws into a voluntary muteness. Only with the help of the newly admitted con man Randle Patrick ("Mack") McMurphy, who draws all of the inmates into his game of wits with Big Nurse, is Chief able to find his way back from "the fog," rediscover his manhood, and ultimately escape the hospital's confines to return to the world of nature he left behind.

McMurphy is like the Grail Knight who restores life to the wasteland: his eccentric behavior brings laughter back to the ward and serves as a liberating counter-therapy to Ratched's regimen of silence and fear, just as the friendly touch of his big hand, the opposite of Ratched's icy mothering, helps the men to regain their potency. In the asylum and on a day-long fishing trip, Mack forces them to appreciate the importance of solidarity and to exercise their new strength. Ratched, of course, recognizes the radical threat to her authority that McMurphy poses; in an act of symbolic castration, she arranges to have him lobotomized. But McMurphy's self-sacrifice only further empowers the inmates, who rebel against her tyranny and who ultimately break out—or sign themselves out—of the hospital, leaving her powerless over them.

Recognizing the tremendous cinematic potential of such a popular novel, actor Kirk Douglas bought the rights from Kesey in 1962 for \$18,000. Douglas, who had played McMurphy in Dale Wasserman's theatrical adaptation of *Cuckoo's Nest* (which ran briefly and unsuccessfully in late 1963 at the Cort Theatre in New York), originally intended to recreate the role on film himself. After numerous delays, however, he turned the rights over to his son, Michael Douglas, who co-produced the film with Saul Zaentz in 1975. Directed by Milos Forman and starring Jack Nicholson as



Jack Nicholson, sitting on Josip Elic's shoulders, and Will Sampson in a scene from the film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*.

McMurphy and Louise Fletcher as Ratched, with Brad Dourif (Billy Bibbit), Sydney Lassick (Cheswick), Scatman Crothers (Turkle), and Danny DeVito (Martini) in supporting roles, the film proved to be a commercial and critical success, sweeping all four of the major Academy Awards—best picture, best director, best actor, and best actress—as well as the Oscar for best screenplay adapted from another medium (remarkably, it was the first film since *It Happened One Night* [1934] to win the “Big Four” awards.)

Kesey, originally hired to write the screenplay and then fired, successfully sued over the use of his name in the final version. Kesey was particularly displeased with the handling of the character of Chief: unlike the producers, who wanted a realistic depiction of institutional life (even to the point of casting a real psychiatrist as Dr. Spivey and several inmates as patients in minor roles), Kesey felt that the film needed Bromden's hallucinatory point-of-view. Indeed, contrary to Kesey's vision, the film's Bromden (Will Sampson) appears as a figure of lesser importance than McMurphy, and the Combine is never mentioned at all. Similarly, on film Ratched is far less monstrous than her counterpart in the novel; an attractive woman (albeit with a hairstyle suggesting two devil's horns) who is contemporary in age to McMurphy, she loses much of her mythic stature and at times seems more misguided than malicious and machine-like.

Forman's departures from the novel, however, are often as artistic as they are original. By moving some of the novel's ward scenes outdoors, he establishes a keen visual contrast between the claustrophobia of the institution and the freedom just beyond its walls. And his recurring use of windows, including the dark television

set that reflects the inmates' mounting insubordination, heightens the impact of Chief's escape at the film's end. Above all, Nicholson's brilliant depiction of McMurphy brings Kesey's manic, mythic hero to life.

—Barbara Tewa Lupack

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One Man's Family

One Man's Family (1932-1959) was the granddaddy of a radio broadcasting genre that decades later would be dubbed the “prime time soap.” It was also arguably its era's most realistic portrayal of American family life. True, the fictional Barbour family saw its share of psychotic maniacs, international intrigue, even a case of amnesia as the years passed, but even the silliest plots were enacted with a sense of depth and history that eluded most of the series' contemporaries. Writer-director Carlton E. Morse remained the series' guiding hand for its entire 27-year run; the same actors essayed the key roles for years, even decades. And the stories they enacted faced head-on the realities of the day: war, death, the changing roles of gender and generations. The result was a series whose integrity, consistency, and sense of reality left it unparalleled in the history of broadcasting.

Patriarch Henry Barbour was, even at middle age, a curmudgeon: conservative, bullheaded, frequently wrong but never in doubt. Wife Fanny suffered Henry's tirades and flights of fancy, frequently with an exasperated cry of “That man!” Henry had no shortage of complaints; his own children seemed determined—if not destined—to make his life miserable. Eldest son Paul, a pilot, had been crippled in action in World War One; his ambivalence bordered on a bitterness that his father would not abide. Hazel was the oldest Barbour daughter, cut straight from her mother's mold: a sensible, straitlaced girl who seemed particularly stodgy in comparison with the other Barbour daughter—Claudia, who along with twin brother Cliff made up the least well-adjusted segment of the Barbour household. Cliff was a free spirit whose lack of ambition drove his father to distraction; Claudia was a spitfire, an uninhibited rebel whose antics led to trouble even in the series' opening episode on April 19, 1932. The youngest Barbour was Jack, a high-spirited teen as the series began.

The series was first broadcast to a limited network of NBC's West Coast affiliates, originating each week from San Francisco. It struck an immediate chord, proving so popular the series soon attracted a sponsor and was picked up for the full NBC network. Production moved to Los Angeles at mid-decade, and by 1940, *One Man's Family* stood near the top of the weekly ratings chart, its audience share approaching that of Jack Benny or Bob Hope. The series' fans, meanwhile, were unusually loyal—and outspoken. *One*

Man's Family won several "Favorite Drama" awards in the late 1930s; a 1935 sponsorship deal with a cigarette company was quickly nixed when listeners protested their wholesome family drama being bankrolled by such a nasty product as a cigarette!

The serial proceeded in top form as the Great Depression gave way to World War II, its huge audience following every Barbour trial and tribulation: romances, marriages, pregnancies, and the sudden deaths of many of the Barbour children's spouses. The family also was known for its fertility—Hazel gave birth to twins in 1933; some years later, Jack's wife Betty bore a set of triplets. The series suffered its share of wartime loss. When actress Kathleen Wilson (Claudia) got married and left the series in 1943, Morse shocked his audience by making the character a casualty of war; Claudia and two of her children were sent to the bottom of the ocean, the Nazis torpedoing their ocean liner. Claudia's husband was also killed in action. Actress Winifred Wolfe (who played Paul's adopted daughter Teddy) left in 1945, also to get married; her character was written out and eventually became an army nurse. When actor Page Gilman entered the service, his character Jack followed suit. For much of the war, Jack appeared periodically whenever actor Gilman was on leave; actor and character disappeared completely when Gilman shipped out for the Pacific in May 1945. Jack's goodbye to his family stands arguably as not only the finest episode of this series, but possibly the most wrenching, true-to-life radio dramatic presentation of the entire war.

The series was by this time an institution. Gilman's Jack returned from the service, and the Claudia character returned, too—from the dead, now portrayed by actress Barbara Fuller, with the explanation that Claudia had survived her ocean ordeal and spent the past two years in a Nazi concentration camp. When longtime sponsor Standard Brands abruptly dropped the series in early 1949, 75,000 angry fans flooded NBC with letters begging the network to keep the Barbours on the air. The show ran sponsorless for nearly a year; Miles Laboratories picked it up in February 1950. That June, in a risky but successful move, the series ended its 18-year weekly run and shifted into a nightly 15-minute format that within a year was dominating its time period—even beating the nightly broadcast of legendary newsman Edward R. Murrow.

With the aging of the original children—and the unexpected death of actor Barton Yarborough (Cliff) in December 1951—the second generation of Barbours moved to the forefront of the narrative: the trials of Joan, Pinky, Hank, Penelope, and Teddy carried the series through much of its final decade. The show moved to an afternoon time slot in July 1955. NBC unexpectedly canceled the series in 1959, so abruptly the cast had already recorded what would turn out to be the final episodes. The show simply ended in mid-story on April 27, 1959.

—Chris Chandler

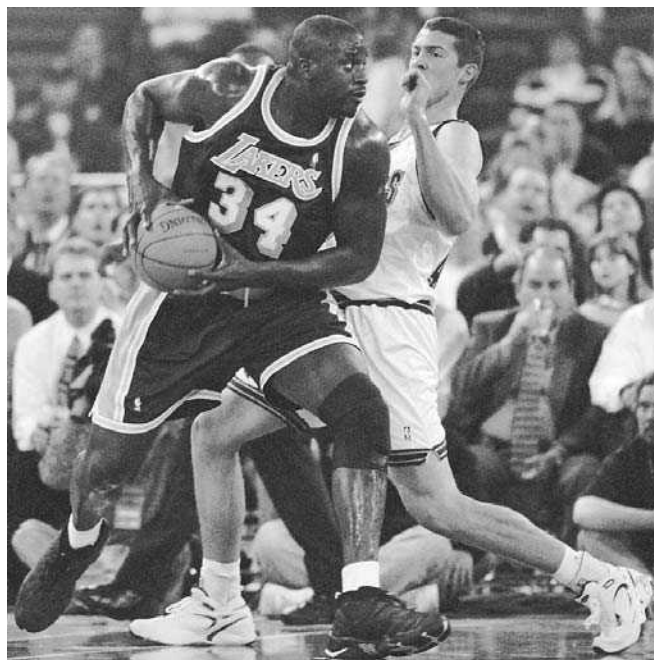
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O'Neal, Shaquille (1972—)

At the close of the twentieth century, the multimedia marketing of products was applied to celebrities. Shaquille O'Neal, or "Shaq,"



Los Angeles Lakers' Shaquille O'Neal in a game against the Denver Nuggets, 1999.

was one of the pioneers in this area. A star basketball player for the Orlando Magic and the Los Angeles Lakers, O'Neal quickly branched out into motion pictures and popular music. O'Neal also attached his name to children's toys, video game cameos, clothing, and basketball shoes. A star of the court, the television, the radio, the music video, and the screen, O'Neal's seven-foot presence has been felt across the commercial spectrum, epitomizing changes in the sports industry.

On March 6, 1972, Shaquille Rashaun O'Neal was born in Newark, New Jersey. O'Neal's biological father left the family, and O'Neal and his mother moved to San Antonio. His mother and a his stepfather raised O'Neal, offering an abundance of food and discipline along the way. After high school in Texas, O'Neal set off to Louisiana State University and stardom. After his freshman year in college, O'Neal thundered into national prominence. He was named national player of the year by AP and UPI in 1991, and was a unanimous first team All-American in 1991 and 1992. His size and power sometimes drew three defenders, leaving teammates unguarded. But even with O'Neal, LSU was unable to go far in the NCAA championship tournament.

O'Neal left college after his junior year and was the first pick in the 1992 NBA draft. He had an instant impact in the National Basketball Association (NBA) and was the 1993 NBA Rookie of the Year. He quickly led Orlando's nascent franchise to the playoffs and repeatedly made the All-Star team. Although other talented players played for the Magic, it was O'Neal's massive presence that gave them an unmatchable weapon. In 1995 he helped the Magic reach the NBA finals, where the team and O'Neal were swept (4-0) by Hakeem Olajuwon and the Houston Rockets. As a member of the Dream Team, O'Neal enjoyed Olympic gold. But O'Neal had difficulty convincing critics into considering him as one of basketball's great players. When he was named to the NBA's 50 Greatest Players, many critics questioned his worthiness.

O'Neal's size, strength, and athleticism are unmatched. Never before has a basketball player possessed such controlled power. At 7'1" and 300 pounds, O'Neal is a giant among giants. But even opponents who come close to O'Neal's size cannot equal his strength and agility. During the 1998 playoffs, a similarly sized Utah Jazz center, Greg Ostertag (7-2, 280 lbs.), compared guarding O'Neal to attempting to stop a speeding truck by yanking on a chain. O'Neal's power and size have allowed him to knock aside other giants. His trademark "Shaq Attaq" is a dunk so powerful, that few players can stop it. In an effort to contain Shaq, other teams foul him with abandon and exploit his greatest weakness: free-throw shooting. Most analysts agree O'Neal could become unstoppable if he mastered the free-throw.

When O'Neal's contract with Orlando expired, he attracted the largest NBA contract in history. He signed with the Los Angeles Lakers for 120 million dollars. In joining the Lakers, O'Neal rejected a larger offer from Orlando. O'Neal's decision was based on the allure of the Lakers' championship tradition, and by the close proximity to Hollywood. Whatever additional millions Orlando offered could not be matched by the prospects of the show business. O'Neal's move to Los Angeles reflected the evolving merger of sports with other entertainment industries. Star players often calculated their access to national television and other publicity. A high profile could lead to multimillion-dollar endorsements. By becoming a Laker, O'Neal could cash in on his larger-than-life (and larger-than-court) status.

O'Neal's salary, unthinkable only ten years earlier, showed the value of a marquee name: a player of O'Neal's status had the power to drive television ratings, ticket prices, "luxury box" seating sales, corporate sponsorships, and even public financing of arenas. Although quality players were perceived as valuable by any team, none drew as much attention as a quality player with a name-brand persona. Where city rivalries and team names once clashed, a new merchandising ethic promoted a contest of star players. For example, what was once advertised as a game between Los Angeles and New York became a battle between Shaq and Patrick Ewing. More than ever before profit became the name of the game, and more than ever before profit became linked to charismatic players. In the new era of player as product, Shaquille O'Neal was at center stage.

—Dylan Clark

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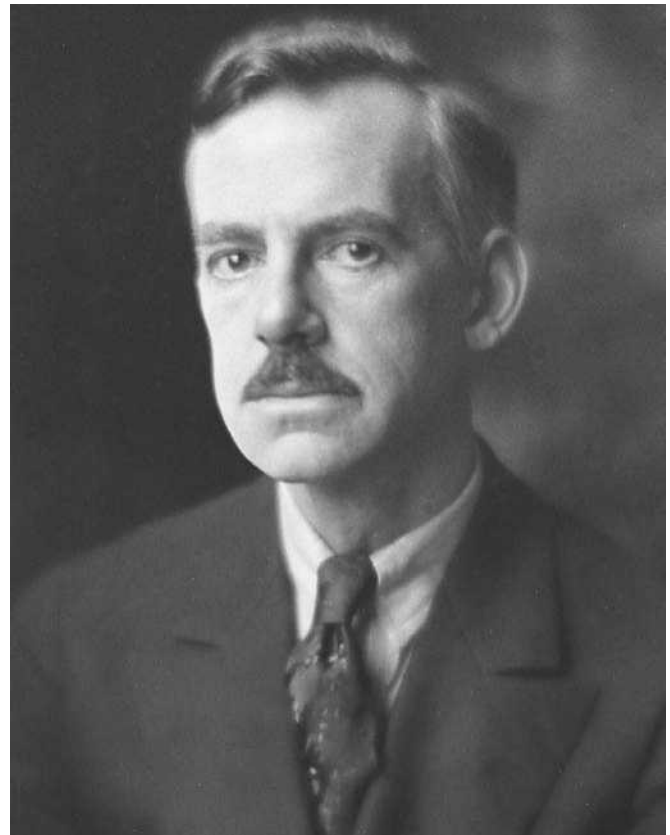
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O'Neill, Eugene (1888-1953)

Four times the winner of a Pulitzer Prize and the Nobel laureate for literature in 1936, New York-born Eugene O'Neill is a towering, ground-breaking figure in American dramatic literature. The son of actor James O'Neill and a drug-addicted mother, he recorded his tormented upbringing in his dysfunctional family with lacerating honesty in his autobiographical play, *Long Day's Journey into Night*



Eugene O'Neill

(1940). The work allows for a *tour de force* of acting and is oft revived on both sides of the Atlantic and beyond. He ordered it withheld from production for 50 years but, in 1956, his widow released the play to Jose Quintero and it received its first staging in New York. O'Neill traveled the globe aboard tramp steamers and his experiences formed the basis for several of his plays. Many of them are extremely long—running typically four or five hours on stage—and tend to feature marathon monologues and profound themes touching on the human condition. A number have been filmed, but the only popular success among these was *Anna Christie* (1930), the film in which Greta Garbo first spoke on screen.

—Robyn Karney

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Op Art

A writer for *Time* magazine coined the term "Op Art" in a 1964 article anticipating an exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New

York. The popular show, entitled “The Responsive Eye,” prominently featured works by Optical artists who, beginning in the late 1950s and 1960s, created paintings and graphic designs that effectively played with the way human beings see. With machine-like precision, Op artists painted swirling lines and checkered grids that seemed to flicker and vibrate, heave and billow, and change color. Op works were extolled in the popular press as refreshingly neat and mechanical; they appeared scientific and enjoyed popularity with a post-World War II American public consumed with lust for gadgetry, modern appliances, and atomic power.

Op Art started mainly as a reaction to the high spiritualism of prevalent post-war movements like Abstract Expressionism and Action Painting. While abstractionists and action painters attempted on their canvases to express the inner-world of their emotions and philosophical yearnings, Op artists joined a wider cultural movement to de-mystify the creative process and recapture it from an increasingly elite class of artists and scholars. Op artists therefore made a direct appeal to the spectator; they relied upon viewers’ eyes to complete their works, to physiologically dissolve and expand the space between lines, to mix colors, and to generate afterimages. “There must be no more productions exclusively for the cultivated eye, the sensitive eye, the intellectual eye. . .” wrote the Groupe de Recherche in their 1964 Op manifesto. “The human eye is our point of departure.” The fact that over the course of the 1960s advertisers and fashion designers lifted Op paintings for use on billboards, t-shirts, bathing suits, and dresses, for instance, only served to bolster proud assertions that Op was art for the masses.

Yet unlike Pop Art, which similarly aimed at closing the gap between art and life, Op Art attracted attention mostly because of its scientific character. Indeed, in the cultural climate fostered during the 1950s by the Cold War, many might have viewed Op Art, with its foreign language manifestos and proletarian sympathies, as a threatening import from the European Left. During the age of the space race, however, anything couched in science and technology carried cachet. Op Art not only appeared computer-generated, it was also partly a product of well-known seminars taught by scientist-painters like Josef Albers at Harvard and Yale. In fact, in 1965 *Yale Scientific Magazine* devoted an entire issue to Op Art, claiming that the movement served “as an example of the interrelationship of science and the humanities in the modern world.”

The 1960s’ psychedelic movement in its own way also championed Op Art. Timothy Leary’s widely imitated “celebrations” at the Village Theater on Second Avenue included Op designs in multimedia shows intended to simulate drug-induced experiences. Popular and commercial psychedelic art erupting out of San Francisco at the time similarly incorporated Op designs. Famous concert posters, comic strips, album covers, and concert stage sets inspired by hippie guru Ken Kesey’s “Acid Tests” regularly borrowed Op’s radial images and distorted checker boards for use alongside Day-Glo Pop Art images and art nouveau lettering.

Outside the Ivy League and beyond the world of the psychedelic underground, Op thrived as fashion design. A 1965 *Vogue* magazine cover featured a model’s face overprinted with an Op pattern, while *Harper’s Bazaar* celebrated a new line of dotted and checkered dresses perfect for mixing in the “Op scene.” It was the borrowings of the fashion industry that finally provoked British artist Bridget Riley to rail against the way her art was being “vulgarized” and to sue an American clothing manufacturer over the use of one of her paintings as a dress pattern.

Predictably, the same qualities that made Op popular with news magazines and fashion reporters made it vulnerable to attacks in the art world. Many critics dismissed Op Art as trendy kitsch, as mere gimmickry devoid of serious content. Others, however, highlighted the movement’s ties to venerated investigations in optics conducted by the Impressionists and painters like Georges Seurat, Paul Signac, and Piet Mondrian. Other than Riley and Albers, the most famous Op artists include Victor Vasarely, J. R. Soto, Richard Anuszkiewicz, and Julio Le Parc.

—John Tomasic

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Opportunity

Opportunity magazine was published from 1923 to 1949 by the National Urban League (at first as a monthly, later as a quarterly). Founded in 1911, the National Urban League hoped to document the urban conditions of African Americans who, in the wake of World War I, increasingly migrated north from the southern United States. The publication’s title came from the National Urban League’s slogan, “Not Alms But Opportunity.” Charles S. Johnson served as its first editor for five and a half years; Elmer A. Carter took over in 1928. The magazine published both sociological reporting on conditions of African American life and poetry and literature written by young black writers.

Opportunity reached its highest reputation and widest circulation in the late 1920s (what one member of the National Urban League called its “Golden Era”). Published out of New York City during a time in which Harlem was becoming a predominantly black neighborhood, the magazine became a central part of the “Harlem Renaissance.” This literary movement of black writers of poetry and fiction created what Alain Locke (who wrote major pieces of literary criticism for *Opportunity* on a regular basis) called “the New Negro.” Writing about the distinct but inherently American experiences of black citizens, these writers expressed pride in their people’s accomplishments.

As editor of *Opportunity* during the 1920s, Charles S. Johnson played a central role in the Harlem Renaissance. He was something of a “sidelines activist”—playing the role of a behind-the-scenes agent, connection maker, and entrepreneur. As Langston Hughes (the author of the poem, “The Weary Blues,” which originally appeared in *Opportunity*) put it, Johnson “did more to encourage and develop

Negro writers during the 1920s than anyone else in America.” He did this by publishing numerous young black writers in the pages of *Opportunity* at a time when they had very few venues.

Beyond publishing young African American writers, Johnson used the pages of *Opportunity* to publicize his awards system for good literature and poetry. Finding financial sponsorship from wealthy black businessmen like Casper Holstein and supportive white writers like Carl Van Vechten, Johnson granted prize money to black writers. These included Zora Neale Hurston and Countee Cullen who went onto greater fame. At celebration dinners that Johnson put together and *Opportunity* sponsored, young black writers were given a chance to network with major book and magazine publishers, furthering the promotion of black writers to a wider audience. Johnson sincerely believed that this sort of promotion would improve race relations in America. Announcing a story competition in the September 1924 issue of *Opportunity*, Johnson explained that African Americans could force “the interest and kindred feeling of the rest of the world by sheer force of the humanness and beauty of [their] own story.”

Alongside this literary expression, Johnson published essays by a variety of social workers and sociologists with titles like “How Minimum Standards of Life May Be Attained,” “Helping Negro Workers to Purchase Homes,” “Tuberculosis and Environment,” and “The Need for Health Education Among Negroes.” In fact, Johnson seemed less enamored with literature and more with the sort of sociological positivism he had been schooled in by University of Chicago sociologist Robert Park. *Opportunity* magazine documented the living conditions of black Americans in northern cities (this included some of the earliest works by the sociologist, E. Franklin Frazier) and the social work efforts to improve their conditions.

After Johnson left the magazine for Fisk University in 1928, the magazine continued to stress socio-economic analysis of northern, urban African Americans. Though he never stopped publishing stories and poems, Elmer A. Carter, Johnson’s successor, “directed his attention to the sociological and economic aspects of the Negro’s relation to American life,” as one early historian of the publication put it. The magazine focused on working conditions of African Americans during the Great Depression—and their precarious relationship with America’s labor unions. Then it focused on the Fair Employment Practice Committee during the 1940s and the general fight for racial equality which occurred during and immediately after World War II.

Opportunity magazine accomplished a great deal for a publication with a small circulation. In every possible way, it promoted the work of black writers and documented the lives of a growing number of African Americans in northern cities.

—Kevin Mattson

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Orbison, Roy (1936-1988)

Introduced by Elvis Presley in 1976 as “quite simply, the greatest singer in the world,” Roy Orbison—with his lush, dramatic orchestral songs and near-operatic voice—helped expand the sonic and emotional limitations of pop music. His most influential material came from his work during the early to mid-1960s, and his songs “Only the Lonely,” “Running Scared,” “It’s Over,” “Down the Line,” “Cryin’,” and “In Dreams,” among others would support his career for decades. Although Orbison’s stage show would remain essentially the same from the mid-1960s until his death in 1988, he insisted that he didn’t tire of repeatedly singing the same songs. “Gracious, no, because I’ve worked a lifetime to do a show of just my own material,” Orbison told *Radio Two*, according to Alan Clayson in his biography *Only the Lonely*. Orbison credited the lasting impact of his music to a certain innocence in his songs. He noted in *The Face* that “God has a way of giving you the lyric and the melody and, if it stands up over the years, that adolescence, that innocence helps to keep its intentions pure. That innocence is the big ingredient that keeps my songs alive, that makes them stand tall,” according to Clayson.

Born in Wink, Texas, to a musical family (his father played Jimmie Rodgers songs and his uncle was a blues artist), Orbison made his performing debut at age eight, and was soon regularly playing on local radio stations. In high school he formed the Wink Westerners, which played mostly western swing music, and when Orbison went off to college at North Texas State College, he rechristened the group the Teen Kings. While in college, the group recorded a raucous rockabilly tune called “Ooby Dooby,” which eventually caught the



Roy Orbison

attention of Sun Records owner Sam Phillips, who rereleased it to become a mild hit in 1956. On the heels of his first hit, Orbison cut a number of sides for Sun during the mid-to-late 1950s, and although his career as a minor rockabilly star was booming, he grew increasingly tired of this music and the energetic stage presence it required.

By the late 1950s, Orbison had severed his ties with Phillips and Sun, and moved to Nashville to write songs for the country music publishing powerhouse Acuff-Rose. The ballad "Claudette," written about his wife, became a hit for the Everly Brothers. Interested in returning to his own singing career, Orbison—with the help of Wesley Rose—signed with Fred Foster at the newly opened Monument in 1959 and the following year released "Uptown," which rose high enough on *Billboard's* pop chart to suggest that Orbison could maintain a career as a singer.

By 1960, with the release of "Only the Lonely," Orbison had embraced what would become his unique presence in pop music. With this song, Orbison exercised his vocal range and introduced audiences to the power of his voice, which Clayton noted that media enthusiasm would stretch to "an impossible six octaves." Duane Eddy commented, according to Clayton, that "when you thought he'd sung as high as he possibly could, he would effortlessly go higher and finish up with a big finish and it was wonderful." "Only the Lonely" soon hit number two in the Hot 100 in the United States and topped the charts in both Australia and Great Britain.

Although Orbison had already been dying his hair black for years, he soon incorporated what would become his trademark black attire and sunglasses into his stage act. Orbison dropped his hip-shaking stage acrobatics in favor of a much more emotionally composed vocal style and austere stage presence. Deciding to let his voice stand on its own, Orbison would remain almost motionless on stage.

Orbison's voice opened pop music to manly emotions. About his song "Cryin'," Orbison told *New Musical Express* that "I wanted to show that the act of crying for a man—and that record came out in a real "macho" era when any act of sensitivity was really frowned on—was a good thing and not some weak. . . defect almost," according to Clayton. With the operatic quality of his voice and his soulful singing, Orbison successfully maintained a strong sense of masculinity in dramatic melodies. His use of falsetto and his ability to quickly switch to a vulnerable delivery lent to the emotional buildup in his songs like "Blue Bayou," "I'm Hurtin'," and "Oh! Pretty Woman." After the success of "Oh! Pretty Woman," Orbison signed with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer for a contract estimated at over \$1 million. And soon the emotions Orbison displayed in his songs became tragically real when his wife Claudette died in a motorcycle accident in 1966, and again when two of his three children died in a fire in 1968. Orbison found happiness again in 1969 when he remarried, had another son, and returned to performing.

Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Orbison continued to tour the world. His stage presence won over audiences for years. He received a standing ovation when he toured in the United Kingdom with the Beatles in 1963 and later charmed adolescent audiences when on tour with the Eagles in the early 1980s. By 1980, Orbison's duet with Emmylou Harris of "That Lovin' You Feelin' Again" won the pair a Grammy award for the best country performance by a duo or group. Although Orbison is often associated with countrified pop music, Orbison's duet with Harris was the only time he ever made the country charts. Once produced by the influential Chet Atkins and backed by musicians of the "Nashville sound," Orbison was Nashville's first major pop success.

And even though—as Bruce Springsteen noted at Orbison's induction into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame—"no one sings like Roy Orbison," many artists have enjoyed the rewards of recording Orbison's songs and trying to mimic his vocal style. Springsteen borrowed much from Orbison for his *Thunder Road* album; John Lennon noted that he'd tried to write a "Roy Orbison song" with "Please Please Me"; Linda Ronstadt sold more of her 1977 version of "Blue Bayou" than Orbison sold of his original; and by the early 1980s, when the music charts were filled with nostalgic reissues or revivals of 1960s songs, heavy metal band Van Halen reached number twelve with a version of "Oh! Pretty Woman" in 1982. John Cougar recorded the same song in 1986.

Orbison's career was given an unconventional boost in 1986 when movie director David Lynch featured "In Dreams" during a brutal scene in *Blue Velvet*. During the scene the Dennis Hopper character sadistically had another character beaten; the dark quality of "In Dreams" perfectly fit the sinister montage-like cinematography that is Lynch's trademark. In 1987 Orbison was inducted into the Rock 'n' Roll Hall of Fame at its second ceremony by Bruce Springsteen, and was later the subject of a tribute concert that featured Orbison playing alongside such fans as Springsteen, Elvis Costello, Jackson Browne, Tom Waits, Bonnie Raitt, and k. d. lang. Orbison soon found himself in the company of Bob Dylan, Tom Petty, Jeff Lynne, and George Harrison, which resulted in the release of the big selling *The Traveling Wilburys* collaborative album. By 1988, Orbison's career was regaining momentum—he released a hit single, "You Got It," and recorded an album with songs and production by Elvis Costello, U2's Bono and The Edge, and with Jeff Lynne—but before that record was released he died at home of a heart attack on December 6, 1988. *Mystery Girl*, his posthumous comeback album, became the highest charting album of his career, eventually going platinum.

—Kembrew McLeod

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The Organization Man

William H. Whyte's popular psychology bestseller of the mid-1950s outlined a contemporary figure who captured many fears for the nature of the American individual in an age of increasing rationalization. *The Organization Man* (1956) showed the white-collar employee as increasingly shaped by his employer's demands: focused on advancement through the firm, he became narrow, conformist, and unwilling to innovate. This figure's fear of original thought and his lifestyle (situated in rationalized suburbs and marked by consumption, rather than community) seemed to contravene the American values of competitive individualism. Whyte's work was simplistic and deterministic, but it influenced the broad discussion of conformity, and its risks, in the 1950s.

—Kyle Smith

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Original Dixieland Jass (Jazz) Band

The Original Dixieland Jass Band initiated the jazz revolution when Columbia Records released the band's first recordings in April 1917. Comprised of white New Orleans musicians and led by Nick LaRocca, the band has often been maligned by jazz purists. And when compared with King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, with Louis Armstrong, or with any of Armstrong's own groups, the Original Dixieland Jass Band does suffer. The music it played, however, was fresh and bright when compared with the popular music of the day, and the musicians in the group were more than competent in their performance.

—Frank A. Salamone

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O'Rourke, P. J. (1947—)

In 1998, satirist P. J. O'Rourke announced his intention to write a memoir. The most serious problem with this idea, he wrote, is "that I haven't really done much. But I don't feel this should stand in my way. O. J. Simpson wrote a memoir, and the jury said he hadn't done anything at all." A sharp social critic, O'Rourke finds himself one of the most loved—or hated—literary figures of the twentieth century.

Patrick Jake O'Rourke grew up in Toledo, Ohio. He went to the state university in Miami, Ohio (where he majored in English), and then to Johns Hopkins. He became a strong leftist which, according to him, caused some distress to his Republican grandmother. He says that he informed his grandmother that he was a Maoist, prompting the reply, "[j]ust so long as you're not a Democrat."

From 1969 to 1971, O'Rourke worked for an underground Baltimore newspaper entitled *Harry*. He then moved to New York in 1971 and later told the magazine *New York* that he came to the city to "write experimental, deeply incomprehensible novels." Instead, he went to work for another underground publication, the East Village *Other*, after which he joined the humor magazine *National Lampoon*. He rose through the ranks, becoming a junior editor in 1973 and editor-in-chief in 1978.

O'Rourke left *National Lampoon* in 1980 and worked in Hollywood for a brief time as a scriptwriter. He eventually returned to New York and joined *Rolling Stone*, where he is the foreign affairs editor; he probably comprises *Rolling Stone's* entire foreign affairs desk. O'Rourke has written for other magazines, most notably *Car and Driver* and *The American Spectator*. Additionally, he has published

several books, including both original works and reprints of his journalistic efforts. As evidence of his political acumen, O'Rourke became an H. L. Mencken research fellow at a libertarian think-tank, the Cato Institute.

O'Rourke's political views evolved since his days as a young Maoist in the 1960s. By the late 1990s he wrote as a libertarian Republican. "You know," he said in a 1993 speech at the Cato Institute, "if government were a product, selling it would be illegal." O'Rourke explained in a 1995 article why he shared the conservative faith in individualism: "Under collectivism . . . [i]ndividual decision making is replaced by the political process. Suddenly the system that elected the prom queen at your high school is in charge of your whole life."

Despite his association with the conservative movement, O'Rourke disassociates himself from the more puritanical conservatives. In 1994, over drinks with a reporter from the Toronto alternative newspaper *eye*, O'Rourke said that "I would be incredibly hypocritical if I were to say that I was in favor of the sort of morality that is put forward by some elements of the right wing: . . . never get a divorce, never touch drugs and, more to the point this evening, never touch booze! Forget it!"

A look at O'Rourke's publications shows that he can discuss both high politics and less exalted matters. In his satirical etiquette book *Modern Manners*, O'Rourke includes a section on the etiquette of drug use, especially the use of cocaine—"cocaine is bad for the health. And this is why it's never bad manners to go off alone and fire some 'nose Nikes' and not share them with anyone else . . . when offered someone else's cocaine, you should Electrolux as much as possible for their sake." An article by O'Rourke that originally appeared in *National Lampoon*, and which he included in his book *Republican Party Reptile*, is called "How to Drive Fast on Drugs While Getting Your Wing-Wang Squeezed and Not Spill Your Drink." Indeed, the article lives up to its title: "Most people like to drive on speed or cocaine with plenty of whiskey mixed in. This gives you the confidence you want and need for plowing through red lights and passing trucks on the right."

O'Rourke somehow manages to combine this kind of style with serious political commentary. Discussing the Savings and Loan scandal, he deplors what he sees as the incompetence of the government investigators who might have prevented the mess: "Federal bank regulators . . . had to clean their room and mow the laws before they were allowed to go regulate banks." Commenting on allegedly anti-American attitudes in the Jordanian Rotary Club, O'Rourke imagines a meeting of that organization: "Okay, fellows, any member who hasn't drunk the blood of an infidel dog since the last meeting has to stand on his chair and sing 'I'm a Little Teapot.'" It is exactly this kind of "call-'em-as-you-see-'em" critique that has brought O'Rourke fame—or infamy—in his attempts to entertain and educate Americans in the latter half of the twentieth century.

—Eric Longley

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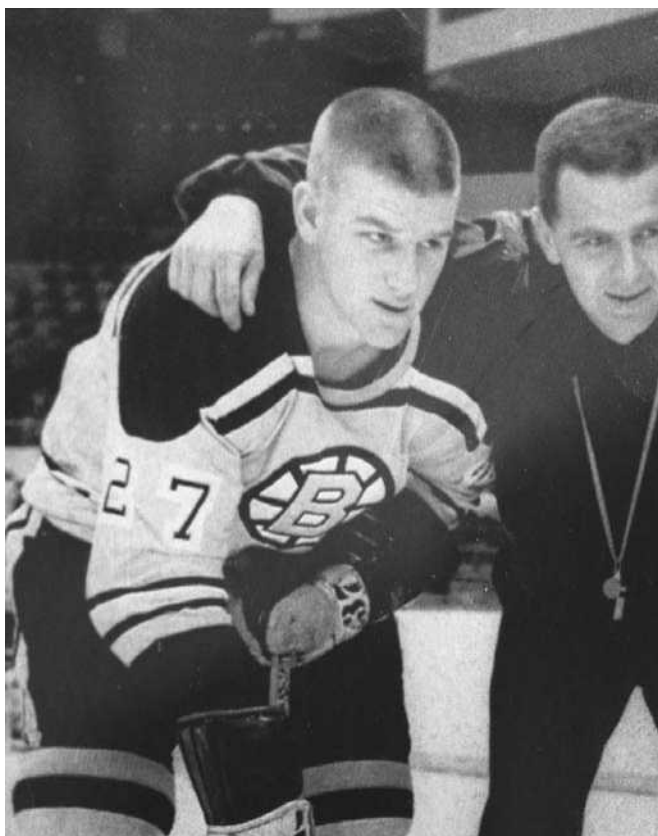
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Orr, Bobby (1948—)

Before Wayne Gretzky, three names topped the lists of the greatest hockey players: Gordie Howe, Bobby Hull, and Bobby Orr.



Bobby Orr

Bobby Orr's name is indelibly linked with the Boston Bruins as their legendary #4. With 915 career points in the National Hockey League (NHL), including 270 career goals and 645 career assists, this defenseman revolutionized hockey by being highly efficient in the offense as well.

Born on March 20, 1948, in the small town of Parry Sound in Ontario, Canada, Robert Gordon Orr, the third child of Arva Steele and amateur athlete Douglas Orr, was named after a paternal grandfather who had been a professional soccer player in Ireland. At the age of four, he began skating and playing "shinny," a good training game for stick handling, dodging, passing, and controlling the puck. From the age of five he played hockey in the Minor Squirt Hockey league, becoming the Most Valuable Player in the Pee-Wee division at age nine while dazzling fans with a particularly fast spin on his skates. He was quickly considered as a natural defenseman, though he was an offensive threat as well.

In 1960, playing in a tournament with the Parry Sound Bantam All-Stars, Orr made a profound impression on a scout for the Boston Bruins. At thirteen, while still attending school, he signed a Junior A contract card with Boston to play for the Oshawa Generals. In a team of much older players Orr was noted for his precise interceptions and dazzling rushes up ice; he played for four all-star seasons and won the MVP.

In 1966, when Hull signed a \$50,000 contract for two years with the Bruins, with a \$25,000 signing bonus, this contract played a part in changing the NHL pay structure. Assigned #27 when he first signed, he quickly switched to the #4. His first goal against the Montreal Canadiens at the Boston Garden marked the beginning of a career during which, while a blueliner, he won twice the Art Ross Trophy as the scoring leader in the league, in 1970 and 1975.

Orr won the Calder Trophy as top rookie for the 1966-67 season and, beginning with the 1967-68 season, he won the James Norris Trophy for the NHL's top defenseman for a record eight years in a row. He was also a perennial choice for the NHL All-Star Team. During his best season with the Bruins, in 1970-71, he had 37 goals and 102 assists for 139 points. From 1969 to 1975, he established a record for defensemen with regular 100-point seasons. *Sports Illustrated* named him "Sportsman of the Year" in 1970.

Although his individual brilliance is undisputed, Bobby Hull won the heart of Boston fans because he was the ultimate team player. He led a team of perennial also-rans to the top of the NHL. With his speed, grace, precision, and recklessness he made hockey history by leading the Bruins to their first Stanley Cup in 29 years. His most famous goal, in overtime of the fourth game of the Stanley Cup Finals on May 10, 1970, where he can be seen flying through the air, was voted the greatest moment in NHL history in 1996.

Although the 1970-71 Stanley Cup went to the Montreal Canadiens, the 1971-72 finals saw the cup back in Boston, with Orr winning the Conn Smythe Trophy (playoff MVP) for the second time after having scored his second Stanley Cup clinching goal. In 1976 he played, despite extreme pain, in the historic Canada Cup series against the Soviets, winning again the "Outstanding Player" award as Team Canada defeated the Soviets.

In 1976, wanting to prove to himself he could still play despite numerous knee surgeries, he signed with the Chicago Blackhawks for \$3,000,000 over five years, but was able to play only 26 games. At age 30 he had to hang up his skates. On January 9, 1979, Orr's #4 was lifted to the rafters at the Boston Garden. In 1979 he was the youngest player, at 31, elected to the Hockey Hall of Fame. A newspaper chose him in 1989 as the most representative Boston athlete.

Human qualities won Orr the enduring respect of fans and other players alike. In his retirement, Orr worked as a sports agent and devoted his spare time to doing charity work throughout New England. Although his contracts with the Bruins obviously paved the way for the high pay scales of NHL stars, he never agreed to a heavy commercial use of his name and accomplishments.

—Henri Paratte

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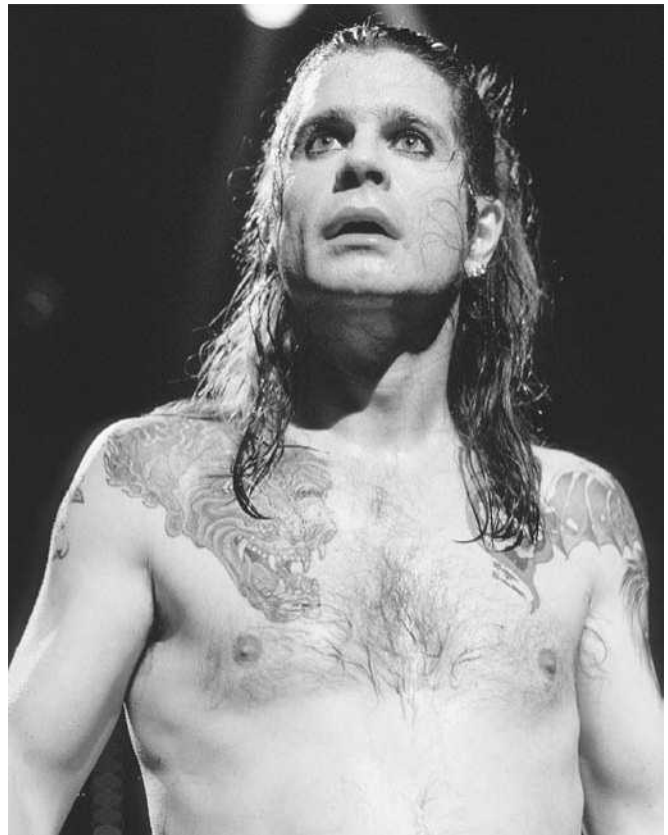
The Osborne Brothers

Kentucky natives Bob (1931—) and Sonny (1937—) Osborne made their mark on bluegrass and country music by combining innovative, jazzy instrumental work on the mandolin and banjo, respectively, with precise and powerful harmony singing. Intent on finding steady work before country audiences, they were dogged by controversy in bluegrass circles over their use of country instrumentation (drums, pedal steel guitar, strings) and electric amplification in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, the Brothers achieved enduring popularity by creating a vocal style that emphasized Bob's clear, high voice, placing two harmony parts underneath his leads; known as "high lead," this form of arrangement found widespread use by female singers in country and bluegrass. The Brothers would become the first bluegrass band to perform for a college audience when they played at Antioch College in Ohio in 1960, and they were the first bluegrass band to play at the White House when they played for President Nixon in 1973. Though it was only a modest commercial success when released, their 1967 recording of "Rocky Top" has since become one of the most recorded song in bluegrass music history.

—Jon Weisberger

Osbourne, Ozzy (1948—)

With his rebellious image as a dangerously extreme rock musician, Ozzy Osbourne became, in the 1980s, one of the foremost creators of the heavy metal genre and one of the era's most outrageous performers. He first came to prominence as the lead vocalist for the British hard-rock group Black Sabbath from 1969 to 1978. Throughout his career, his music has consistently focused on alienation and nonconformity, from "Paranoid" (1970), one of Black Sabbath's biggest hits, to his "Mama, I'm Coming Home" (1991). As a master of overwrought stage performances, Ozzy Osbourne taught other



Ozzy Osbourne

performers how to transform hard rock into theater, continuing in the vein of Black Sabbath, which had employed pseudo-religious images like the upside down cross and pentagrams. He advocated the notion that a modern rock hero should be a troubled, alienated outcast. Of all of his contemporaries, his rebellion against church, family, and convention seems most extreme and genuine. He was one of the most despised, censored, and idolized musical figures of the 1980s.

John Michael Osbourne was born to a blue-collar family in Birmingham, England. He dabbled only in vocal music in his early years while working in local steel mills and engaging in petty thievery. It was during an early prison term that he tattooed the word "OZZY" on his knuckles. His band, Earth, had some local success in the late 1960s, but it was with Black Sabbath that Osbourne would record his first album and tour outside of Britain. Black Sabbath played blues hooks under muddy distortion, topping their often disturbing sound with Osbourne's wavering nasal vocals. Sabbath's first manager is reported to have said, "Black Sabbath makes Led Zeppelin look like a kindergarten house band." *Paranoid*, its 1970 album, caught the attention of American record executives and catapulted Osbourne and his bandmates to world-class status. As he described it, "When we hit America we were the wild bunch. We bought dope and f—ed anything that moved." Their behavior did nothing to alienate audiences of the time, and Black Sabbath's star rose steadily.

Osbourne left Sabbath at the height of its popularity, blaming his own bouts with depression and a sense that the band was "losing their edge." As a solo performer, he found himself laying the groundwork for the developing genre called heavy metal. Capitalizing on his

reputation as a troubled soul, and using album titles like *Diary of a Madman* (1981) and *The Ultimate Sin* (1986), Osbourne summed it all up for fans in the opening verse of “Crazy Train,” his 1980 hit: “mental wounds not healing, life’s a bitter shame / I’m going off the rails of a crazy train.”

Ozzy Osbourne spent the 1980s developing an image and personal mythology that placed him on the gothic fringe of heavy metal. He threw raw meat into the audiences, was arrested for urinating on the Alamo, bit the head off of a dove in a record company’s office, and in his most publicized antic, bit the head off of a bat on stage. Ozzy’s dark songs became targets of the religious right and other groups concerned about negative influences of rock music. He was sued more than once for the negative effects of his 1980 song “Suicide Solution,” which Osbourne claims is really about the ill effects of alcoholism. By the 1990s, he was creating a gentler sort of heavy metal, and he eventually faded into the role of tour organizer with his Ozzfest events that tapped into the summer-festival tradition in American music.

—Colby Vargas

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Oscars, The

See Academy Awards

Ouija Boards

The mysterious Ouija board has long epitomized the fear and curiosity people feel toward the unknown. Noted as being used by Pythagoras as early as 540 B.C., ouija boards came to more popular attention in the nineteenth century when they were played as parlour games. Ouija boards are used by one or more people who place their fingers lightly on the indicator, which moves across the wooden board, seemingly involuntarily, from letter to letter, making words or sentences. The messages created during the game have been described as links to the spiritual world and/or the subconsciousness of the players.

The modern ouija board was invented to ease the process of what believers thought of as communicating with the beyond. Its predecessors included the “automatic writing” of nineteenth-century French spiritualist M. Planchette and the system of raps (one for no, two for yes) devised by the Fox sisters of New York state, who were among the first to hold seances with the dead. In 1890 Charles Kennard set up the Kennard Novelty Company to market the ouija board that he, E.C. Reich, and Elijah Rand had designed. Their flat wooden board was inscribed with two arches, one of letters and one of numbers, with “Yes” and “No” options on either side. The board had an indicator (called a planchette) on which users lightly placed their fingers and which floated mysteriously across the board to spell out words. In 1892 William Fuld purchased the company and renamed it the Ouija Novelty Co. (It was Fuld who explained the name as the conjunction

of the French and German words for yes.) After Fuld died in 1927, the company remained a family operation until 1966, when Parker Brothers bought the business. Throughout the years various methods of communication had been devised for the boards; automatic writing, drawing, and musical notation were some of the innovations.

Studying ouija boards in 1914, William F. Barret of the American Society for Psychical Research declared that after “reviewing the research as a whole, I am convinced of their supernatural character, and that we have here an exhibition of some intelligent, discarnate agency, mingling with the personality of one or more of the sitters and guiding their muscular movement.” In addition to those who viewed the ouija board as a medium for receiving messages from other worlds, others suggested that the boards were a medium for the subconscious of an individual or a group to say things that they would not voice out loud. After World War I and the Spanish flu epidemic, spiritualism became very popular and so did ouija boards. National newspapers ran regular columns devoted to the subject of ouija boards.

Mrs. John H. Curran is perhaps the most noted ouija board user. A woman of limited education and travel, Mrs. Curran nevertheless created texts of quality by using the ouija board. Her books, *The Sorry Tale: A Story of the Time of Christ* (1917), *Hope Trueblood* (1918), and *The Pot upon the Wheel* (1921), listed the spirit Patience Worth as the imputed author and Mrs. Curran as the communicator.

In the 1970s ouija boards played a role in frightening urban legends and graphic horror films, including the *The Exorcist* (1973), which linked them to evil spirits and demon possession. At this time moral and religious objections to ouija boards increased. The dangerous connotations of ouija boards spurred some users to incorporate ritual elements into the use of the boards, including reciting Psalm 23 and opening and closing each session with blessings. By the end of the twentieth century, ouija boards continue to be viewed either as dangerous links to the occult or as amusing games.

—Nickianne Moody

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Our Gang

Children acting like children, making mischief and finding themselves in goofy predicaments as they play with their pals, has been a foundation for endless and ageless humor. This is precisely what producer Hal Roach had in mind when he began making his *Our Gang* comedies in 1922. In these films, a hardscrabble conglomeration of boys and girls came together to amuse themselves and their audiences with prankishness and frivolity. The series was astoundingly successful and over the next 22 years, 221 10- and 20-minute-long *Our Gang* comedies were produced, with Roach re-energizing the



A Ouija Board in use.

series by adding carefully selected replacements as his pint-sized stars outgrew their roles.

Our Gang comedies were not completely original, having evolved from a series of “Sunshine Sammy” shorts produced by Roach in 1921 and 1922 and featuring Ernie “Sunshine Sammy” Morrison, a black child actor. Back in the 1920s, the majority of silent comedy shorts emphasized visual humor and pratfalls over plotlines; indeed, many comic one and two-reelers were surreal affairs in which a zany star moved from one unrelated predicament to the next. *Our Gang* films were different in that they were more story-driven, with the humor a byproduct of the everyday situations in which the children found themselves.

While seeking out the right mix of youngsters to star in the series, Roach emphasized character types over acting ability or experience. He was searching for children who were naturally funny, either because of their physical appearance or the manner in which they interacted among their peers or around adults, rather than those who could become characters on cue. His aim was to milk laughs from their instinctive behavior. At the same time, Roach wanted his *Our Gang* kids to be resourceful and tenacious. These were youngsters who needed no adults to show them how to enjoy themselves. In fact, Mickey Rooney, then at the beginning of his long Hollywood career, unsuccessfully auditioned for *Our Gang* in the late 1920s. It

was Roach’s belief that, even at his young age, Rooney was too affected to fit into the series.

The naturalness of the *Our Gang* kids could also be contrasted to the popular child stars of the day, including Jackie Coogan and Shirley Temple, who were tug-at-your-heartstrings adorable, starring in classics of children’s literature or other material artificially contrived for the cinema. The *Our Gang* comedies were not set in faraway locales; indeed, the most exotic spots in which the youngsters found themselves were junkyards, ball fields, or makeshift backyard stages. They were not depicted as orphans to be teamed with an adult as Jackie Coogan was teamed with Chaplin’s Little Tramp in *The Kid*; neither were they polished miniature belters and hoofers who, like Shirley Temple, could wow one and all while vocalizing “On the Good Ship Lollipop” and tap-dancing with Bill “Bojangles” Robinson.

While Coogan played *Oliver Twist*, *Little Robinson Crusoe*, and *A Boy of Flanders* and Temple toplined *Baby Take a Bow*, *Susannah of the Mounties*, and *Little Miss Broadway*, the *Our Gang* titles were much more akin to a child’s real life: *Circus Fever*; *Ask Grandma*; *Helping Grandma*; *Shootin’ Injuns*; *Your Own Back Yard*; *Buried Treasure*; *Telling Whoppers*; *Baby Brother*; *Rainy Days*; *Wiggle Your Ears*; *Fly My Kite*; *Bedtime Worries*; *Mama’s Little Pirate*; *The Awful Tooth*; *Hide and Shriek*; and *Practical Jokers*. Quite a few emphasized the trials of education: *School Begins*; *Readin’ and Writin’*;



A typical escapade from an *Our Gang* short.

Playin' Hookey; Fish Hooky; Spooky Hooky; Bored of Education; Time Out for Lessons; Teacher's Pet; Teacher's Beau; and School's Out. Others spotlighted pets: *Love My Dog; Cat, Dog & Co.; Pups Is Pups; Dogs Is Dogs; The Pooch; and Dog Daze.*

The series debut was titled, appropriately enough, *Our Gang*. The original members were a mix of types: cute and lovable Mary Kornman; pretty Peggy Cartwright; freckle-faced Mickey Daniels, a true (albeit vulnerable) leader of boys, girls and pets; devilish Jackie Condon; good-looking, rough-and-tough Jackie Davis; roguish yet cheerful Ernie "Sunshine Sammy" Morrison himself, who at age 11 was the eldest in the group; and its littlest member, one-year-old Allen Clayton "Farina" Hoskins, who would be featured in 105 *Our Gang* comedies—more than any of his fellow players. The first of the *Our Gang* pets was a mule named Dinah; the most famous came to be Pete the Pup, a bulldog with a black circle painted around his right eye. Added to the group early on were such diverse types as fat Joe Cobb and all-American handsome Johnny Downs.

As the years passed and these kids outgrew their roles, they were replaced by other pubescent performers. Jackie Cooper (who was six

and seven years old when he appeared in 15 *Our Gang* films) was a rare casting exception in that he was a show-biz veteran who had been performing on screen since age three. He later enjoyed an impressive (albeit brief) career as a junior Hollywood superstar, earning an Academy Award nomination in 1930 for his performance in *Skippy*. Other casting selections were more in the original *Our Gang* mold. Norman "Chubby" Chaney was a clone of Joe Cobb, while Jean Darling and Darla Hood were pretty-girl replacements. Engaging little Bobby "Wheezer" Hutchins fit in nicely, as did Dorothy DeBorba, Scotty Beckett, Eugene "Porky" Lee and Tommy "Butch" Bond. Another *Our Gang* performer started out billed as Mickey Gubitosi. He eventually changed his name to Bobby Blake, and grew up to be Robert Blake, Emmy Award-winning star of the hit television series *Baretta*. However, the most renowned and beloved of the kids were a quartet of 1930s series headliners: Matthew "Stymie" Beard and William Henry "Buckwheat" Thomas (both captivating "Farina" successors), freckle-faced, creaky-voiced Carl "Alfalfa" Switzer; and pudgy, irrepressible George "Spanky" McFarland, arguably the most popular of all *Our Gang* actors. These youngsters are the

best-known today, because the most enduring *Our Gang* comedies came during their years with the series and their films were talkies—the first non-silent *Our Gang* film was *Small Talk*, released in 1929—and are more likely to be screened on television. (Because ownership of the name *Our Gang* was held by Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, the series was renamed *The Little Rascals* when it first came to TV in 1955.)

One other special feature of the *Our Gang* films is that their casts were integrated—“Sunshine Sammy,” “Farina,” “Buckwheat” and “Stymie” were black—and all the children were allowed to act funny in equal measure. Back in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s, African American characters in Hollywood movies were commonly and demeaningly stereotyped as lower class types, mummies and maids, train porters, and janitors who usually fractured the English language. In *Our Gang* films, children were children, whether black or white.

In 1938, the changing economics of the movie business resulted in a sharp decrease in the production of comedy shorts. That year, Hal Roach sold his rights to the series to MGM, and the quality of *Our Gang* films sharply declined. Of the 221 films in the series, a fair share from all periods was bound to be lackluster. Still, the series was loaded with what film historians and *Our Gang* experts Leonard Maltin and Richard W. Bann have called “imperishable comedy classics, full of heart and warmth.” All those are from the 1930s. “If *Our Gang* had made only a dozen films like *Dogs Is Dogs*, *Mama’s Little Pirate*, *Hi-Neighbor!*, *Free Wheeling*, *The Kid from Borneo*, *Teacher’s Pet*, *Bedtime Worries*, *Divot Diggers*, *Our Gang Follies of 1938*, *Glove Taps*, *Fly My Kite* and *Pups Is Pups*,” noted Maltin and Bann, “the series would be worthy of comparison with the best short films of Chaplin, Keaton, Laurel & Hardy, W.C. Fields, and anyone else who’s come before or since, in theaters or on television.”

Only a couple of *Our Gang* alumni eventually went on to thriving careers in show business. Robert Blake won his stardom only after being booted out of high school and embracing drugs and alcohol. After his career as a child performer waned, Jackie Cooper endured a rough period as a young actor before becoming a television sitcom star, director and executive producer. Blake and Cooper were the glaring exceptions. After leaving the series, quite a few of the kids made some additional films or worked in vaudeville and on radio and television, only then to drift out of the industry. Meanwhile, the careers of others ended at the conclusion of their series stints.

Jackie Condon went on to become an accountant at Rockwell International, and Joe Cobb also worked there. Mickey Daniels was a construction engineer, Allan “Farina” Hoskins worked with the mentally disabled, and Jackie Davis became a doctor. William “Buckwheat” Thomas worked as a lab technician, and George “Spanky” McFarland toiled at a variety of odd jobs, eventually becoming a sales executive. The lives of other “Our Gangers” were brief and tragic. Bobby “Wheezer” Hutchins served in the army during World War II, and then became an air cadet. He was 20 years old when he was killed during an instructional drill just after the war’s end. Norman “Chubby” Chaney became much more than plump. As an adolescent, his weight ballooned to 300 pounds. He was afflicted with a glandular disorder, and died at age 18.

Sadly, the plights and fates of several *Our Gang* graduates reflect upon the often disastrous lives led by child stars who are unable to adjust to normal life away from the spotlight. Matthew “Stymie” Beard quit high school and ended up a heroin addict and petty criminal who did not rehabilitate himself until the 1960s. While featured in small parts in quite a few high-prestige Hollywood features of the 1930s and 1940s, including *Going My Way*, *It’s a Wonderful Life*, *State of the Union*, *A Letter to Three Wives* and *Pat*

and *Mike*, Carl “Alfalfa” Switzer was no longer a leading light, and was just 31 when he was killed by a former business partner in a dispute over a \$50 debt. While still a teenager, Scotty Beckett began leading a tumultuous life that was characterized by frequent lawbreaking. He died at age 38 of a fatal beating.

Ironically, Hal Roach, the comic genius behind *Our Gang*, outlived most of his youthful actors. He died in 1992, at the ripe old age of 100.

—Rob Edelman

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The Outer Limits

From 1963 to 1965, *The Outer Limits* was the gold standard of television science fiction. The hour-long series, broadcast weekly by ABC, adopted the anthology format of such earlier series as *Twilight Zone* and *Tales of Tomorrow*. *Outer Limits* distinguished itself from these seminal programs by its high production values and its emphasis on “hard” science concepts and themes. “What is all this experimentation and exploration getting us?” the series asked time and time again. A kick in the chops from a large mutated alien, came the standard answer.

Outer Limits was the brainchild of two men. Producers Leslie Stevens and Joseph Stefano both came with theatrical and feature film backgrounds. Stevens had written the script for *The Left-Handed Gun*, a 1958 western starring a young Paul Newman. Stefano had had even more success, penning the screenplay for Alfred Hitchcock’s classic *Psycho* in 1960. The pair teamed up in 1962 to begin work on Stevens’s idea for a sci-fi anthology series, originally entitled *Please Stand By*.

After a year of work, *Please Stand By* had germinated into *The Outer Limits*. A pilot was sold to ABC, and the series premiered on the network on September 16, 1963. In some ways, it was a typical sci-fi genre show. Like *Twilight Zone*, the stand-alone stories were bracketed by narration. Voice-over specialist Vic Perrin supplied the all-knowing “Control Voice” for these segments, reminding viewers that “there is nothing wrong with your television set.” But the program’s startling visual effects were light years beyond any show of its time, evidence of the care and thinking lavished on the series by its creators. As the playlets unfolded, television watchers of the early 1960s were introduced to a number of performers who would go on to become household names on other series, including Martin Landau, William Shatner, and Robert Culp.

Today, *The Outer Limits* is remembered primarily for its elaborately realized monsters—or “bears” as they were known in the series’s production parlance. Notable entries in this derby of horrors included “The Zanti Misfits,” a race of antlike extraterrestrials; a hissing lizard-like creature in “Fun and Games;” and the amphibious



A scene from *The Outer Limits*.

beasts of “Tourist Attraction.” A crack team of production specialists, including makeup wizard Wah Cheng and professional monster performer Janos Prohaska, was brought in to bring these exotic creatures to life.

When *Outer Limits* wasn’t shocking the bejesus out of viewers, it could also generate terror in subtler, more suggestive ways. Episodes like “The Man Who Was Never Born,” about an earth inhabitant of the far future who returns to the present day to kill his own father and thus prevent a worldwide plague, featured little of the pyrotechnics customary to the “bear” installments. Another classic episode, “The Hundred Days of the Dragon,” involved the replacement of an American presidential aspirant by a double created by the Chinese—a plot strongly reminiscent of the feature film *The Manchurian Candidate*.

These atypical stories were among the series’s finest, but they became increasingly rare as low ratings forced network executives to ratchet up the monster content. By the show’s second season, a “bear a week” policy had been put in place—albeit with budget cuts that compelled the supplanting of intricately designed creatures with cheaply constructed puppets. Leslie Stevens and Joseph Stefano left the show altogether, and while a number of classic episodes were filmed—“Demon with a Glass Hand” by veteran fantasist Harlan Ellison is a notable standout—the quality of the show slipped precipitously. The axe of cancellation fell in January of 1965.

Outer Limits never lost its core fan following, however. Reruns of the show continued running in syndication, introducing it to a whole new generation of viewers. In 1994, the Showtime cable network revived *The Outer Limits*, using the same sci-fi anthology

format but largely foregoing the “monster of the week” approach. Stefano himself returned to contribute scripts for the new show. Directorial chores went to the usual sci-fi veterans, as well as such “outside the box” choices as *Beverly Hills 90210* heartthrob Jason Priestley, SCTV alum Catherine O’Hara, and blaxploitation pioneer Melvin van Peebles. Still running as of 1999, the series spawned the development of an *The Outer Limits* feature film by the Trilogy Entertainment Group for MGM.

—Robert E. Schnakenberg

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Outing

Unlike most other identity variables, homosexuality is invisible. Western culture may have developed a complex and elaborate range of codes by which we identify homosexuality—from voice (lisps) and gestures (limp wrists) to hair styles and clothing (gay male flamboyance, lesbian dungarees)—but these remain only suggestions. The codes are transient and could, indeed, be adopted by anyone. This means that homosexuality can easily remain hidden and that its revelation can truly come as a shock. Outing is the activity of exposing someone’s homosexuality; the shifting forms it has taken over the twentieth century are indicative of changing attitudes towards sexuality.

Given that lesbians and gay men have endured a history of persecution due to their sexual orientation, the ability to “hide” homosexuality is a useful survival tool. Over the course of the twentieth century, homosexuality has been culturally conceptualized as, variously, an illness, as “unnatural,” and as a moral weakness. Such widespread views, with their core notion of homosexuals as “lesser” individuals, have led to bullying and acts of violence against individual lesbians and gay men. They also enable the reputations and statuses of individuals to be instantly tarnished; accusations of homosexuality supposedly expose inferiority. Outing can thus be employed as a political smearing device. For example, Senator Joseph McCarthy’s attempts in the 1950s to uncover all subversive anti-American activities took the form of witchhunts for communist sympathizers. This included homosexuals; McCarthy conflated homosexuality with communism in his paranoid drive to expunge political and moral minorities from the United States.

It is difficult to think outside of the dominant (negative) conceptualizations of homosexuality because they have been (and remain) so prevalent. The birth of the gay rights movement in the late 1960s, however, proposed an alternative—a positive conception of homosexuality; lesbians and gay men claimed that they were “glad to be gay.” “Gay is good” proclaimed sloganeers; lesbians and gay men outed themselves in order to publicly demonstrate that they were not degenerates and that, in fact, they were little different from “normal” heterosexuals (historically, there had previously been more minor attempts to garner acceptance for homosexuals, such as the efforts of the American “Mattachine Society” of the 1950s; the scale of organization, among other factors, prevented success). Again, this form of outing has a political dimension. For the gay rights

movement, as with other civil rights movements, the personal was/is political; outing oneself was a way of expressing solidarity with other, similar, marginalized individuals. Although a risky process, outing oneself enabled participation in a burgeoning lesbian and gay community.

But despite the best efforts of the gay rights movement, homosexuality has continued to be widely conceived in a negative way. Thus, even as individuals continue to find group solidarity in coming out, still particular groups (the political right and Christians, particularly) out homosexuals in order to imply inferiority. The gay rights cause has not been helped by the emergence of the AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) epidemic. The spread of the virus that causes AIDS was initially highly concentrated amongst gay men and particular black minorities, and was thus sometimes seen as (divine?) judgement exacted upon the marginalized. AIDS often manifests through cancerous facial scarring and thyroid problems, altering facial appearance; suddenly, the invisible homosexuality of gay men was readable in physical symptoms.

The late 1980s and early 1990s saw an additional twist added to the history of outing: the formation of a more radical group of gay rights activists. "Queer" activism, as it became known, believed that the perspective of the 1970s gay rights movement had been too assimilationist; that is, it was looking for acceptance by the (heterosexual) mainstream. With a chant of "we're here, we're queer, get used to it" queer activists loudly proclaimed their difference from, rather than similarity to, heterosexuals. The underlying drive, however, was similar . . . to reduce the stigma against sexual minorities. For queer activists this involved outing themselves, but also, notably, public figures. This included individuals seen as hypocritical, such as priests and politicians who publicly preached against what they performed in private; but it could also include media celebrities. The argument mustered was that if all "hidden" homosexuals were outed, the widespread prevalence of homosexuality would be recognized and the stigma would be removed. Arguing along these lines, Michelangelo Signorile's book *Queer in America* thus included a lengthy section outing John Travolta.

This imposed form of outing carries problematic moral, ethical, and conceptual implications. For many people, the outing of oneself should be a personal decision, not one forced upon them by a group of activists with a particular political agenda. Perhaps more problematically, outing serves to reproduce rigid sexuality boundaries—you are either gay, straight, or bisexual—whereas a great deal of evidence would seem to suggest that sexuality is a much more fluid variable. In the 1990s, then, we find that the differences between queer activists, tabloid journalists, and religious/political groups, all of whom out people for particular reasons, are more complex and confused than they were only 20 years previously.

—Glyn Davis

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The Outline of History

Author H.G. Wells is probably best known today for his forays into science fiction. Indeed, many consider him the father of modern science fiction, and the influence of ground-breaking novels like *The Time Machine*, *The War of the Worlds*, *The Invisible Man*, and *The Island of Doctor Moreau* can be seen throughout the genre. The anniversary of *The War of the Worlds* saw the proliferation of books and films consciously nodding to Wells's work. But Wells was no mere writer of fantastic tales. In fact, science fiction made up but a fraction of his more than 80 published books. Wells worked also within the traditional forms of the novel and wrote extensive nonfiction, often with a sociological bent. Of all his work, none had the impact of *The Outline of History*. This massive project was first published serially in 1919, and as a single volume in September of 1920, to critical and popular acclaim, initially selling an astonishing two million copies. Besides being one of the most popular histories ever written, the book was groundbreaking, a new kind of history text, arguing for a holistic look at history with a nod to the necessary subjectivity of such a project. Wells acknowledged that history was what the historian made of it, and his own interests manifested themselves as he regarded the history of humanity as a story of inevitable change and progress towards world unification.

Wells's own life certainly shaped the views that would manifest themselves in *The Outline of History*. He was born in 1866 in Bromley, Kent, into a lower-middle-class family that, in 1880, would experience financial collapse, dropping into poverty. Wells experienced first-hand the economic struggles of those trying merely to survive. He continued in school, however, eventually working briefly as an apprentice draper. After quitting his apprenticeship and returning to school, Wells had his break in 1884—a scholarship to The Normal School of Science in South Kensington. It was here that he came under the tutelage of T.H. Huxley, and it was during this time that he was introduced to the Socialist party. After earning his degree in zoology, Wells published his first book, *A Text-book of Biology*.

The impact of the natural sciences and Socialist thought is visible throughout Wells's work, informing both his fiction and his nonfiction. Ultimately, divergent works like *The Time Machine* and *The Outline of History* explore the same territory, examining the way mankind has evolved or will evolve. In writing *The Outline of History*, Wells had definite agendas. He claimed that the book was an attempt to explain the truth about human nature and that that nature was one of change; humankind, in other words, had been gradually evolving towards a greater social state. For Wells the evolution towards global unity was to be applauded, but he was aware that although change must by nature occur, there was nothing dictating that such change would be positive. *The Outline of History* thus served as a cautionary tale demonstrating not only how humanity had advanced, but highlighting historical figures and institutions that resisted this change. It is on these grounds that Wells encouraged education, elevated sound philosophy and literature, discouraged sexual licentiousness (in print, if not in person), and condemned fundamentalism.

Yet Wells was not content to state his ideas and let the public sort them out. Instead, he enlisted the aid of numerous experts in the various fields through which *The Outline of History* passed to contribute footnotes to the work, sometimes complementary, sometimes argumentative. The footnotes made clear to the reader that

the work was not intended as the final word on history, but only the beginning of the conversation. They also suggested the “interpretability” and mutability of historical thought. And the footnotes were not the only stand-out feature of *The Outline of History*. Illustrations and charts filled the book and stylistically, it demonstrated Wells’s wit and accessibility.

H.G. Wells did not strictly consider himself an historian. Thus, it is understandable that, though critically acclaimed within the field, *The Outline of History* was largely intended for a lay audience, as evidenced by the readability and Wells’s own insistence on the importance of knowledge to the common man. Previously, history texts of this scope had been largely academic, but now history had entered the popular realm. The success of the book surprised and pleased Wells; understandably, it became his own dearest achievement and one on which he would continue to work. Subsequent editions were published with additions and modifications by the author into the 1940s. *The Outline of History* also spawned other works. An abbreviated version of *The Outline of History*, *A Short History of the World*, sold nearly as well, while two companion books, *The Science of Life* (written with Julian Huxley and H.G.’s son G.P.) and *The Work, Wealth and Happiness of Mankind*, failed to perform as expected.

Despite these failures and despite the fact that *The Outline of History* is not nearly so widely disseminated today, the impact of Wells’ most ambitious project has been profound. The work is still considered by many to be one of the great books of the twentieth century, and certainly one of the finest overviews of human history. Most importantly, perhaps, Wells’s dream of educating the masses has largely been fulfilled and *The Outline of History* deserves much of the credit for dragging the field of history away from the exclusive grasp of experts and scholars and into the public forum.

—Marc Oxoby

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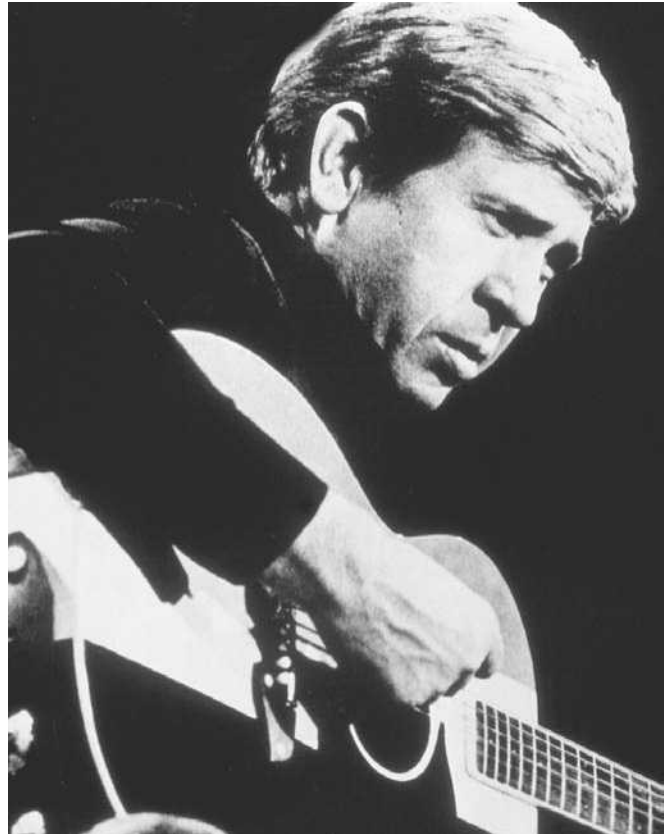
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Owens, Buck (1929—)

Bucking Nashville country music conventions, the Bakersfield-based Buck Owens helped put his town on the musical map with his spare, twangy, rock-influenced sound that shunned the background singing and orchestral fluff that dominated country music in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Along with Bakersfield native Merle Haggard, Owens helped to popularize a more “authentic” version of country music, known as the Bakersfield Sound, that better reflected how country sounded in the bars and honky-tonks throughout the United States. Despite Owens’s great musical influence—he made a big impression on artists such as Gram Parsons, and his “Act



Buck Owens

Naturally” was covered by the Beatles—he later became known more as a television personality with his work on the country comedy variety show *Hee-Haw*, on which he appeared from 1969 to 1986.

Owens was born in Sherman, Texas, and his family moved to Mesa, Arizona, during the 1930s. In Mesa, he met and later married country singer Bonnie Campbell and had two sons. He then moved his family to Bakersfield, California, where he began to play music around town. A semi-depressed area that provided a slight relief for the many folks who tried to escape the 1930s Midwest Dust Bowl, Bakersfield was a host for many bars that took people’s minds off the bleak conditions of the surrounding area. Owens once claimed that Bakersfield’s music was, in fact, a reaction to those desperate conditions, in that the music was a way of providing an escape. In defining the Bakersfield Sound, Owens emphasized the elements that got live crowds most excited. In his days playing guitar with Bill Woods’s Orange Blossom Playboys at one of Bakersfield’s more popular clubs, The Black Board, those elements were a loud, twangy electric guitar sound laid atop a rock ’n’ roll backbeat and bouncy bass—elements found in his first hit, “Under Your Spell Again,” as well as his number one hit, “Act Naturally,” and “I’ve Got a Tiger by the Tail.”

Owens’s success helped to add more variety to country music in the 1960s, with his more edgy sound providing a counterbalance to the string-laden recordings being produced in Nashville at the time. His commercial clout opened the doors for Merle Haggard, who quickly went on to match Owens’s sales and artistic influence. Owens also used his newfound commercial clout to branch off, and by the late 1960s he owned a television production company, a significant

amount of real estate, numerous radio stations, a management company, and a booking agency—becoming a Bakersfield music giant both behind and in front of the scenes.

In 1969 came *Hee-Haw*, initially considered simply a summer replacement show, but which gained enormous popularity, causing Owens's star to shine even more brightly as he regularly hosted or appeared on the show through the mid-1980s. Despite his *Hee-Haw* appearances, Owens virtually disappeared from the music scene by the mid-1970s—partially the result of a self-imposed exile from which he only rarely emerged to play a few live dates or record a live album or duet (Owens and Emmylou Harris's "Play Together Again Again" was a highlight of 1979).

—Kembrew McLeod

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Owens, Jesse (1913-1980)

J.C. "Jesse" Owens is best remembered for his participation in the Berlin Olympics of 1936, where as part of the United States



Jesse Owens

athletics team he won four gold medals in the track and field events. As a black athlete, Owens' success was in direct contradiction with the Nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy espoused by the Third Reich. Nine of the ten black Americans competing for the United States at the Berlin Olympics won gold medals. Adolf Hitler refused to congratulate Owens on his achievement, and left the stadium before the awards ceremony. Owens' place in history has thus been assured as much for the politics of his sporting achievement as for the achievement itself.

If the implications of what Owens had done at Hitler's Olympics sent a powerful message across pre-World War II Europe, his success had more ambiguous implications for domestic politics in the United States. Back home the clear statement which Owens had made in Europe seemed more confused and contradictory. In the year before his prodigious feats in Berlin, white mobs had lynched nearly two dozen black Americans, and Harlem had witnessed its worst racial rioting since 1919. Whilst Owens received widespread public acclaim on his return from Germany (including a ticker tape parade in New York), at the time his performance was not acknowledged through any official channels by the White House. Despite all this, and despite the conditions endured by many black Americans in the years leading up to the World War II (when the United States Army was to fight against Aryan supremacy in segregated units), Owens found himself hailed as a living symbol of American freedoms and democratic aspiration. In this context the complex political implications of Owens' achievement have been considered by historians alongside the case of Joe Louis, the black American boxer who fought "Hitler's heavyweight" Max Schmeling twice during the 1930s, losing in 1936 but taking his revenge in two minutes in 1938.

Born, like Louis, the son of Alabama sharecroppers, Owens was nine years old when his family moved to Cleveland, Ohio. His athletic prowess had already been evident in junior high school where he had established the first in a remarkable series of record breaking performances, extending records in the long jump and broad jump in 1928. Owens moved on to the Ohio State University track team, for whom, on the single afternoon of May 25, 1935, he set six new world records in the 100 yards, 220 yards, 220 meters, 220 yards hurdles, 220 meters hurdles, and the broad jump. Owens retained a high profile in the years after his retirement from competitive athletics and became an influential figure in United States sports administration. In 1950 he was named "top track performer" by a poll of American sportswriters. In 1955, as America's Ambassador of Sports, Owens represented the United States State Department in a "goodwill" tour of India, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, and in 1956 he was President Eisenhower's personal representative at the Australian Olympics. In 1976, President Ford presented Owens with America's highest civilian honor, the Medal of Freedom, and in 1990 President Bush presented the Congressional Gold Medal to Owens' widow, Ruth.

—David Holloway

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Oxford Bags

In 1924, Oxford (and Cambridge) students, reacting to a ban on knickers in University classrooms, began wearing wide trousers, 25 inches around at the knee and 22 inches around the bottom, slipped over their knickers. Capacious pants became an immediate fad in America, copying the dimensions, but not hiding knickers within. John Held's collegiate caricatures featured undergraduates in vast pants cavorting and Charlestoning with girls in short skirts. New Yorker John Wanamaker advertised the pants at \$20 a pair in the

spring of 1925 and *Men's Wear* reported on their presence in San Francisco and on the University of California campus in the fall of 1925. Even for those not enthralled by the outlandish width of the Oxford Bags, young men's pants were loose and roomy through the 1930s. Many on American campuses enjoyed genuine or spurious Oxford pedigree—Oxford cloth shirts, Oxfords (shoes), Oxford gold eyeglass frames, and Bags, these last as much a fad as goldfish swallowing.

—Richard Martin

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